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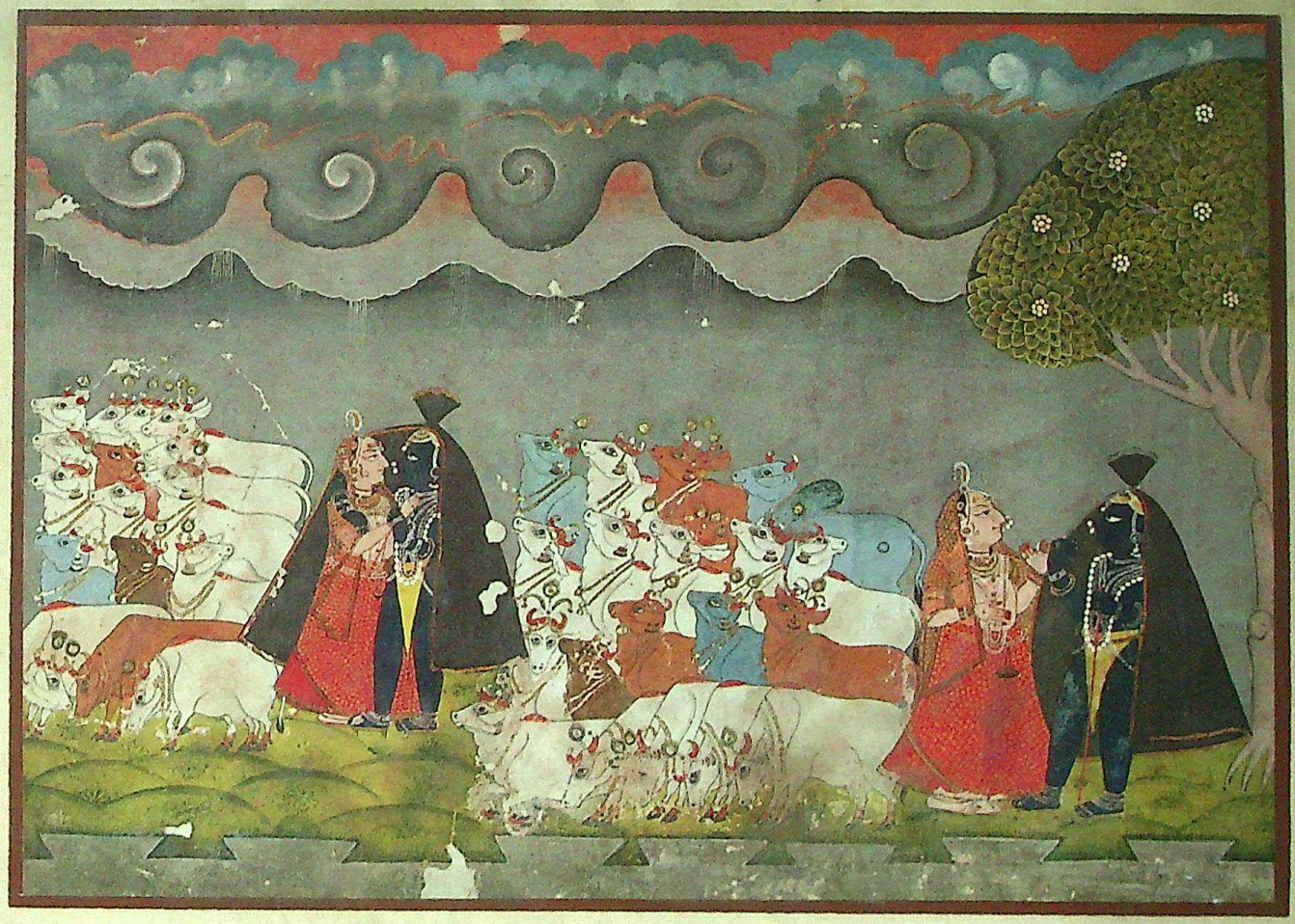

भक्ति-२

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CHHAVI-2

RAI KRISHNADASA FELICITATION VOLUME

BHARAT KALA BHAVAN

1981

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BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, BANARAS 221 005, INDIA

1981

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Rs. 700 (IN INDIA) U.S. $ 100 £ 45

5320

PRINTED BY ARUN K. MEHTA
VAKIL & SONS LIMITED, VAKILS HOUSE,
SPROTT ROAD, 18 BALLARD ESTATE, BOMBAY 400 038, INDIA

COLOUR AND BLACK & WHITE ENGRAVINGS
BY
COMMERCIAL ART ENGRAVERS (PRIVATE) LTD.
386, VIR SAVARKAR MARG, PRABHADEVI, BOMBAY 400 025

PUBLISHED BY O.P. TANDON
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, BHARAT KALA BHAVAN
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, BANARAS 221 005, INDIA

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I am very happy to see that CHHAVI-2 has been published. This number was proposed to be a Felicitation Volume to Rai Krishnadasaji, the Founder of Bharat Kala Bhavan, its Honorary Director and doyen among the art historians, as a humble tribute to his outstanding contributions. This wish, however, remained unfulfilled as he breathed his last on July 20, 1980. In the passing away of Rai Krishnadasaji, an era appears to have passed away. Bharat Kala Bhavan, a national institution with international reputation, remains with us as a great monument to commemorate him. The volume of CHHAVI is now dedicated to his memory.

My thanks are due to Prof. Anand Krishna for the efforts and pains undertaken by him in bringing out this magnificent volume and also for raising funds through donations and advertisements to offset the financial burden in publishing a work of this size and kind. I also thank Shri O.P. Tandon, Deputy Director, Bharat Kala Bhavan and Officer-on-Special Duty in the University for the execution of this project with genuine interest and zeal.

I earnestly hope that the staff of Bharat Kala Bhavan will continue to do the good work, that I had the opportunity to observe from close quarters, so that this institution develops on sound footing for the cause of the preservation of our national heritage.

Hari Narain
Vice-Chancellor

February 20th, 1981
Banaras Hindu University

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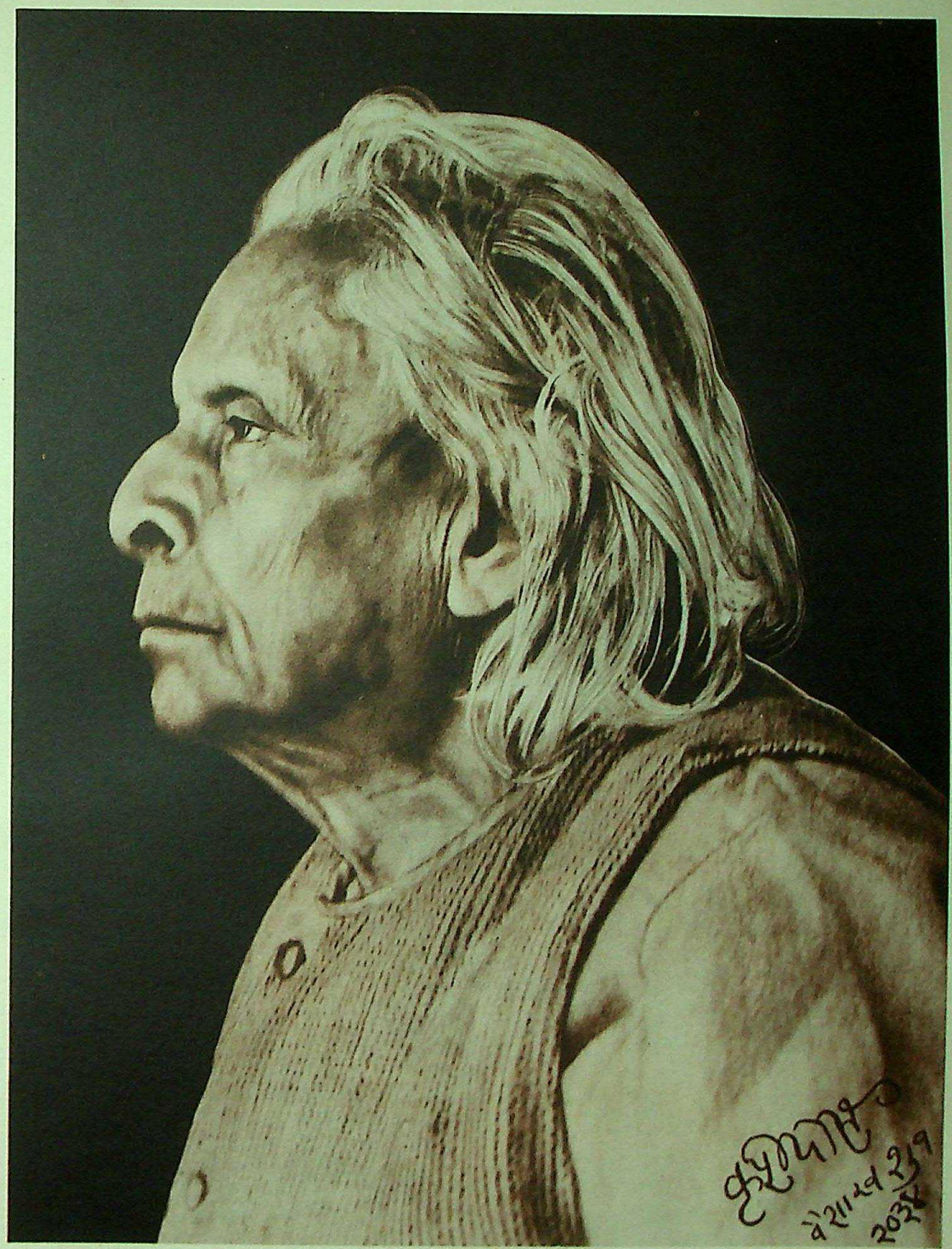

Shri Rai Krishnadasa 1892 - 1980

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Editor's Note

I am happy to present CHHAVI-2 (Rai Krishnadasa Felicitation Volume), to the readers. The idea of publication of these volumes was to provide a forum to the writers on Indian art, and also to evolve a fraternity of associates of Bharat Kala Bhavan, who regard this Museum as a source of inspiration. I was successful in eliciting contributions from a large section of such writers. Moreover, CHHAVI-1 presented a considerable amount of the Kala Bhavan collection. This was achieved by the solid backing of the authorities of the Banaras Hindu University, the contributing authors and the donors/advertisers. The nett result was that CHHAVI-1 found a place in the shelves of each and every bookshelf, whether of a lover of Indian Art, a Museum, a Library, a University or a researcher in this field. In all, CHHAVI-1 represented the warm homage of all concerned to the Kala Bhavan at its Golden Jubilee. The concept of publication of CHHAVI-1 came from Shri Jagdish Prasad Goenka, a famous collector of Indian Paintings and a life member of the Kala Bhavan Samiti; without whose active help the fund raising drive would not have been successful. The warm response that it received, encouraged many of us to bring out CHHAVI-2. Prof. S.K. Saraswati, the then Head of the Department of Art & Architecture (History of Art), suggested that this should be dedicated to Rai Krishnadasa, our Guru and the founder of this illustrious Museum. Hence, CHHAVI-2.

Both these volumes present certain ideas : it has been the policy of the editor that this should be an open forum and the authors' views be presented in their original form. They do not necessarily project our views. I feel this is a healthy practice. Moreover, not only various facets of Indian art and culture were touched but that articles on aesthetic appreciation of Kala Bhavan objects were also published. I feel that they are equally important and that our efforts should not be limited to academic discussions.

A major achievement of the production of CHHAVI-1 and 2, has been in the high quality of their production, for which the Assistant Editors (in each case) and the block makers and the printers are to be thanked. CHHAVI-1 has been accepted as a high watermark of art publication. An interesting part of this exercise is that such a monumental volume, so richly illustrated with numerous colour and black and white plates, should be available to the reader at a relatively low price—a small fraction of the cost which similar art publications carry in the world market. With CHHAVI-1 the Kala Bhavan could easily convince the donors/ advertisers for CHHAVI-2 and thus funds could be raised with spontaneous support. This phenomena of constant and appreciative encouragement may help us in our future similar endeavours.

In the production of CHHAVI-2, I am indebted to the support of the authors for their valuable contributions, the members of the Editorial Board and to the different sources for lending permission to publish their materials. I regret that some extremely important articles could

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not be included despite my best efforts. I am thankful to Shri Karnaman Singh for designing the cover and photograph of Rai Krishnadasa. I am specially grateful to the following donors :

Godrej Foundation, Bombay

Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Charity Trust, Ahmedabad

Moreover, Shri C.K. Kejriwal, Shri Dinshaw Gazdar and Mrs. K.S. Dubash, Smt. Asha Seth, Dr. Devangana Desai, Dr. Kalyan Krishna and many other patrons are to be thanked for helping me in raising funds. Shri Shridhar Andhare of the Prince of Wales Museum is also to be thanked in this direction. Above all it was the traditional patronage of Shri Basant Kumarji Birla that the publication was on its tracks.

I am grateful to Dr. Kamal Giri for the assistance rendered to me in this project. Dr. Joseph M. Dye III, Dr. Kalpana Desai, Dr. T.K. Biswas and Dr. Soonu T. Anklesaria helped me in editing the volume. Many more people directly or indirectly helped me, to whom I am indebted. I am appreciative of the help rendered by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and especially its erudite Director, Shri S. Gorakshakar in storing the paintings and proofing the colour plates. The printers and block makers are to be thanked for their valuable cooperation.

The authorities of the Banaras Hindu University are to be thanked for giving me this opportunity.

I am fully aware of my limitations and the reader will find me falling short in this volume. I very humbly accept their verdict, but I am also conscious of many, many encouragements which I have been getting from the people whose patronage will always be a guiding light to me.

Anand Krishna
Editor

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Contents

		Pages
1.	Kandarpa Iva Mūrtimān : Charming Like Cupid Incarnate C. Sivaramamurti	1 - 4
2.	The Lahore Laur-Chandā Pages Thirty Years after Basil Gray	5 - 9
3.	Gupta Rāmāyaṇa Panels from Nachnā Krishna Deva	10 - 14
4.	The "Chidambaram" Naṭarāja Douglas Barrett	15 - 20
5.	Burmese Sculpture and Indian Painting Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.	21 - 24
6.	Sultanate Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd Edwin Binney, 3rd	25 - 31
7.	Music in Stone Aschwin De Lippe	32 - 35
8.	Four Pieces of Sculpture P.R. Srinivasan	36 - 37
9.	Jahāngīr's "Meteoritic" Knife Richard Ettinghausen and Edward P. Henderson	38 - 42
10.	The Judgment of Khusraü in the Garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān : An Illustration to the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī Pramod Chandra	43 - 46
11.	Chār-Chomā and the Late Gupta Period in Mālwā Joanna Williams	47 - 53
12.	The Buddhist Stūpa at Gyāraspur Susan L. Huntington	54 - 58
13.	The Beginnings of Early Western Chāḷukya Art Odile Divakaran	59 - 66
14.	Figurative Kalamkari and its Locale Lotika Varadarajan	67 - 70
15.	Pratīhāras from Paṭṭaḍakal to Ellora : The Early Western Chāḷukya Basis for the Sculpture Style of the Kailāśa Temple Doris Clark Chatham	71 - 79

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16. Individual Styles and Workshop Participation in the Early Temples of Bhubaneswar — 80 - 91
Thomas Donaldson

17. Calligraphers and Painters in Early Mughal Painting — 92 - 97
Asok Kumar Das

18. Iconological Studies of Recent Mathura Acquisitions in the Bharat Kala Bhavan — 98 - 104
Doris Srinivasan

19. The Sixth-Century Kubera Image from Mandasor — 105 - 108
Sara Schastok

20. Early Chola Bronzes at the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena — 109 - 112
Martin Lerner

21. A Reinterpretation of the Relief Panel at Māmallapuram — 113 - 118
Mary-Ann Lutzker

22. Brahmaśiraśchhedakamūrti, Brahmahatyā and Ritualistic Suicide in Medieval Karṇāṭaka — 119 - 122
Robert J. Del Bonta

23. Shaykh Phūl and the Origins of Bundi Painting — 123 - 129
Robert Skelton

24. Saucer-like Coins and the Trend of Evolution of Early Silver Punch-marked Issues — 130 - 134
A.N. Lahiri

25. The Sultānganj Buddha — 135 - 138
Frederick M. Asher

26. Sculptures in Dakshina Kosala (A Brief Survey of Stylistic Transformations, Chronology and Artisans) — 139 - 143
R.N. Misra

27. Ajaṇṭā's Chronology : Cave 1's Patronage and Related Problems — 144 - 157
Walter M. Spink

28. About an Indian Terracotta of the Guimet Museum, Paris — 158 - 160
Jennine Auboyer

29. A Note on some Recently Discovered Tipu Shawl Fragments in England and Comparative Material in the Bharat Kala Bhavan — 161 - 169
Veronica Murphy

30. Transformations in Seventeenth Century Deccani Painting at Bijapur — 170 - 181
Mark Zebrowski

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31. On Some Buddhist Āsanas — 182 - 186
D.C. Bhattacharyya

32. A Gupta Frieze from Kandavā — 187 - 188
Donald M. Stadtner

33. Deccani Influence on Early Pahari Painting — 189 - 191
R.K. Tandan

34. Darrā and the Early Gupta Tradition — 192 - 205
Michael W. Meister

35. On Mandi Paintings — 206 - 211
Chandramani

36. The Qal'a-i Kuhna Mosque : A Visual Symbol of Royal Aspirations — 212 - 217
Catherine B. Asher

37. Notes on a Gandhāran Relief in the Bharat Kala Bhavan — 218 - 220
Joseph M. Dye, III

38. Bharat Kala Bhavan Copper-Plate Grant of Rājyapāla — 221 - 230
R.S. Mishra

39. Sāhibdīn's Gīta-Govinda Illustrations — 231 - 238
Andrew Topsfield

40. A New Medallion of the Subjugation of Nalagiri — 239 - 240
C. Sivaramamurti

41. The Rāma Epic and Bharat Kala Bhavan's Collection — 241 - 251
Grace Morley

42. Gīta-Govinda and its Influence on Indian Art — 252 - 258
Kapila Vatsyayana

43. Concept Chatura and Vichitra in Indian Art and Culture — 259 - 265
Anand Krishna

44. Kinnara-Kinnarī — 266 - 269
T.K. Biswas

45. An Introduction to Mauryan Terracottas in Kedia Collection — 270 - 274
S.K. Srivastava

46. An Illustrated Manuscript of the Laur-Chandā in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin — 275 - 289
Anand Krishna

47. Motifs and Designs in the Laur-Chandā Manuscript from Berlin — 290 - 293
Regine Pachner

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48. An Early Yaksha from Aktha near Sārnāth (Varanasi District, U.P.) 294 - 297
Carol G. Lin-Bodien

49. The Dholā-Māru MS of the National Museum A Consideration in Style and Date 298 - 300
Shridhar Andhare

50. Two Bikaner Paintings in the N.C. Mehta Collection and the Problem of Mandi School 301 - 304
Karl Khandalavala

51. The Berlin Chandāyan Codex 305 - 307
Parmeshwari Lal Gupta

52. Wall Paintings at Sum-Tsek, Alchi 308 - 311
Ajaya Kumar Singh

53. Animal and Bird Beads 312 - 323
Kamal Giri

Plates

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List of Colour Plates

	Page	Acc. No.
Frontispiece: An illustrated leaf from *Prajñāpārmitā* Ms.		7779-80
Plate A — A scene from illustrated Ms. of *Prajñāpārmitā*	23	4789-90
Plate B — *Shawl,* Kashmir, eighteenth century	162	8514
Plate C — *Shawl or Rūmāl,* Kashmir, early nineteenth century	163	10063
Plate D — *Shawl,* Kashmir, seventeenth/early eighteenth century	165	9983
Plate E — *Shawl,* Kashmir, eighteenth century	166	7369
Plate F — *Shawl,* Kashmir, first half of nineteenth century	168	10/1474
Plate G — *Paṭkā,* Kashmir, eighteenth century	162	9387
Plate H — *Shawl,* Kashmir, seventeenth/early eighteenth century	165	8006
Plate I — *Shawl,* Kashmir, mid-eighteenth century	166	8591
Plate J — *Paṭkā,* Kashmir, *ca.* 1800 A.D.	167	8590
Plate K — *Shawl,* Kashmir, *ca.* 1800 A.D.	168	8007
Plate L — *Shawl,* Kashmir, probably seventeenth century	164	
Plate M — Śiva, Mandi	207	6957
Plate N — *Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī,* Mewar	232	10473
Plate O — *Sāraṅga Rāgiṇī,* Mewar	234	10667
Plate P — Rāma's mystical appearance, Jaipur sub-style	242	3308
Plate Q — Sītā's fire ordeal, Popular Mughal	243	8056
Plate R — Ravana's Abduction of Sītā, Malwa	245	6787
Plate S — Rāma & Lakshamaṇa conversing with Viśvāmitra, Shangri-Kulu	248	11102
Plate T — Rāma and his party confront Paraśurāma, Shangri-Kulu	249	11103
Plate U — Monkeys confront a Demon, Shangri	250	11099
Plate V — *Dānā-Līlā,* Bikaner	302	
Plate W — Y — Beads	315, 318, 321	

Plate 1 — An illustrated leaf from Kalpasūtra Ms., *Devasāno Pāḍo* style	Between pages 66-67	10791
Plate 2 — A scene from the *Laur-Chandā,* Uttar Pradesh		228
Plate 3 — A scene from *Mṛigāvat,* Eastern U.P.		7858
Plate 4 — A scene from *Hamzā Nāmā,* Mughal		5401
Plate 5 — A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Early Rajasthani		8477
Plate 6 — Battle between Kṛishṇa and Bāṇāsur, Early Rajasthani		8484
Plate 7 — A scene from *Tūtī-Nāmā,* Mughal		3052
Plate 8 — *Rāga* Mālakosa, Mewar		10666
Plate 9 — *Rāgiṇī* Bilāwala, Bundi		10519
Plate 10 — A leaf from *Iyār-e-Dānish,* Mughal		668

Plate 11 — A drinking scene, Mughal	Between pages 134-135	5414
Plate 12 — Kṛishṇa with *Gopīs,* South West Rajasthan		10683
Plate 13 — Shahjahan, Mughal		715
Plate 14 — A garden scene, Persian		9069/2
Plate 15 — A Mughal damsel, Shahjahan period		5402
Plate 16 — *Rāgiṇī* Kakubha, Malwa		8441
Plate 17 — Couple watching pigeons, Bundi		10100
Plate 18 — A scene from *Rasikapriyā,* Bundi		11114
Plate 19 — A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* Malwa		9451
Plate 20 — *Svādhīna-patikā Nāyikā,* Basohli		9853

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	Page	Acc. No.
Plate 21 — A scene from *Rasamañjarī*, Basohli	Between pages 188-189	407
Plate 22 — *Rāga* Kumbha, Basohli		5430
Plate 23 — *Gopīs* searching Kṛishṇa, Mewar		10688
Plate 24 — Mṛityuñjaya Śiva, Basohli (Mankot)		8424
Plate 25 — Youthful *Bhaṅgimā* of the lady and pigeons, Bundi		4147
Plate 26 — *Virahiṇī Nāyikā*, Bundi		8905
Plate 27 — A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Guler		6856
Plate 28 — Kṛishṇa slays the Agha demon, Guler		6855
Plate 29 — Suleman with his entourage, Mughal		1386
Plate 30 — A leaf from Bihari's *Satsaī*, Guler		4193
Plate 31 — *Rāgiṇī* Sāverī, Guler	Between pages 230-231	10579
Plate 32 — A scene from *Rāsapañchādhyāyi*, Kulu		1786
Plate 33 — Coming of storm, Guler		5447
Plate 34 — *Guṇagarvitā Nāyikā*, Garwal		10055
Plate 35 — A tryst scene, Guler		1815
Plate 36 — *Holī* scene, Guler		9958
Plate 37 — Month of *Kārtika*, Guler		113
Plate 38 — *Khaṇḍitā Nāyikā*, Guler		358
Plate 39 — Rāma and Sītā persuaded to return to Ayodhyā, Guler-Kangra		5460
Plate 40 — Rāma and Sītā exchange glances in the garden, Jaipur sub-style		3267
Plate 41 — *Rāgiṇi* Bilāwala, Malwa	With Advertisements	7480
Plate 42 — A scene from Hīrā De Rāmāyaṇa, Malwa		6811
Plate 43 — A scene from *Laur-Chandā*, Uttar Pradesh		226
Plate 44 — A scene from Mṛigāvat, Eastern U.P.		7868
Plate 45 — Ladies enjoying music, Kishangarh		4299
Plate 46 — *Rāga* Vasant, Malwa		9148
Plate 47 — *Rāgiṇī* Gunakalī, Malwa		9149
Plate 48 — *Rāga* Bhramarānand, Basohli		5430
Plate 49 — A garden scene, Persian		9069/1
Plate 50 — Girls, Bikaner		
Plate 51 — A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*		
Plate 52 — *Māgha Māsa*, Garhwal		

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CHHAVI-2

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An illustrated leaf from *Prajñāpārmitā* Ms., dated 4th regnal year of Gomindrapāla

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C. SIVARAMAMURTI

Kandarpa Iva Mūrtimān: Charming Like Cupid Incarnate

Vālmīki never tires describing the infinite noble qualities and the rare aesthetic charm that conjure a vision of Rāma's arresting personality. He is not a whit less beautiful than the one celestial who represents the acme of perfection of beauty: *rūpavān subhagas śrīmān kandarpa iva mūrtimān, Rāmāyaṇa,* 5, 34, 30. There was such excellence of beauty in him, that the charm of his bright moonlike face so lovely to behold, his majestic stature and noble qualities stole the heart and stirred the passion of even men who gazed at him: *Chandrakāntānanaṃ Rāmaṃ atīva priyadarśanaṃ* 2, 3, 28, *rūpaudārryaguṇaiḥ puṃsāṃ dṛishṭichittāpahāriṇaṃ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 3, 29. This masculine perfection of beauty kindling the admiration of even men is comparable to the excellence of beauty of woman like that of lotus-eyed Draupadī that made even women wish ever so much they were of the opposite sex the better to enjoy the sight of her beauty as they noted the contour of her ample hip while they helped her at her bath: *pāñchālyāḥ padmapatrākshyās snāyantyā jaghanaṃ ghanaṃ / yās striyo dṛishṭavatyas tāḥ puṃbhāvaṃ manasā yayuḥ, Mahābhārata.*

No wonder Daśaratha who doted on his worthy son could not take his eyes off Rāma, charming like a Gandharva prince, as he longingly gazed at him from the height of the terrace of his palace, as he approached him riding his chariot: *prāsādastho rathagataṃ dadarśāyāntaṃ ātmajaṃ / Gandharvarājapratimaṃ.....*, *Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 3, 27.

The King enjoyed this delightful look at his dear son, like one ever so beautiful by birth rendered even more so bejewelled, by a satisfying gaze of ones own form in a mirror: *taṃ paśyamāno nṛipatis tutosha priyaṃ ātmajaṃ, alaṅkṛitaṃ ivātmānaṃ ādarśatalasaṁsthitaṃ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 3, 37.

As the people of Ayodhyā never desisted from expressing their joy in recalling every moment the glory of Rāma, his ears could not escape this chant of his eulogy whenever he chanced to course through the highway. It was not only when Rāma was still the object of their gaze that he attracted them, but even when for long he had gone out of sight. They still could not withdraw from this gaze their eyes or even their hearts. Naturally it resolved itself into this great truth, that the one who missed seeing Rāma or being seen by him with his eyes so full of grace as a *priyadarśana,* was indeed accursed in life as even his own conscience would curse and accuse him: *na hi tasmān manaḥ kaśchich-chakshushī vā narottamāt/naras śaknotyapākrashṭum atikrānte'pi Rāghave//yas cha Rāmaṃ na paśyettu yaṃ cha Rāmo na paśyati/ ninditas sa vaselloke svātmāpyenaṃ vigarhate, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 17, 13-14.

With one voice the people of Daśaratha's realm acclaim with joy their eagerness to see their beloved prince Rāma as their Crown Prince annointed, Rāma, the powerful hero of the Raghu race with unparalleled might of arm mounted and marching on his stately elephant, his charming face unsullied by the solar rays by the royal parasol warding them: *ichchhāmo hi mahābāhuṃ Raghuvīraṃ mahābalaṃ / gajena mahatā yāntaṃ Rāmaṃ chhatrāvṛitānanaṃ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 2, 22. It is this majesty, power, beauty of form and unbounded affection of people that Rāma could boast, that inspires later rulers who longed equally to be so, as for instance Kumāragupta, to represent this fond vision of the people of Ayodhyā as almost reflected in his own case, in the elephant-rider type of coin issued by him with a rare pride and gusto (fig. 1, a-b).

Rāma is not only an incarnation of Vishṇu but is also fully endowed with beauty and valour of Vishṇu himself. His eyes are charmingly long and pink at the terminals, the pencilled brows enhancing their aesthetic sparkle: *subhrūr āyatatāmrākshas sākshād Vishṇur iva svayaṃ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 2, 43. It is this moon face with lotus-petal eyes, pencilled arched brows, charming pearly teeth and chiselled nose so attractive, now no more before his eyes, but which the people of Ayodhyā so fortunate could see again, that Daśaratha visualises in his mind's eye just before his death: *padmapatrekshaṇaṃ subhru sudaṁshṭraṃ chārunāsikaṃ, dhanyā drakshyanti Rāmasya tārādhipanibhaṃ mukhaṃ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 64, 69.

Rāma's beautiful form of celestial youth that matches only his noble qualities, Daśaratha confesses even to Kaikeyī, rendered more charming by bejewelling, always attracts him as he approached in gait so stately, making him gaze at him with supreme satisfaction, the sight not only giving him joy but also making him feel ages younger: *ahaṃ punar devakumārarūpaṃ alaṅkṛitaṃ taṃ sutaṃ āvrajantaṃ/nandāmi paśyannapi darśanena bhavāmi dṛishṭvā cha punar yuveva, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 12, 103. A noble

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prince of extraordinary charm, Rāma, delicately nurtured, is equally delicate in complexion and form. This is what makes Daśaratha lament as to how he could send to the gloom of the Daṇḍaka forest his beloved Rāma that supremely gladdened all by his beauty of form of the charming hue of the blue lily, mighty of arm and in valour great: *kathaṃ indīvaraśyāmaṃ dīrghabāhuṃ mahābalaṃ, abhirāmaṃ ahaṃ Rāmaṃ preshayishyāmi daṇḍakān, Rāmāyaṇa,* 2, 13, 10.

The general description of Rāma's form is very clear and suggestive of his imperial demeanour. Broad-shouldered, of ample length of arm almost reaching the knee, of shapely neck like a conch with three definite lines marked, of elevated cheeks, with broad and raised chest, devoid of bony projections, with head of lovely circular contour and forehead of equally charming crescent shape, of stately gait, exact in the proportion of limbs, symmetrically shaped with a definition of limbs composing his form, deep and noble in complexion, lustrous, with eyes so large and lovely, with every mark or beauty singling him out as extraordinary in his mien, Rāma was indeed an ideal of perfection: *vipulāṁso mahābāhuḥ kaṁbugrīvo mahāhanuḥ, mahorasko mahāśvāso gūḍhajatrur arindamaḥ / ājānubāhus suśiras sulalāṭas suvikramaḥ, samas samavibhaktāṅgas snigdhavarṇaḥ pratāpavān / pīnavakshā viśālākso lakshmīvān śubhalakshaṇaḥ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 1, 1, 9-11.

Commentaries have explained at length the significance of such minute description of individual limb by quoting from special texts on excellence of form and its meaningful indication of greatness. These are the distinguishing marks of great personalities, *mahāpurushalakshaṇas*. Great happiness is assured to one with broad and elevated shoulders, chest, nose and forehead: *vakshas cha ghrāṇaskandhaū lalāṭikā sarvabhūteshu nirdishṭā unnatāsu sukhapradā*. The neck is described conch-shaped by the presence on it of three well-marked lines: *rekhātrayānvitā grīvā kaṁbugrīveti kathyate*. Broad, elevated, firm and shapely ample chest marks out one a ruler or his equal: *sthiraṃ viśālaṃ kaṭhinaṃ unnataṃ māṁsalaṃ samaṃ, vakśo yasya mahīpālas tatsamo vā bhaven naraḥ*. Bone joint projections appearing diminutive and uneven indicate poverty, elevated great enjoyment, depressed penury and completely covered in shapely contour royal status: *vishamair jatrubhir nissva atisūkshmaiścha mānavaḥ, unnatair bhogino nimnair nissvaḥ pīnair narādhipaḥ*. Endowed with circular shapely head like a parasol one is assured of longevity and paramount sovereignty of the earth marked by a single parasol: *samavṛittaśiras chaiva chakrākāraśiras tathā, ekachchhatrāṃ mahīṃ bhuṅkte dīrghaṃ āyuścha jīvati*. He is marked out an overlord who has elevated, crescent-shaped forehead: *ardhachandranibhaṃ tuṅgaṃ lalāṭaṃ yasya sa prabhuḥ*. Ever victorious and happy are those whose stately gait resembles that of the lion, bull, elephant and tiger: *siṁhavṛishabhagajavyāghragatayo manujā mune, sarvatra sukhaṃ edhanti sarvatra jayinas sadā*. Even in the reckoning of proportions a height of ninety-six inches is reckoned ideal as it indicates emperorhood: *shaṇṇavatyaṅgulotsedhas sārvabhaumo bhaven nṛipaḥ*. According to the science of auspicious marks—*sāmudrikalakshaṇa*—the one who is entirely symmetrical by total agreement of pairs in proportions in the brows, nostrils, eyes, ears, lips, nipples, elbows, wrists, knees, testicles, hips, hands, feet and buttocks is fain to be a king: *bhruvau nāsāpuṭau netre karṇāvoshṭhau cha chūchuke, kūrparau maṇibandhau cha jānunī vṛishaṇau kaṭī / karau pādau sphijau yasya samau jñeyas sa bhūpatiḥ*. Prosperity is assured by sparkling eyes: *chakshussnehena saubhāgyaṃ*. With eyes of pink terminals and shaped like lotus petals beautiful and broad one is assured of enjoyment of happiness: *raktāntaiḥ padmapatrābhair lochanais sukhabhoginaḥ*.

As asked by Sītā, who desires to know all about the extent of Hanumān's knowledge of Rāma's personality, he gives a detailed account going into intricacies after a general description of the classical beauty of the prince. Here Vālmīki repeats from Hanumān's mouth the features already described like the breadth of his shoulders, length of the arms, conch-shaped neck, charming face with pinkish eyes, invisible bone joints, deep complexion, lustre, symmetrical layout of limbs in pairs: *vipulāṁso mahābāhuḥ kaṁbugrīvas śubhānanaḥ, gūḍhajatrus sutāmrāksho Rāmo devi janais śrutaḥ / dundubhisvananirghoshas snigdhavarṇaḥ pratāpavān, samas samavibhaktāṅgo varṇaṃ śyāmaṃ samāśritaḥ, Rāmāyaṇa,* 5, 35, 15-16.

And then he begins to describe in detail Rāma's charm. The technicalities enumerated here in numerical figures can scarcely be understood without special elucidative comments that are fortunately available. He is firm in three, elongate in three, equal in three, elevated in three, pinkish in three, gleaming in three, deep in three, of three folds, shallow in three, short in four, with three characteristics of the head, four-fold in marks, prominent in four lines, of four times twenty-four inches, equal in four, equal in fourteen pairs, four-fold in teeth, four-fold in gait, elevated and full in lips, cheek and nose, gleaming in five, elongate in eight, lotus-like in ten, prominent in ten, encompassing in three, white in two, elevated in six, minute in nine: *tristhiras tripralaṁbas cha trisamas trishu cha unnataḥ, tritāmrastrishu cha snigdho gaṁbhīras trishu nityaśaḥ / trivalīmānstryavanatas chaturvyaṅgas triśīrshavān, chatushkalas chaturlekhas chatushkishkus chatussamaḥ / chaturdaśa samadvandvas chaturdaṁshṭras chaturgatiḥ, mahoshṭhahanunāsas cha pañchasnigdhoshṭhavaṁśavān / daśa-*

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padmo daśabṛihat tribhir vyāpto dviśuklavān, shaḍunnato navatanus tribhir vyāpnoti Rāghavaḥ, Rāmāyaṇa, 5, 35, 17-20.

Firm in three, *tristhira*, is in chest, wrist and fist in royalties *uraścha maṇibandhaścha mushṭiścha nṛipates sthirā;* elongate in three, *tripralaṁba*, is in brow, arm and testicles ensuring longevity and opulence: *dīrghabhrūbāhumūshkas tu chirajīvī dhanī naraḥ;* equal in three, *trisama*, is in hair terminal, testicle and knee usual in kings: *keśāgraṃ vṛishaṇaṃ jānu samā yasya sa bhūpatiḥ;* elevated in three, *trishūnnataḥ*, moderately elevated, yet pleasing in its even contour of surface usual in royal form are the stomach, chest and flared mouth of navel: *unnatakukshis kshitipaḥ paryunnatanābhayas kshitipāḥ, hṛidayaṃ na vepanaṃ pṛithu samonnataṃ māṁsalaṃ cha nṛipatīnāṃ;* pinkish in three, *tritāmraḥ*, is red hue in the terminals of eyes, nails and palms and soles that assures happy life: *netrāntanakhapāṇyaṅghritalais tāmrais tribhis sukhī;* gleaming in three, *trisnigdhaḥ*, is in the marks of the soles, tresses of hair and testicles that assures great prosperity: *snigdhā bhavanti vai yeshāṃ pādarekhās śiroruhāḥ tathā liṅgamaṇis teshāṃ mahābhāgyaṃ vivardhate;* deep in three, *trishu gaṁbhīraḥ*, is deep and noble in voice, gait and navel as mark of excellence: *svare gatau cha nābhau cha gaṁbhīras trishu śasyate;* of three folds, *trivalīvān*, is the folds on the stomach or the lines on the neck, though the definition of this trait inclines towards the marks on the neck, which clear, beautiful, gleaming soft; charmingly circular, not too long and just four inches in length on rather elongate neck make one blessed: *sthirā trirekhā subhagopapannā snigdhā sumāṁsopachitā suvṛittā/na chātidīrghā chaturaṅgulā cha grīvā sudīrghā bhavatīha dhanye;* shallow in three, *tryavanataḥ*, is in breast elevation of the chest, nipple and marks on the foot so characteristic of the happy opulent: *pīnopachitair nimnais kshitipatayas chūchukais sukhinā, snigdhā nimnā rekhā dhanināṃ tadvyatyayena nissvānāṃ;* short in four, *chaturvyaṅgaḥ*, is excellence assured by shortage in length of the neck, penis, back and the shanks: *grīvā prajananaṃ pṛishṭhaṃ hrasvaṃ jaṅghā cha pūjyate;* with three characteristics of the head, *triśīrshavān*, is three clockwise eddies of hair on the head that assure a lead among Kings: *āvartatrayaruchiraṃ yasya śiras sa kshitibhṛitām netā;* four-fold in marks, *chatushkalaḥ*, is the mark of proficiency in as many of the four *Vedas* as the lines marked below the thumb of the twice-born: *mūleṅgushṭhasya vedānāṃ chatasras tisra eva vā, eka dve vā yathāyogaṃ rekhā jñeyā dvijanmanāṃ;* prominent in four lines, *chaturlekhaḥ*, is the mark of the thunderbolt, banner, conch and elephant goad on the soles which assure imperial sovereignty: *yasya pādatale vajra-dhvajaśaṅkhāṅkuśopamāḥ, rekhās samyak prakāśante manujendraṃ taṃ ādiśet.* We may here recall the line of Kālidāsa describing the marks of thunderbolt, flag and parasol on the feet of Raghu signifying his imperial stature: *'te rekhādhvajakuliśātapatrachihnaṃ samrājas charaṇayugaṃ prasādalabhyaṃ'* (*Raghuwaṁśa*, 488). Four times *kishku* (twenty-four inches) or *chatushkishkuḥ*, is ninety-six inches in height suggesting divine splendour: *shaṇṇavatyaṅgulotsedho yaḥ pumān sa divaukasaḥ;* equal in four, *chatussamaḥ*, is similar length of arm, leg, thigh and elbow: *bāhujānūru (hastās) cha chatvāryatha samāni chet;* equal in fourteen pairs, *chaturdaśasamadvandvaḥ*, is symmetry in fourteen pairs of limbs of equal proportions, *viz.* brows, nostrils, eyes, ears, lips, nipples, elbows, wrists, knees, testicles, hips, hands, feet, buttocks that proclaims a king: *bhruvau nāsāpuṭau netre karṇavoshṭhau cha chūchuke, kūrparau maṇibandhau cha jānunī vṛishaṇau katī/karau pādau sphijau yasya samau jñeyas sa bhūpatiḥ;* four-fold in teeth, *chaturdaṁshṭraḥ* is four canine teeth large, sharp and of uniform size: *snigdhā ghanāścha daśanās sutikshṇadaṁshṭrā samās cha śubhāḥ;* four-fold in gait, *chaturgatiḥ*, is gait resembling that of lion, tiger, elephant and bull: *gajasiṁhagatī vīrau śārdūlavṛishabhopamau;* elevated and full in lips, cheeks and nose, *mahoshṭhahnunāsaḥ;* is having lips crimson like the *bandhujīva* flower, soft and shaped like the *biṁba* fruit, full and ample cheeks and lovely elevated nose: *bandhujīvakusumopamādharo/māṁsalo ruchirabiṁbarūpadhṛit/pūrṇamāṁsalahanus tu bhūmipas/tuṅgatuṇḍaruchirākṛitis tathā;* gleaming in five is shining hair, sparkling eyes, pearly teeth, iridescent skin and bright sole that assure respectively prosperity, best of food, sleep on pleasant couch and stately transport: *chakshus snehena saubhāgyaṃ dantas snehena bhojanaṃ/tvachas snehena śayanaṃ padas snehena vāhanaṃ;* elongate in eight, *ashṭavaṁśavān* is length of the body in general, the back, fingers and toes, arms, nose, eyes, ears and penis: *pṛishṭhavaṁśas śarīraṃ cha hastapādāṅguli karau/nāsikā chakshushī karṇau prajano yasya chāyatā;* lotus-like in ten, *daśapadmaḥ*, is ten limbs resembling the lotus, *viz.*, the face, forehead, eyes, lips, cheeks, chest, nails, hands and feet: *mukhanetralalāṭoshṭhatālustananakhāḥ karau/pādau cha daśapadmāni padmākārāṇi yasya cha;* prominent in ten, *daśabṛihat*, is prominence of ten limbs like chest, head, forehead, neck, arms, shoulders, navel, hips, back and ears which indicate auspiciousness: *uras śiro lalāṭaṃ cha grīvā bāhvaṁsanābhayaḥ/pārśvapṛishṭhasvarās cheti viśālās te śubhapradāḥ;* encompassing in three, *tribhir vyāptaḥ*, is complete enveloping by the magnitude of lustre, fame and beauty: *tribhir vyāptis cha yasya syāt tejasā yaśasā śriyā;* while in two, *dviśuklavān*, white and immaculate in eyes and teeth; elevated in six, *shaḍunnataḥ*, is elevation of the six limbs, *viz.*, hip, stomach, chest, nose, shoulders and forehead that assure auspiciousness: *kakshaḥ kukshis cha vakshas cha ghrāṇaskandho lalāṭikā/sarvabhūteshu nirdishṭā unnatāṅgā śubhapradāḥ;* minute in nine is delicacy or the

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fine formation of finger joints, hair, moustaches, nails, skin, penis and sharpness in intellect and sight that assure longevity: *sūkshmāṇyaṅgulipārśvāṇi keśalomanakhatvachaḥ/ śephas cha yeshāṃ sūkshmāṇi te narā dirghajīvināḥ;* covers in three, *tribhir vyāpnoti,* is the practice of *dharma, artha* and *kāma* in the forenoon, noon and afternoon: *dharmārtha-kāmāḥ kāleshu trishu yasya svanushṭhitāḥ.*

Rāma's beauty is proverbial. It is no wonder that the model of beauty was taken as the pink of perfection and Vālmīki goes into ecstasies in describing Rāma's charm. Kālidāsa goes a step further and assessing the essential quality of Rāma's beauty that is neither enhanced nor diminished by the addition or omission of any adornment. The bright lustre on Rāma's face is the same for him in any situation. Adorned in the coronation robes getting ready for consecration as heir apparent or attired in bark garments of an ascetic for entry into the forest, Rāma looked the same, the beam in his face unchanged which roused the admiration and wonder of the people of Ayodhyā: *dadhato maṅgalakshaume vasānasya cha valkale/dadṛiśur vismitās tasya mukharāgaṃ samaṃ janāḥ, Raghuvaṁśa,* 12.

Rāma is beautifully represented in many sculptures. The charm of Rāma's features in the Rāmāyaṇa panels from Prambanan is indeed noteworthy (fig. 2). But the most outstanding sculptural rendering of Rāma's form is in the majestic princely image in metal from the group from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr village in Tañjāvūr District (fig. 3). The Rāma from Paruttiyūr nearly approaches this (fig. 4). Both are early Choḷa masterpieces of 1000 A.D. Rājarāja was so taken in by the charm, dignity and valour of Rāma that he named his beloved son, on whom he doted, Rājendra after Rāma, one of his prominent names in the *Rāmāshṭottara.*

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BASIL GRAY

The Lahore Laur-Chandā Pages Thirty Years after

Thirty years ago the author published the first strong impressions made upon him by the series of pages then all in the Lahore Museum from which he selected four for display in the great London exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan, held in the galleries of the Royal Academy in the winter of 1947-48. In the catalogue they were described simply as "Western India; sixteenth century". In 1948 two of these four pages were reproduced in two short studies,[1] and in these he ascribed them to "Western India or Southern Rajasthan, about 1570"; and this dating was more cautiously modified to "late sixteenth century" in the *Art of India and Pakistan* of 1950, though in the text of this volume (page 91), he adhered to a date of "1570 or rather before" for the group. In this place their location was left open, though architectural parallels were drawn with Gwalior and Mandu.

In 1946 there were twenty-four pages in the Central Museum, Lahore; but of these ten were allocated to India after partition, while the four pages which had been shown in London were placed on exhibition in the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi, so that there are at present ten left in the Lahore Museum. It was these that the author was able to study once more by the kindness of Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar, Director of that Museum, during a short visit to Lahore in January 1977, when he was invited to speak at the opening of a memorial exhibition of the paintings of M.A. Rahman Chughtai. Subsequently Dr. Dar most kindly sent me photographs of six of the series, of which four are hitherto unpublished.[2]

Meanwhile considerable literature has grown up around the series, as their importance both as works of art and as documents in the history of painting in India has been increasingly realised. By 1950 the pages had been identified as illustrations to the *Chandāyan* of Mulla Da'ud, a poet living at the time of Firuz Shah and a chronogram was later found to give the date of its composition as 779 H/1377 A.D.; while it was shown to be a version in *Avadhī* Hindi of a folk poem popular in central India. It was recognised that Badaoni in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh* had written of this poem and its author and of its effect on those who listened to its recitation as 'full of divine truth, ecstatic contemplation of ardent lovers and devout knowers'. It was thus much in the spirit of reconciliation of Sufi mystical thought with Hindu *bhakti* favoured by the emperor Akbar and in which Badaoni himself played a part as translator of the *Razm-nama* into Persian at the order of the emperor. In 1950 Karl Khandalavala in his article 'Leaves from Rajasthan'[3] proposed a date of *ca.* 1620-30 for this whole group, including the *Chaurapañchāśikā* in the N.C. Mehta collection, thus allowing him to see them as fruit of the impact of Mughal painting on the Gujarati school; he suggested Jaunpur as their source. In 1956 Rai Krishnadasa dated the set to the latter half of the sixteenth century, when publishing the six leaves from another *Laur-Chandā* manuscript in the Bharat Kala Bhavan,[4] which he then dated about 1540. In 1961 Khandalavala and Moti Chandra while publishing yet another *Laur-Chandā* series, that in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and also calling attention to the more complete manuscript in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, gave an outline summary of the story of the poem by Da'ud, the full text of which was not edited until 1964.[5] They were able also at last to draw attention to a dated manuscript in a related style in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, with its connection with two places on the Jumna in Agra district and so to connect it with the Lodi sultan Sikandar (1489-1517) whose rule extended over Delhi, Agra and Jaunpur and who made Agra his capital in 1504. They regarded this dated manuscript as evidently earlier than any of the *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts and so date the Prince of Wales pages to about 1550 and the John Rylands to about 1575.

[1] "Western Indian Paintings of the sixteenth century", *Burlington Magazine*, Feb. 1948; *Rajput Painting*, London, 1948, pl. 3

[2] *Catalogue of Paintings in the Lahore Museum*, vol. I, Mughal and Rajasthani schools, Lahore, 1976, pp. 19-23, describes the 14 leaves still in Pakistan.

[3] K. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Marg*, vol. 4(3), 1950

[4] Rai Krishnadasa, "An illustrated AvadhI MS. of Laur-Chandā in the Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Lalit Kala*, vol. 1/2, 1955/6, pp. 66-71

[5] K. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, "New Documents of Indian Painting", *Lalit Kala*, 10, 1961, pp. 51-4

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In 1963 appeared the volume on Indian Painting in Skira's Treasures of Asia series, written in collaboration by D.E. Barrett and Basil Gray.[6] Although we discussed the whole book together the section on the pre-Mughal period of miniature-painting was written by Douglas Barrett. He points out that, after the sack of Delhi by Timur in 1398, cultural patronage in Northern India passed to three dynasties, the Khaljis of Malwa (1436-1531), the Sultans of Gujarat (1396-1572) and the Sharqis of Jaunpur (1394-1479). He showed that in mid-fifteenth century versions of the Western Indian style of Gujarat which is tolerably well-documented, were prevalent in both Malwa and Jaunpur; but entirely free from Persian influence in both cases. He regarded the *Bustan* of Sa'di in the National Museum, New Delhi, as the work of a foreign Persian painter and therefore irrelevant to his story; but that the India Office Library *Ni'mat-nama* Ms. as revealing evidence for Malwa painting at the beginning of the sixteenth century but implying an earlier native Indian style which is reflected in it. At this point he introduces the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* series and the group associated with it and argues for a strong influence from an early school in Mewar, the then leading state in Rajasthan in the formation of "a new Western Indian style".

Since that book was published, much attention has been given to the so-called Sultanate style in Indian painting and the attempt has been made to build up a picture of a Muslim school of painting from the early fifteenth century onwards as an offshoot from the Timurid and, later, the Turkman schools of Persia.[7] This does not concern us here except that we must reaffirm that the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* pages are free from any direct Persian influence; that the National Museum *Bustan* which was in fact copied in 908 H/1502 and illustrated by forty-four paintings by Hajji Mahmud, appears to be indeed a direct offshoot of the royal Turkman school of Yaq'ub Aq-Qoyunlu at Tabriz after his death in 1490, when many of his artists must have been searching for fresh patrons. The position of the *Ni'mat-nama* as a work of the court of Nasir Shah in Malwa 1500-1510 is secure evidence for the mixed style practised there, reflecting the influence of Shiraz painting of the mid-fifteenth century; but also in many regards, such as architecture, cooking vessels and furniture, an Indian style, but most significantly so in the stance and relation of the figures.[8] We may return to the identification of this influence later. It does not seem to arise from the manuscripts now attributed to a Sultanate school of the fifteenth century. On the Persian side it seems to be parallel with the early Safavid school of Tabriz, though the frequent presence in its miniatures of blue and white porcelain could of course derive as well from its abundant presence in Northern Indian court circles at the time. It is worth noting that it is never found in the *Laur-Chandā* miniatures nor in other examples of this group now generally known as the *kulahdar* group, from the characteristic shape of the headdress worn by men.

In 1963 Dr. Abdullah Chughtai published in Lahore a general survey of "Painting during the Sultanate period (C.E. 712-1575)", in which he gives an able sketch of the background to the composition of the *Chandāyan* by Mulla Da'ud and dates the Lahore series of illustrations 'earlier than the establishment of the Imperial Mughal style'.[9] He illustrates one leaf which he dates in the caption '*ca.* 1540', while giving a date of *ca.* 1500 to the Bharat Kala Bhavan series. He also draws attention to William Archer's correct connection of the *Ni'mat-nama* with the Turkman school of Tabriz, but specifying the *Sleeping Rustam* in the British Museum as a parallel, though this is in fact an early Safavid painting, in a style developed directly from the Court Turkman style of Ya'qub Aq-Qoyunlu.

In early 1964 at the exhibition of manuscripts arranged for the meeting in Delhi of the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists six pages from the Prince of Wales set of *Laur-Chandā* pages were exhibited as of the first half of the sixteenth century and as representing a 'highly advanced pre-Mughal style of painting'.[10] This series was given extended consideration by Khandalavala and Moti Chandra in their "New Documents of Indian Painting" (1969),[11] where no less than 68 of its pages are reproduced. They are described as 'the most refined of pre-Mughal painting', but almost 'static' in their effect. The cool colour scheme is contrasted with hot colour and red grounds in the *kulahdar* group, which is given a wide date span of *ca.* 1525-70, while the Bharat Kala Bhavan set of pages is dated *ca.* 1500 or even late fifteenth century; and the John Rylands manuscript to *ca.* 1550-75, thus allowing priority to the Prince of Wales series as *ca.* 1525. The only firmly dated

[6] Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Treasures of Asia; Indian Painting*, Geneva, 1963 (reprinted 1978)

[7] See especially *Chhavi*-1, 1971, pp. 48-66; Irma L. Fraad and Richard Ettinghausen, "Sultanate Painting in Persian Style, primarily from the first half of the fifteenth century—A preliminary study".

[8] Robert Skelton, "The Ni'mat Nameh : a landmark in Malwa painting", *Marg*, vol. XII(3), 1959

[9] M. Abdulla Chughtai, "Painting during the Sultanate period", Lahore, 1963, pp. 19-23

[10] *Manuscripts from Indian Collections: Descriptive Catalogue, National Museum*, New Delhi, 1964, p. 113

[11] K. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 44-56 and 91-109

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criterion is the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516,[12] which is quite near in style to the Lahore set but this shows a very marked advance on it and also on the *Mahāpurāṇa* of 1540.

One other earlier publication that seems helpful in trying to arrive at an accepted history of the development of a new Western Indian or Rajasthani style is contained in the important study of Malwa Painting by Anand Krishna (dated 1963 but apparently published rather later). His thesis is that the true Malwa style originates only *ca.* 1600 but that it derives from a style which was prevalent in large parts of Western and Central-Northern India in the fifteenth-sixteenth century. This gave birth to several sub-schools, of which one in Gujarat was responsible for a *Hamza-nama* now in Tübingen, and datable *ca.* 1500. Another located in Mewar fathered the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, which is here dated *ca.* 1550-80. Meanwhile the official publication of this manuscript by the National Museum (1967) adheres to a date of *ca.* 1540 and a probable ascription to Mewar, while rejecting Archer's attribution to Mandu of *ca.* 1535-61.

In all this there seems now to be a concensus in grouping together the *kulahdar* school; and *indeed* the connection between the Lahore series and the *Chaurapañchāśikā* set is undeniable, as for instance in a comparison of details in fig. 6, with the Mehta page reproduced on pl. 81 of the *Art of India and Pakistan*, where tree, architecture and bed are identical even to the flowers on the cushions. On the other hand, this *Laur-Chandā* series shows softer forms, less decisive movement and more Islamic influence, not only in their upright shape but also in more arabesque patterns and in the more bulbous domes. They lack the extraordinary élan and vigour of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* but, on the other hand, they also show all the heads in profile and without the extra eye, which features the two have in common. Nearly all the miniatures in the Lahore series are divided into three compartments and in most the poet Da'ud is shown seated in the upper right corner, reciting the poem from a manuscript on a book stand, a feature unknown elsewhere. Landscape may be introduced to one side or even below in the lowest register (fig. 5). Rain when introduced, as here, is rendered by long and short vertical white lines falling from heavy, dark clouds edged in white, thus anticipating the later Rajasthani convention (*Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 88). But the feeling is much more intense than in these. The set seems to date from a period when images and setting, architectural and natural, could be well-matched and well-placed on the page. The free spatial demarcation allows for roofs to be introduced where needed (as in 1947 no. 399(b) and fig. 5) and to allow of much delightful patterning of clothes and furnishing. These same elements are used in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* in a harsher, more assertive rhythm, better-suited to this passionate love poem. The *Laur-Chandā* is a more complex story of the competing claims of love and duty and finally indicating the priority of family life over romance. The difference in style would thus correspond to a difference in theme.

In considering the location and date of the Lahore series, we ought first to take a long fresh look at the other early set of illustrations to this theme, that in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. In his admirable sketch of the background to this rendering of the *Chandāyan*, Rai Krishnadasa dated the six pages in Banaras about 1540,[13] while putting the Lahore set later in the century, with possible provenance in the U.P. The figures are evidently portrayed in the Western Indian Gujarati style of the *Apabhraṁśa* group, with the extra eye depicted and in a simple palette with red background, schematic setting and avoidance of overlap. There is no landscape; but, in one, night is indicated by an all-over sprinkling of stars, which also appear in the spandrels above the low conical roof in two others. One feature which ties this series and the Lahore set together is the schematic arrangement of the *Avadhī* text in a diamond pattern on the reverse. This may of course represent a common source in a manuscript nearer to the date of composition of the poem, supposing that it was illustrated from the beginning. These Gujarati style miniatures clearly belong to the last phase of this school, which I have described as 'one of desiccation'. The Banaras *Laur-Chandā* pages are better than that: they are highly decorative and the economy of means gives force to the expressive hand gestures. But I see no reason why these pages should antedate those in the Lahore set which cannot be derived from them. This supposition leaves us free to date both series to fairly early sixteenth century, say *ca.* 1520, and still to permit of placing the Rylands Library manuscript a generation later *ca.* 1540. My own study of this manuscript would lead me to conclude that it is a court manuscript with free use of gold and silver pigments, including jewellery and the use of elegant decorated boots with crimson patterns on a white ground. Textile patterns all show arabesques in gold on a deep blue ground. There are connections still with the Gujarati school in the architecture and, although the colouring is in general in a low key, there is use of a strong chrome yellow and the domes are striped red or black on a white ground.

[12] Note 10, pls. 13-16 and note 5

[13] Note 4, p. 70

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As to location of the whole *kulahdar* group, I am attracted towards the solution proposed by Anand Krishna in 1963,[14] as noted above. But I do not see the need to put the date of the group as late in the century as he suggests, namely *ca.* 1550-80. Indeed I see the need to place them definitely before the beginning of the Mughal style by the *Hamza-nama* project which I believe was in 1564. Again accepting the attribution of the Tübingen *Hamza-nama* to Gujarat as proposed by Anand Krishna, we can see some connection with the Lahore pages of *Laur-Chandā,* as in the similar representation of horse and harness in that manuscript and fig. 6; thus validating a new Western Indian stylistic development during the first half of the sixteenth century and independent of any Mughal influence and with its only connection with the Shiraz school of Persia through Gujarat. The *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 might then be regarded as a provincial variant on this general style, the Agra region being within the area of its diffusion and under the rule of the Lodi Sikandar until 1517. The John Rylands manuscript might then be placed a generation later *ca.* 1530-40. It seems to me that the Prince of Wales manuscript shows a further softening and increase of flat decorative treatment, so that I would be inclined to date it round the middle of the century, while agreeing that it is a court manuscript.

Of the *Laur-Chandā* pages still in Lahore and reproduced here, fig. 6 was published first by Khandalavala and Chandra (fig. 194)[15] as illustrating an unidentified scene. In the upper register is a Śiva *liṅgaṃ* outside a building in which a man and a woman are seated, perhaps Chandā and Laurak in a temple. In the centre is a rājā seated, while below a warrior returns with the severed head of his enemy, perhaps Mahapatia, enemy of Laurak. His horse is full of vigour. It resembles both in stance and harness a horse in the Tübingen *Hamza-nama,*[16] though this is clearly from a different *atelier* with its marked preference for three-quarter views and avoidance of the full profile. However, the best painted horses in the Lahore series occur in their fig. 188,[17] where they wear caparisons. In this page, now in Chandigarh, the horses in battle array wear tassels below the chin. Now this is an early Safavid fashion, as B.W. Robinson has pointed out, in his study of three miniatures detached from a *Shah-nama* of *ca.* 1504.[18] The particular type of caparison seen in the *Laur-Chandā* page is also confined to the early Safavid period in Iran; though the use of caparisons was well developed there in the fifteenth century, it does not have this form of wide skirt before 1502. Direct Persian influence in this *kulahdar* group is, as already stated, to be excluded; so that we must assume that such characteristics as this must have passed through Gujarat. In fact these caparisons actually appear in the Ahmedabad *Kalpasūtra* of *ca.* 1475[19] and in the 1540 *Mahāpurāṇa* from Palam.[20]

The peacock and flowering tree outside the building above in fig. 6 are in a style identical with that in the Mehta *Chaurapañchāśikā.* In the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Prince of Wales Museum the same conventions have been further developed in a decorative manner.

Fig. 7 shows the making of cakes *(roṭīs);* ovens are represented below, bottom left, and mid-right side. The girls' dresses are particularly clearly depicted in this scene, with flowers in their hair and transparent *oṛhnīs.* The finished cakes in bowls are above on the left and below on the right. A looped up curtain near the top on the right shows an arabesque floral design. This page is unusual in being undivided.

Figs. 8 and 9 are clearly similar compositions; both probably represent in their lowest registers scenes from the interview of Raja Rāi Rūpchand with the Bājīr, or wandering *yogī* who chants to him of the beauty of Chandā. Unfortunately both pages are severely damaged, especially round the *yogī* figure. In fig. 8 the rājā is seated on a low throne under a state umbrella with a cushion behind his shoulders; and in both a *chaurī* bearer also has slung on his left arm a large fan. In the central register in each case are two girls, perhaps representing Chandā hearing of the love for her of Laurak. The bed in the inner room to the left is provided with two pillows. The girls in fig. 8 are out of doors with cloud in the right upper corner. In the upper sections there are differences in the architecture between the two pages.

Fig. 10: In the lowest register two lovers are embracing; presumably Laurak and Chandā; on the left a girl is preparing a bed. In the middle register two ladies converse, while an inner bedchamber on the left shows an empty bed with two pillows. In the upper

[14] Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting,* Banaras, 1963, p. 9
[15] Note 10, fig. 194 and p. 55. I cannot agree with the authors that the series 'cannot be designated as notable works of art'.
[16] Note 14, pl. 2
[17] Note 10, fig. 188
[18] B.W. Robinson, "Origin and Date of three famous Shah-nameh illustrations", *Ars Orientalis,* I, 1954, pp. 105-112
[19] Note 10, fig. 52
[20] Note 10, fig. 147

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register an unusual feature on the left is a pavilion facing onto a triangular pond.[21] Another curious architectural feature is the bracketted and domed cupboard or window in the lower register.

Fig. 5 : A lady, no doubt Chandā, overcome with her longing for her lover, is attended by two girls who sprinkle her head with cool rose water. Below a stormy landscape resembles that in the *Gita-Govinda* in Bombay already cited under fig. 6,[22] but is here stronger. The saucer dome resembles those in the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. A *Śiva pūjā* (Rāgiṇī Bhairavī) in the Victoria and Albert Museum is clearly related both in architecture and in the girls' costumes.[23]

Note: Please also refer to figs. 611-612 for comparative study: these are additional leaves from the same manuscript now in Govt. Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

[21] For a clearer view of these features see Lahore Museum B, *Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 82

[22] Note 6, p. 71.

[23] W. Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, 1958, pl. 3; there attributed to Mandu, *ca.* 1550

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KRISHNA DEVA

Gupta Rāmāyaṇa Panels from Nachnā

Nachnā was an important centre of art and architecture during the Gupta and Pratīhāra times. The local Pārvatī temple is a landmark in the evolution of the Gupta building art. It is notable for its *sāndhāra* plan combining a *maṇḍapa* with a gallery for circumambulation, both punctuated by fine sculptural reliefs, its prominent *jagatī* simulating the Kailāśa mountain with rock-formations and *grottos,* harbouring wild birds and beasts, and its pioneering attempt at mounting a *śikhara* in the form of a flat-roofed upper chamber which in its bareness contrasts sharply with the sanctum cella having an exquisitely ornate doorframe. The Chaturmukha Mahādeva temple, standing close to the Pārvatī temple, is also an extremely interesting structure of the Pratīhāra art. Though built and assembled during the ninth century, this structure is a veritable museum of significant earlier pieces. The deity enshrined in the temple, the Chaturmukha Śiva-liṅga, is an art-work of *ca.* 600 A.D., while the doorframe of its sanctum and all the three latticed windows fitted into its *bhadra* projections are specimens of the Gupta art of the fifth century, carved with the classical motifs of scrolls, *gaṇas* and river-goddesses within a T-shaped format.

Besides these standing temples, the ancient ruins at Nachnā, lying loose or studded into later structures, extend over an area of about two square miles and comprise numerous Gupta architectural pieces like doorframes, windows and pillars and scores of Gupta sculptures including images of Vishṇu, Balarāma, Hayagrīva and Sūrya and more than a dozen figures of Śiva-gaṇas, besides those of Naṭeśa, Śiva, Śiva-Pārvatī, Chaturmukha Śiva-liṅga, Gaṇeśa, Chāmuṇḍā, Mahishāsuramardinī, *vidyādharas, gandharvas, pratīhāras* and a Nava-graha panel. Most of the architectural pieces have been published by Walter Spink,[1] while some of the sculptures were published by V. S. Agrawala.[2] These *disjecta membra* indicate the existence at Nachnā of about half a dozen other Gupta shrines dedicated principally to Śaiva and Vaishṇava worship. The representation on the lintels of the cult figures of Sūrya in one instance, of Varāha and Narasiṁha in another instance and of Gajalakshmī in two instances clearly attests the dedication of the respective shrines to the solar and Vaishṇava deities. This is also supported by the happy find at Nachnā of half a dozen loose *Rāmāyaṇa* panels of the true classical vintage.

Like most other loose sculptures, the *Rāmāyaṇa* panels are also placed in the sculpture shed at the site. The material of these panels is buff sandstone of which the local temples and their sculptures are made. These also share the size and the style and technique of execution with the carved panels in the Pārvatī temple. There is, thus, no doubt that the *Rāmāyaṇa* friezes once adorned some local Vaishṇava temple during the Gupta age. Similar *Rāmāyaṇa* friezes are well known from the Gupta temple at Deogarh and comparable panels from that temple have been discussed in the sequel. *Rāmāyaṇa* panels are also reported in terracotta from the standing Gupta temple at Bhītargāon and the ruined one at Bilsad, District Etah, but these have not so far been published.

Only three Gupta terracotta panels out of a large number recovered from the excavations at Śrāvastī have been identified as illustrating stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa,*[3] of these only two have been published.[3] One of the published panels from Śrāvastī depicts a vigorous fight between Hanūmān and a Rākshasa in the powerful classical idiom of Bhītargāon, characterised by emphatic articulation. The coeval terracotta panel from Chausā in Bihar, discussed in the sequel, has a proclivity for crowding which attains further development in the closely packed and much warmer compositions of the stucco reliefs of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Aphsaḍ, dating from the seventh century A.D.[4] Unlike the Aphsaḍ stuccos which narrate the *Rāmāyaṇa* legend in a running sequence from Rāma's crossing the Gaṅgā at Śṛiṅgavera-

[1] Walter Spink, "A Temple with Four Uchchhakalpa (?) Doorways at Nachna-Kuthara", *Chhavi,* Banaras, 1971, pp. 161-72, figs. 317-34

[2] V. S. Agrawala, "A Survey of Gupta Art and Some Sculptures from Nachna-Kuthara and Khoh", *Lalit Kala,* no. 9, pp. 16-26, pls. VII-VIII

[3] J. Ph. Vogel, "Excavations at Sahet Mahet", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1907-08, pp. 96, 104-106, pl. XXVII

[4] B. K. Sinha, "*Representation of Ramayanic Scenes in an Old Temple at Aphsad*", Journal of Bihar Research Society, vol. LIV, 1968, pp. 216-218

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pura to the meeting with Bharata at Chitrakūṭa, the Nachnā sculptures illustrate and highlight only select episodes of the legend, starting with the disfiguring of Śūrpaṇakhā to the first encounter of Hanūmān with Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā.

The six panels from Nachnā are discussed below seriatim. It may be stated here that two of them were already noticed and published by R. C. Agrawala[5] and these have also been illustrated and included for discussion in the present paper.

Panel 1 (fig. 11): The scene is laid in the hillforest of Pañchavaṭī, full of flowering trees, where Rāma and Sītā are seated, in a relaxed mood, conversing with each other. Śūrpaṇakhā as a handsome maiden proposes *amours* to Lakshmaṇa who stands close by with his ears closed with palms in remonstrance. On Śūrpaṇakhā persisting in her *amorous* advances, Lakshmaṇa is seen walking away in disgust. The figures in the sculptured panel represent classical ideals of male and female beauty and wear minimum jewellery including an *ekāvalī*, and are draped in a lower garment and a scarf with a wet effect which emphasize the contours of their supple shapely frames. Sītā appears as a veritable paragon of beauty with her ovoid face having chiselled features and thick lower lips, the whole framed by a striking coiffure showing curly cascades of hair in front and a thick braided *dhammilla* behind. Compared to Sītā, Śūrpaṇakhā has a daintier and slighter build with a taller hair-do and a markedly coquettish stance. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa with their oval faces, crowned by matted locks of two tiers and broad chests, have lithe figures of great dignity and power (buff sandstone. 58 cm. long × 33 cm. high).

According to the Critical Edition of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*,[6] Śūrpaṇakhā appeared suddenly at Pañchavaṭī, while Rāma and Sītā were seated comfortably conversing with each other after a bath in the Godāvarī. Śūrpaṇakhā was a hideous demoness with exaggerated idea of her own looks who became enamoured of Rāma at first sight. Referring to herself as a rare beauty and to Sītā as ugly, deformed and quite unworthy of him, she proposed to Rāma to take her as his wife. Sarcastically, Rāma praised her looks and on the plea that he already had his wife with him and that she was too handsome to have to put up with a co-wife, Rāma suggested to Śūrpaṇakhā to approach Lakshmaṇa who had no wife, was, moreover, younger in age and handsome and an ideal match to her in all respects. Śūrpaṇakhā then moved on to and wooed Lakshmaṇa, who too played with the silly credulous demoness and put her off saying that he was a mere slave of Rāma with no free will of his own and that she was too beautiful and noble to be wedded to a mere slave and that she deserved to be the younger and the favourite wife of Rāma. Impelled by demonic instinct, Śūrpaṇakhā then pounced on Sītā whereupon Rāma asked Lakshmaṇa to disfigure her at once.

The Nachnā sculpture differs from the above cited text of Vālmīki in depicting Śūrpaṇakhā not as an ugly demoness but a pretty maiden. Further, Lakshmaṇa is seen here as a high-strung youth who closes his ears rather than enjoys listening to the silly advances of Śūrpaṇakhā and walks away from the scene in utter disgust. While Lakshmaṇa of the Critical Edition of Vālmīki's text is endowed with a sense of humour and continues to befool and play, like Rāma, with the credulous demoness, Lakshmaṇa of the Nachnā sculpture is a serious-minded youth who would brook no nonsense, whatsoever. Obviously, the present sculpture follows a variant text and tradition. According to the Gauḍīya or the North-eastern recension[7] of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Śūrpaṇakhā had assumed a highly attractive appearance before approaching Rāma, in order to win Rāma's love. Śūrpaṇakhā was overwhelmed with passion at the very first sight of Rāma and resolved to entice him by appearing as a bewitching beauty. The relevant variant text[8] reads :

asyāhaṃ ślāghyarūpasya Rāmasyādbhutakarmaṇaḥ /
kāmamutpādayishyāmi rūpeṇānyena kāminī //
asya prakṛiti-kalyāṇī bhāryā Sīteti viśrutā /
rūpayauvanasampannā Śrīrivāmaravarṇinī //
tāṃ vihāya yathā hyesha māmikāṃ rūpasampadaṃ /
dṛishṭvā māmeva bhajate tathā kartumahaṃ yate //

x x x

sā tvahaṃ Śrīrivākāśānmāyayā patitā bhuvi /
Rāmamunmādayishyāmi Śarmishṭhā Nahushaṃ yathā //

The actual scene of disfiguring Śūrpaṇakhā is depicted on a Deogarh panel.[9] The modelling, body form, and dress and ornaments, of the figures on the Deogarh panel together with its sylvan background, agree closely with our sculpture. The only difference is that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are shown at Deogarh wearing the *channavīra* and well equipped with arms (Rāma carries the bow and the quiver, full of arrows, and

[5] R. C. Agrawala, *"East and West"*, 1967, pp. 279-80, figs. 14-16
[6] *The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Critical Edition*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960-1975, III, 16 and 17
[7] Kamil Bulcke, *Rāmakathā*, Allahabad, 1962, 2nd edition, p. 420
[8] *op. cit.*, foot-note below III, 16, 10
[9] *op. cit.*, XVII (a)

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Lakshmaṇa actually wields the sword), while on our sculpture the brothers appear quite relaxed after a bath and have neither the *channavīra* nor arms.

Panel 2 (fig. 12): The scene is laid in the Daṇḍaka forest with trees in blossoms in a mountain fastness. Rāvaṇa appears as a mendicant wearing matted locks, carrying in his right hand a begging bowl and in the left a staff, placed on his shoulder with a *kamaṇḍalu*, suspended from it. He is shown begging alms and drawing close to Sītā as she advances holding in her hands a bowl of victuals. Sītā is as comely as in the previous panel but is depicted here in a more attractive and dramatic pose. She steps forward with her offering but has to lean backwards as the audacious mendicant draws close to her extending the begging bowl towards her. It is a beautiful composition with blossoms bursting out of bare rocks on either side. We see a flowering *aśoka* tree on the left and a *nāgakesara* tree on the right, with its blooming branch between Sītā and the "mendicant" (buff sandstone. 58 cm. long × 33 cm. high).

The scene follows *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[10] which narrates how Rāvaṇa contrives to send away Rāma and Lakshmaṇa so as to find Sītā all alone and how he approaches her in the garb of a mendicant wearing saffron cloth and matted locks and placing a stick and *kamaṇḍalu* on his left shoulder.

No parallel representation is so far known in either terracotta or stone.

Panel 3 (fig. 13): Scene in the Pampā forest. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, wearing matted locks and the *channavīra*, are seated on rock seats under flowering *aśoka* trees. Rāma's right hand is placed on his chest in the *vitarkamudrā* (exposition pose). Hanūmān squats on the ground before the brothers with hands folded. A pair of monkeys stand behind Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (buff sandstone. 58 cm. long × 33 cm. high).

According to *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[11] Sugrīva, while leading the wretched life of a fugitive on the Ṛishyamūka hill in constant terror of his tyrant brother Vāli, felt serious misgivings when he sighted two human strangers—Rāma and Lakshmaṇa—in the unfrequented Pampā forest. He sent his wise and trusted minister, Hanūmān, to scout who they were and what had brought them to the forest. Hanūmān undertook the delicate mission assuming the garb of a mendicant and after satisfying himself regarding the bonafides of the two brothers and the purpose of their visit, revealed his own identity and concluded the eventful treaty of mutual help and friendship between Rāma and Sugrīva, around which the entire later story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* revolves. The high contracting parties agreed that Rāma was to rid Sugrīva of the tyranny of Vāli and Sugrīva was to place all his forces and resources for tracing and recovering Sītā and to punish the guilty.

This is a faithful representation of Vālmīki's narration and represents the stage when Hanūmān reveals his identity and concludes his mission.

Panel 4 (fig. 14): The scene is laid in the hills of Kishkindhā. The two monkey brothers Vāli and Sugrīva are engaged in a mortal duel hurling rocks at one another. The puzzled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, dressed as warriors, wearing *channavīra* and carrying bow, stand at one end. The monkey brothers are so alike that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are not able to distinguish one from the other. The monkey chiefs are represented as powerful creatures fighting vigorously. Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are seen bending in thoughtful hesitancy (buff sandstone. 58 cm. long × 33 cm. high).

Panel 5 (fig. 15): The same figures recur in the same setting with minor modifications. The monkey brothers are likewise engaged in pelting one another, but one of them (Sugrīva) is distinguished by a garland. While Lakshmaṇa stands in a similar position, Rāma is seen taking aim and shooting an arrow at Vāli. This is the weakest panel and is obviously work of an inferior artist who failed to impart the vigour and tension demanded by the figures (buff sandstone. 58 cm. long × 33 cm. high).

The above two synoptic panels faithfully represent the fight of Vāli and Sugrīva as narrated in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.[12] The two monkey brothers were so identical in appearance that Rāma, not being able to distinguish one from the other, decided not to shoot, lest he might unwittingly kill his friend and protegé, Sugrīva. In the duel, Sugrīva received a bad thrashing from Vāli and felt considerably aggrieved at Rāma's inaction until its real reason was brought home to him. Rāma then asked Lakshmaṇa to prepare a special garland which Sugrīva was to wear as a distinguishing mark. Thus equipped and assured Sugrīva repeated his challenge for a duel. Rāma had now unhesitatingly shot Vāli dead.

A parallel sculpture, executed more artistically, is known from Deogarh[13] where Sugrīva is shown being garlanded by Lakshmaṇa. The narration is a synoptic one and the garland is first seen in the hands of Lakshmaṇa and then round the neck of Sugrīva who is

[10] M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Delhi, 1952, pl. III, 44
[11] *op. cit.*, IV, 2-4
[12] *op. cit.*, IV, 12 and 16
[13] M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, pl. XVII(b)

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shown with a human body and a monkey head, wearing a crown and ornaments comprising *kuṇḍalas, ekāvalī,* wristlets and anklets, and a transparent lower garment. Lakshmaṇa is followed by Rāma and the two brothers wear two tiered matted locks and the *channavīra* and carry the bow.

We find from Deogarh[14] a similar but fragmentary representation of a monkey chief wearing an identical crown and garland. Though identified by Madho Sarup Vats as Hanūmān carrying hill with the *saṅjīvanī* herb, it is not unlikely to be a duplicate of our panel 5 depicting Sugrīva fighting the last duel with Vāli.

It is important to note that Nachnā is the only Gupta site which represents the monkey chiefs Vāli and Sugrīva in fully simian form, devoid of any dress or ornaments or anything else distinguishing them from the common monkeys or their monkey vassals. This is in sharp contrast with their sculptural depiction on other Gupta sites like Deogarh, Varanasi and Śṛiṅgaverapura (to be discussed in the sequel), where they are invariably shown with human body and monkey head, wearing crown and other jewellery. A third panel representing intoxicated Sugrīva from Deogarh[15] is even more significant. Here Sugrīva and another monkey chief are shown in part human and part simian form, as on other Deogarh sculptures, but Sugrīva's queen is depicted in fully human form.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan has a most expressive Gupta sculpture from Varanasi[16] depicting Rāma and Lakshmaṇa seated in a conference with Sugrīva and Hanūmān for devising plans for tracing Sītā, with the monkey army squatting below. Rāma expresses his cordial feelings for Sugrīva by touching his shoulder. While Rāma and Lakshmaṇa wear the *channavīra* and carry the bow and quiver, Sugrīva has the same luxurious appearance as on the Deogarh panels, though Hanūmān is depicted in a stark simian form.

The sculpture from Śṛiṅgaverapura[17] also shows a large group including Sugrīva and another monkey dignitary (either Hanūmān or Aṅgada), represented likewise with a crown, standing by the side of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa who don the *channavīra* and carry the bow and quiver. Two smaller monkeys are represented below Sugrīva and his companion.

Lastly, we may notice a fragmentary terracotta Gupta panel from Chausā[18] showing a closely packed group with seated Rāma (head broken) wearing the *channavīra,* attended by Lakshmaṇa wearing matted locks and carrying bow and quiver, Sugrīva with his crowned monkey head, Vibhīshaṇa with his tiara, Hanūmān in a stark simian form, Aṅgada too in a simian form but wearing a coronet and a squatting monkey pose. This panel, indeed, shares its expressive and sparkling plastic quality with Bhītargāon.

Panel 6 (fig. 16): Rāvaṇa as a king possessing handsome appearance and wearing *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* is proudly seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* in his palace and veritably resembles Indra. In the Aśoka garden just outside the palace, Hanūmān, tied up, is being dragged by dwarfish Rākshasas, led by Indrajit, to the presence of Rāvaṇa. The composition of the panel, with its scenic and architectural setting and the figures, is steeped in the classical imagery. The throne-chamber, wherein Rāvaṇa is seated, is a simple pavilion, which, viewed frontally, looks like a niche framed by a pair of Gupta pillars supporting a *kapota-pālikā* and a *paṭṭikā* (actually the edge-profile of roof-slab), crowned by a large *chandra-śālā,* flanked by *āmalakas.* The pavilion is of the typical Gupta form resembling those seen on the doorframe of the Deogarh temple.[19] Among the figures, Rāvaṇa with his *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* looks like Yama from Bhumarā, while the Rākshasas are modelled after the dwarf Śiva-gaṇas (also from Bhumarā), led by Indrajit whose princely status is indicated by a coronet (buff sandstone. 69 cm. long × 43 cm. high).

According to *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*[20] Hanūmān created a havoc by destroying the beautiful pleasure-garden of Rāvaṇa's palace, known as the Aśoka garden, save the spot where Sītā was lodged. When the report reached Rāvaṇa he flew in rage and sent for capturing and punishing Hanūmān, first his entire army of the *kiṅkaras* followed successively by the great warrior Jambumāli, the seven brave sons of his ministers, the five leading commanders of the Rākshasa army and finally his heroic son Aksha, supported by their respective troops. When Rāvaṇa received the report of the annihilation of all of them, he grew both angry and anxious and urged his son Indrajit, who was famed for bravery and invincibility in battle, to use his matchless martial skill and prowess to capture Hanūmān. In obedience to his father's commands, Indrajit launched heavy attacks on Hanūmān with conventional weapons but when these

[14] M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, pl. XVII(e)
[15] *ibid.*, pl. XVII(c)
[16] *Chhavi*, Banaras, 1971, p. 175, fig. 340
[17] P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona, 1970, p. 97, pl. LXXIX, no. 221
[18] P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, pl. XLVIII
[19] M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, pl. VIII(b)
[20] *op. cit.*, V, 46-47

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weapons failed to subdue Hanūmān he struck him with the charmed missile granted to him by Brahmā. Hanūmān could not and would not resist the power of the Brahmāstra which ensnared and completely crippled him. Not satisfied with Hanūmān having been bound with the Brahmāstra, the Rākshasas also tied him up with common ropes which indeed nullified the effect of the charmed missile and released Hanūmān from its magical grip. Though freed from the grip of the Brahmāstra, Hanūmān acted as though he was still ensnared by it and wilfully allowed himself to be dragged by the Rākshasas, led by Indrajit, to the presence of Rāvaṇa. In fact, Hanūmān wished to be taken to Rāvaṇa since he was eager to meet and speak to him. When Hanūmān faced Rāvaṇa, he was struck by his extraordinary personal appearance and bearing and the dignity and majesty of his court, matching that of Indra. Our sculpture is a faithful representation of Hanūmān's encounter with the Rākshasa chief, on beholding whom Hanūmān was amazed :

bhrājamānaṃ tato dṛishṭvā Hanūmānrākshaseśvaraṃ /
manasā chintayāmāsa tejasā tasya mohitaḥ //
aho rūpamaho dhairyamaho sattvamaho dyutiḥ /
aho rākshasarājasya sarvalakshaṇayuktatā //
yadyadharmo na balavānsyādayaṃ rākshaseśvaraḥ /
syādayaṃ suralokasya sa-Śakrasyāpi rakshitā // V.47.16-18

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DOUGLAS BARRETT

The "Chidaṃbaraṃ" Naṭarāja

There are three general types of South Indian bronze Naṭarāja in *ānanda-tāṇḍava* distinguishable mainly by the treatment of the hair. Though my main interest here is in what I shall call the Third or "Chidaṃbaraṃ" Type, it is necessary to recapitulate, with some additions, what I[1] have recently suggested regarding the other two.

In Type I, there are no flying locks or waist-sash, a fluttering shoulder cloth being the only indication of the movement which preceded the arrested pose held by the figure. The hair is dressed, with no *Konnai* leaves, as a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with fairly short curls lying close set on the upper part of the shoulders. A separate *śiraśchakra* is fixed to the back of the head by a lug. This is the rarest type and the Naṭarāja at Taṇḍantottaṃ[2] seems to be the only image known from the Early Choḷa Period (A.D. 866-1014). The occasional 'late' image is found: a well-known example is at Vellanur.[3] Though the separate *prabhā* at Taṇḍantottaṃ no longer exists and that at Vellanur is a later replacement, it may perhaps be assumed that the goddess Gaṅgā was not represented.

In Type II, the outward streaming locks and the flying waist-sash are characteristic and conspicuous features to show the movement which preceded the arrested pose. This is the most familiar type and, as far as the locks are concerned, there are six methods to achieve this effect.

A. The locks, drawn freely and naturally from the back of the head, flow outward in a great 'cape' of hair which also covers back and shoulders. The finest examples of this treatment are the Naṭarājas at Vedāraṇyaṃ and Tiruppugalur,[4] but less elaborate versions are found at Konerirājapuraṃ, Tirunaraiyur and Nalur—Tirumeyjnanaṃ.[5] On the back of the head the hair is controlled by a large embossed quatrefoil jewel. All seem to belong to the first half of the Third Phase (A.D. 970-1014) of the Early Choḷa Period. The goddess Gaṅgā is not represented.

B. The locks, drawn freely and naturally from the back of the head, flow outward in two great 'wings' but do not cover the back nor are there any locks on the shoulders. The Naṭarāja at Vṛiddhāchalaṃ[6] dated A.D. 981 is the key piece in this group and probably the earliest. Other examples are the images from Semaṅgalaṃ[7] an unpublished piece in the Norton Simon Museum of Art and the Śivapuraṃ Naṭarāja[8] (fig. 319). A further important example with consort is at Śrimushṇaṃ,[9] where the two 'wings', as on the Śivapuraṃ Naṭarāja and the piece in the Norton Simon Museum of Art, have broken away and been refixed more or less crudely so as to obscure at least on the Śivapuraṃ Naṭarāja, the original method of attachment. This type also belongs to the Third Phase (A.D. 970-1014) of the Early Choḷa Period and may not survive it unless one believes the celebrated Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu[10] bronze to be later than the reign of Rājarāja I: here the union of the missing 'wings' is beautifully concealed by a large pendent flower. Though the goddess Gaṅgā is not represented on the Semaṅgalaṃ and Śivapuraṃ bronzes, she is present on the *prabhā* at Śrimushṇaṃ and in the locks close to the head at Vṛiddhāchalaṃ (with left hand uplifted) and on the piece in the Norton Simon Museum of Art (in *añjali mudrā*).

C. This type follows Type II B except that curled

[1] D. Barrett, *The Dancing Śiva in Early South Indian Art*, The British Academy, London, 1976
[2] R. Nagaswamy, *"Some Adivallan and other Bronzes of the Early Choḷa Period"*, *Lalit Kala*, no. 10, October 1961, figs. 1 and 4
[3] C. Sivaramamurti, *Naṭarāja in Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, fig. 116 (the *prabhā* is not shown).
[4] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1976, pls. VIII and IX, and pl. VII
[5] *ibid.*, pls. IV-VI and pls. X-XI
[6] *ibid.*, pls. II-III
[7] P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes of South India*, Madras, 1963, figs. 157-58
[8] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1976, pls. XIV-XV
[9] C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, 1974, fig. 113
[10] P. R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, 1963, figs. 164-5

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locks drawn from under the 'wings' lie quite long and spaced over the shoulders. The most successful example of this treatment is probably at Tiruppalanaṃ,[11] but it is found also at Achchalpuraṃ[12] and on the great Naṭarāja in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjavur, and possibly at Tiruneduṅgalaṃ,[13] the back of which I have been unable to study. This group belongs to the second half of the Third Phase (A.D. 970-1014) of the Early Choḷa Period. On every piece the goddess Gaṅgā is represented on the *prabhā*. This Type but with Gaṅgā in the locks was attempted, rarely, in the Late Choḷa Period: the image from Kaṅkoduttavanittaṃ in the Government Museum, Madras, is a large and handsome example.

D. On this type, though an attempt may or may not be made to show the locks as flowing naturally from the back of the head, the union of the 'wings' is held or concealed by some device other than a separate *Śiraśchakra* fixed to the back of the head by a lug. At Tirukkaravasal,[14] though the 'wings' are drawn directly from the back of the head, they are, so to speak, tied by a three-dimensional knotted bow. There are no locks on the shoulders and no goddess Gaṅgā. At Tiruvedaigudi, though there is no attempt to show the flying locks as drawn from the head, the two 'wings' are keyed by a three-dimensional horizontally knotted bow. Fairly long locks lie spaced on the shoulders, but there is no goddess Gaṅgā. On the Naṭarāja from Velankanni[15] the attachment of the 'wings' is fairly effectively contrived by allowing their two ends to be welded close together on the back of the head to form a roughly circular single unit. There is no goddess Gaṅgā. Much more successful is the method employed on the very interesting bronze from Kunniyur now in the Government Museum, Madras. Here, though the 'wings' are missing, it can be seen that they formed a single unit with an embossed *Śiraśchakra* welded direct to the back of the head : there is no lug nor does the *Śiraśchakra* stand away from the head. These pieces also belong to the Third Phase (A.D. 970-1014) of the Early Choḷa Period, when the device of the knotted bow was used on other forms of Śiva, such as the *Kirāta*[16] at Rādhāsiṃhapuraṃ, the Tripurāntaka at Vellanur,[17] and the *Chaṇḍikeśvara* from Śemaṅgalaṃ;[18] and on the Rājagopāla at Vālārpuraṃ.[19] A late survival of the Kunniyur 'embossed' *Śiraśchakra* is found on the Kottangudi Naṭarāja now in the Government Museum, Madras.

E. In this type, there is no attempt to show the 'wings' as drawn from the back of the head. The separate units are either welded to the back of the head, the union being concealed or partially concealed by a separate *Śiraśchakra,* or fixed to the same lug which carries the separate *Śiraśchakra.* Short close set locks generally lie on the neck; occasionally, long and spaced, they reach to the shoulders. The goddess Gaṅgā is usually present in the flying locks, sometimes very close to or partially on the *prabhā* but never wholly and distinctly so as in Type II B and C. The date of the introduction of the separate *Śiraśchakra* on the Type II Naṭarāja is difficult to fix with any precision. That it does not appear in the Early Choḷa Period, except in the single instance, Taṇḍantottaṃ, of Type I, one may assert with some confidence. The evidence of the 'embossed' *Śiraśchakra* on the Kunniyur image, however, does suggest that the device of the separate *Śiraśchakra* was introduced fairly soon after the Early Choḷa Period. For the present we must await the discovery of closely datable images of the Naṭarāja covering the eleventh century A.D. after the death of Rājarāja I. Once adopted the separate *Śiraśchakra* became perhaps the most wider popular method of fixing and concealing the union of the 'wings'.

F. This type follows Type II E except that the two 'wings' are now welded to the outer curves

[11] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1976, pls. XII-XIII
[12] *ibid.*, pl. XVII
[13] S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Middle Choḷa Temples*, Faridabad 1975, pl. 84 (the flying waist-sash has broken away).
[14] *ibid.*, pl. 78
[15] P. R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, 1963, figs. 117-8
[16] *ibid.*, fig. 136
[17] D. Barrett, *Early Choḷa Bronzes*, Bombay, 1965, pls. 67-8
[18] P. R. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, 1963, figs. 160-1
[19] *ibid.*, figs. 173-74

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of the separate *Śiraśchakra* itself. Again the locks on the neck are usually short and close set but instances of fairly long and spaced locks do appear. The goddess Gaṅgā is usually present in the flying locks. Perhaps the only factual evidence for the introduction of this type is the Naṭarāja[20] under worship at Melapperumballam, if one believes that it is the image mentioned in the inscription (222 of 1925) of the year 6 of Vikrama Choḷa (A.D. 1118-1135).

We now come to Type III, the main subject of this paper. In this type, which has changed little save in detail since its inception, the movement which preceded the arrested pose is, as in Type II, suggested by fluttering waist-sash and shoulder-cloth. The great 'wings' of flying locks, perhaps the most imaginative element of the Type II image, are not, however, featured. Instead, the hair, treated wholly naturalistically, is drawn straight back from the forehead in tight and close set braids to lie spaced over the back and shoulders. The only indication of residual movement are the asymmetrical disposition of the braids on the back and the gentle undulation of one to four fairly short braids on or above the shoulders. The separate *Śiraśchakra* is never worn. Sivaramamurti,[21] in his magisterial work on the Naṭarāja, calls this the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type, presumably in deference to the main image now under worship in the Naṭarāja temple at Chidaṃbaraṃ. I will retain the epithet, at the same time conceding that the image now under worship, though of Type III, is, to judge from available information, not earlier than the thirteenth century A.D.; and secondly, that the one piece of evidence which might be expected to establish the type of the image in the early eleventh century A.D. the paintings in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjavur showing the Naṭarāja in the Kanakasabhā—seems to depict an image closer to Type II than Type III, with very long locks flying high above the shoulders.

The earliest exemplar of Type III is the Naṭarāja at Vadakkalattur (figs. 17 and 18). It will be seen that although some braids have broken away above the right shoulder, two only would have been visible above each shoulder. It is hardly likely that the goddess Gaṅgā was shown above the right shoulder. Other interesting details of this type, which were to persist, are already present. The most important and persistent is the linked chain worn around the hips, a form of decoration rarely, if ever, found on the Type II Naṭarāja. No jewellery, other than wristlets, is worn on the arms, whereas even on the earliest of the Type II images an elbow-band is tied with a bow. Also, the waist-sash is knotted above the belly without the loop projecting on the right side which is such a beautiful feature of most of the Third Phase images of Type II.

R. Nagaswamy has dated the Vadakkattur bronze, a masterpiece in excellent condition[22] except for some recutting about the eyes, to the middle or second half of the ninth century A.D. One may be willing to concede that it is earlier than the great Third Phase images of Type II A. Again, it may well be that it is the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type of Naṭarāja and not Type I or Type II that is represented on the stone miniature sculptures at Tiruchchenampundi of about A.D. 920 (or earlier, as some scholars believe), Punjai of about A.D. 940, Tiruvadutturai of A.D. 945 and Tiruverumbur of A.D. 952. (Tiruverumbur does seem to have the great 'wings' of hair, but admittedly these miniatures are blurred and difficult to read). Nevertheless, having regard to the form of the *prabhā*, the representation of the fire burning in the wide shallow bowl, the handling of shoulder-cloth and waist-sash, indeed the style as a whole, one has only to add the 'cape' of hair to the Vadakkalattur image to come close to one of the less elaborate masterpieces of Type II A, in particular, Nalur-Tirumeyjñānaṃ. It may well seem that the achievement of the *ateliers* patronised by Sembiyan Mahādevī at the beginning and during the first half of the Third Phase was to convert the quieter "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type image into a Naṭarāja of greater energy and tension by featuring the flying locks and by a wider and more powerful extension of the upper arms. In other words, the search for a Type II bronze Naṭarāja earlier than about A.D. 970 may be illusory: the search should be for other images of the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type. Here the small Naṭarāja[23] in the British Museum is perhaps relevant (fig. 19). It is in *ānanda-tāṇḍava* but with the raised knee thrust forward rather than to the side—a position not in itself "archaic" for it is found in the Third Phase on such images as Tiruppalanaṃ. The hair is treated as on the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type but with the curled tip of a single braid visible above each shoulder. On the back of the head is a large incised jewel, as worn by the great images of Type II A. Other features, such as the treatment of the waist-sash and the *Apasmāra* facing to the front seem to connect it with the images at Nallur and Kilakkadu and the one said to come from

[20] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1965, pls. 59-60
[21] C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, 1974
[22] The cobra, missing from the lower right arm, was presumably also attached to the small residual lug on the *prabhā*.
[23] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1976, pp. 25-27

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Kuraṃ, which are not in *ānanda-tāṇḍava*. Several scholars date these images to the second half of the ninth century A.D., considering the "Kuraṃ" bronze to represent the metropolitan Pallava style and the Nallur and Kilakkadu bronzes to represent a version of that style in Choḷa-maṇḍalaṃ. I would not like to speculate as to the provenance of the British Museum piece but an early tenth century A.D. date would perhaps find general acceptance. It would then have a claim to be considered the earliest known bronze Naṭarāja in *ānanda-tāṇḍava* and, as a "primitive" of the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type, a precursor of the Vadakkalattur image. If this view is acceptable, it would be fair to date the Vadakkalattur image to about A.D. 940 to 950 at the beginning of the Second Phase (A.D. 940-970), the possibility remaining that it is closer still to the earliest masterpieces of the Third Phase. In any case, if the possibility exists that the Type II A masterpieces are based on and an extension of the Type III Naṭarāja, represented at the moment by the single example of Vadakkalattur, the epithet "Chidaṃbaraṃ" for Type III may have some historical validity: the image in the Naṭarāja temple, so much venerated and patronised by Parāntaka I and his father, may have been of this type and these have received its fully canonical form.

Unlike Type II, the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type is as yet poorly represented in the Third Phase. The best known candidate is the Naṭarāja at Punjai (fig. 20). Though I[24] accepted the piece and its consort in my earlier brief reference to it, I considered that the treatment of the "meagre *jaṭās*" was poorly conceived. I misinterpreted its status, thinking it to be an unsuccessful attempt to achieve the rich effect of the early Type II Naṭarājas. This magnificent bronze is clearly of the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type and continues the tradition of Vadakkalattur. There is, however, one interesting and perhaps unique deviation from the type. At the back the hair is parted into two groups of four tight braids which, held by flower disks, appear above either shoulder. There are no braids spread on the back, but at the parting is suspended an embossed jewelled pendant reaching to the nape of the neck. The treatment is, so to speak, a "Chidaṃbaraṃ" version of Type II B, especially of Vṛiddhā-chalaṃ. The two top braids form oval loops which contain a cobra on the god's left and the goddess Gaṅgā in *añjali mudrā* on his right. The linked chain is worn around the hips, the waist-sash is knotted above the belly and no ornaments are worn on the arms other than the single wristlets. Further study of the bronze has convinced me that the well-known inscription (186 of 1925) which records offerings to the god *Āḍavallār* in the year 22 of Rājarāja I, that is, A.D. 1007, may be accepted as applicable to this image. The style itself, even if a little blurred by heavy cleaning, supports the attribution. Such reservations as remain might be directed at the incongruously small shoulder-cloth and the shape of the *prabhā* with its *makara* bases and slight reverse curve, exaggerated in my photograph. However, we now have the evidence of the already mentioned Naṭarāja from Kunniyur that *makara* bases to the *prabhā* were employed in the Third Phase, admittedly on a *prabhā* of the simple 'arch' shape. It is perhaps premature to reject the *prabhā* out of hand until we possess some factual evidence for the development of the Naṭarāja after the Early Choḷa Period. Srinivasan, who dates the image about A.D. 1040 to 1050, rightly doubts the separate *bhadrāsana*, which, in his photograph, had on the left a seated four-armed figure playing a musical instrument. There is provision for a similar figure on the right. It may be added that the consort, though the face and crown are marred by recutting, is of outstanding quality and clearly belongs to the Third Phase.

In the temple at Tiruvenkadu, a *sabhā* even more famous perhaps than Chidaṃbaraṃ itself, there is another familiar inscription (449 of 1918) which records gifts to *Āḍavallār* in the year 28 of Rājarāja I (A.D. 1013) by one of his queens. I had long believed that this closely datable Naṭarāja was the one under worship in the temple. Recently the temple authorities generously allowed me to study the bronze at my leisure and I was able to confirm my belief. Unfortunately photography of this very sacred image is not permitted. It is of "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type and of very fine quality. The braids are spread over the back with only one braid appearing over either shoulder. The goddess Gaṅgā and the cobra, which appear at Punjai, are absent. The linked chain is worn around the hips, the waist-sash is knotted over the belly and no ornaments are worn on the arms other than wristlets. The *prabhā* is of the simple 'arch' shape with no *makara* bases. An interesting feature, which appears on several later "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type images, is that the right foot is not planted sideways on the dwarf but half turned towards the worshipper. The consort is unfortunately late.

Apart from the two closely datable images at Punjai and Tiruvenkadu, I know of only one convincing attribution to the Third Phase. This is the excellent image in the Satyagirīśvara temple at Senganur.[25] The braids are spread over the back with the upturned

[24] D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, 1965, p. 41

[25] C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, 1974, fig. 103

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tips of two curls on the god's left and one on his right first visible above the shoulders. The goddess Gaṅgā and the cobra are absent. The linked chain is worn around the hips. The twisted waist-sash is knotted over the belly; its floating ends are missing but the fixing lugs survive on the *prabhā*. Here in addition to wristlets a single beaded arm-band is worn. The *prabhā* is of the simple 'arch' shape, the present excrescences near the bases presumably concealing old breaks. The large fire burns directly on the palm of the hand as at Punjai. The consort is of equal quality and not later than the reign of Rājarāja I.

After the Early Choḷa Period the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type Naṭarāja can be shown to have had a fairly wide distribution, though it seems never to have been as popular as the Type II image, which, once established, seems to have had the greater prestige. The relatively few published pieces, however, are rarely of quality and, with the occasional exception, give little impression of date. One can only record the formal, but not necessarily chronological, progress of the type. A fine Naṭarāja, forty-two inches in height, is at Sendalai (figs. 21, 22). This follows Punjai in most respects. On the back the braids lie over the left shoulder but are swept up over the right. From the front, three braids are visible over either shoulder, with the cobra on the god's left and the goddess Gaṅgā in *añjali mudrā* on his right. The linked chain is worn about the hips, and no ornaments other than wristlets decorate the arms. The twisted waist-sash is knotted above the belly with no projecting loop: the flying ends are missing but the lug by which they were fastened remains on the *prabhā*. The *prabhā* itself, though decorated with five-pointed and not the earlier three-pointed flames, retains the Early Choḷa shape, without the slightly reverse curve and *makara* bases of Punjai. There are two iconographic innovations. On the right calf is worn a single *Kiṅkiṇī*, now to become standard. At the bases of the *prabhā* are introduced two dwarf musicians. One plays the five-faced drum, the other the cymbals. A curious element in the headdress, often found on this type of image, is the *dhaturā* shown horizontal and facing the worshipper. Three images at this stage of development have been illustrated by Sivaramamurti at Kilakattur, Tiruttanagari and Tarangambadi.[26] Kilakattur is of good quality, apart from the flying ends of the waist-sash which I take to be a late substitution, and comes close to the Sendalai bronze, lacking, however, its smooth and fluid modelling. The waist-sash itself is knotted with the stiffly projecting loop, an uncommon feature on the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" image. The *prabhā* is of the early 'arch' shape with three-pointed flames. Perhaps an unexceptionable date for the Sendalai Naṭarāja would be the second half of the twelfth century A.D.

The next formal step is represented by the image excavated at Melapperumballaṃ and now in the Government Museum at Madras.[27] On the back the braids hang fairly symmetrically to the waist and, like one of the great masterpieces of Type II A, are, below the arms, visible from the front. On the braid above the *right* shoulder is a cobra and above the *left* a terribly abraded goddess Gaṅgā. I believe this reversal of the canonical positions of the two iconographic elements occurs also on the already mentioned Naṭarāja at Tirttanagari. Though the *prabhā* is of the early 'arch' shape with three-pointed flames, its bases are decorated with *makara*-heads, again very abraded. The new feature is that the chain worn about the hips is provided with a hanging length which curves outwards to meet the *prabhā*. This feature is not uncommon and continues well into the Vijayanagara Period, as may be seen on an attractive miniature bronze (fig. 23). On several Naṭarājas at this stage of development, at Tiruvilakkudi (fig. 24) and Vayikanmada Koyil for example, the chain with an attached *kiṅkiṇī* hangs perpendicularly, swinging freely between the legs. As for the date of the excavated Melapperumballaṃ image there is considerable difference of opinion. Sivaramamurti dates it to the eleventh century A.D. whereas Srinivasan prefers the middle of the twelfth century A.D. The bronze is difficult to assess. Even making allowance for its distressing condition, it is a graceless object, its inelegant stance partially due to the fact that the right foot faces the worshipper, a position occasionally adopted on "late" images of Type III and not always with success. Compared to the Sendalai Naṭarāja and even to the more stolid Kilakattur bronze, it is lifeless in composition and detail. Perhaps something good is concealed beneath the unhappy exterior but it is difficult to believe that the bronze is earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. The formal progress of the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type Naṭarāja does not seem to proceed beyond this stage.

Briefly to recapitulate. Hitherto the problem has been to find a Naṭarāja of Type II which could be regarded as a precursor of the small group of masterpieces which appear unheralded at the beginning of Phase III. It seemed inconceivable that these images, perhaps the greatest of their class, should not have been

[26] *ibid.*, figs. 100-01 and 103
[27] C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, New Delhi, 1963, pl. 23b

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preceded by a period in which the formal conception was established and the technical problems mastered. The only two lines of approach seemed to be Taṇḍantottaṃ, technically assured but uncanonical, and the strange Okkur bronze, more or less canonical but without the vitality and promise of a real "primitive". The suggestion now is that a Type II Naṭarāja earlier than about A.D. 970 has not been discovered because it did not exist. What the master craftsmen of Sembiyan Mahādevī's *ateliers* invented was not the bronze Naṭarāja in *ānanda-tāṇḍava* itself but a new type, which was modelled on and an extension of the "Chidaṃbaraṃ" type. In other words, we may hope to extend our knowledge of the First and Second Phase Naṭarāja in *ānanda-tāṇḍava*, limited at the moment to the single instance of Vadakkalattur, by the discovery not of Type II bronzes but of Type III. Here perhaps the small British Museum bronze provides a pointer.

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HIRAM W. WOODWARD, Jr.

Burmese Sculpture and Indian Painting

For written evidence regarding relations between the kingdom of Pagān and Bihar and Bengal in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we must turn to two Burmese inscriptions. The first, in Old Mon, was set up in perhaps the early twelfth century by the king we call Kyanzittha and mentions the rebuilding of the Mahābodhi temple:

> Thereafter, (there being) the three holy temples of Śrī Vajrāsana, destroyed by the Mongols, which other kings had failed to repair, King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāja took all kinds of gems and sent a ship (with them) in order that the holy Vajrāsana might be rebuilt; that_____be bought, tanks dug, land brought under cultivation, (and) dams built; (and) so that lamps might be lit and never let go out, (and) frog-drums, musical instruments, singers and dancers be given (to the temple), even better than before. Therein too other kings are not his equal.[1]

This rebuilding, Gordon H. Luce has suggested, would have occurred shortly before 1098.[2] The second inscription, found at Bodhgayā itself in the 1820s, records repairs carried out at the initiative of a monk dispatched by the king of Burma. With financial help from a local ruler, these repairs commenced in December 1295 and were completed in October 1298.[3]

Another source for evidence about cultural relations between Pagān and eleventh-thirteenth century India lies in Burmese Buddhist literature, where there are elements that seem to derive from northern traditions and not merely from the Pāli literature of Sri Lanka.[4] But conclusions based on the evidence of such texts remain largely conjectural, and indeed it is the art which we must study if we are to reach sure conclusions about the movement of ideas between India and Pagān. Some decades ago Niharranjan Ray wrote that the Bodhisattvas on the walls of Pagān's Abeyadana temple have their "equivalent not only in the illuminated manuscripts from Bengal ranging from the beginning of the tenth to about the end of the twelfth century, but in contemporary sculptures as well of the Eastern school".[5] And he maintained that the stylistic developments were parallel, for in both regions a linear conception eventually replaced a plastic.[6] The connections between Pāla miniatures and Pagān murals have been little studied recently, however. An acute observation by R. Das Gupta regarding Pāla illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts—"in fact they are murals executed on folios in a . . . diminutive form"[7]—suggests, for instance that the Pagān murals probably give us a good indication of the formal organization of lost murals at such sites as Nālandā. Gordon H. Luce's *Old Burma—Early Pagān*[8] now provides much of the material needed for a comparative study. This note is not about Pagān murals, however, before or after the tragic earthquake of 8 July 1975, nor about the equally interesting topic of Indian-Burmese relationships discernible in architecture and stucco decoration; it is, instead, merely intended to raise some questions about the nature of Burmese sculpture and of its connections with palm-leaf manuscript illustrations.

[1] Translation culled from H.L. Shorto, *A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971. *Pitr(u)k* must still be considered a problem; for Professor Shorto, it yields *pi* 'three' and *truk* 'Mongol' (from *Turk*). For the text G.O. Blagden's translation, see *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. 1, pt. 2 rpt. Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon, 1960, pp. 156-57 (VIII.A.4-7) and p. 164. Cf. Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagān*, 3 vols. Artibus Asiae and The Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 1969-70, vol.1, p. 62, Luce, "Sources of Early Burma History", in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall*, ed. C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1976, p. 39

[2] Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagān*, vol. 1, p. 63. The foundation(s) by King Aśoka in Inscription VIII is taken by Professor Luce to refer to a site in Burma, and stock phrases apparently do indicate a change of subject, cf. A. B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, Gunasena, Columbo, 1965, pp. 174-75

[3] Luce, "Sources of Early Burma History", pp. 41-42; cf. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", p. 177

[4] Some of the conclusions of Paul Mus, *La lumière sur les Six Voies*, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1939, have recently been developed by Eugène Denis, "La Lokapaññatti et la legende birmane d'Aśoka", *Journal Asiatique* 264, 1976, pp. 97-116

[5] Niharranjan Ray, "Paintings at Pagan", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 6, 1938, p. 142

[6] *ibid.*, p. 143

[7] R. Das Gupta, *Eastern India Manuscript Painting*, D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1972, p. 30

[8] Note 1

S320

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Fig. 25 shows a relief at Pagān's Ānanda (or, as Professor Luce prefers, Nanda) temple, perhaps datable to about the first decade of the twelfth century.[9] Here is Professor Luce's description:

> The Buddha lies hieratically, as always, on his tilted bier, head to the left. Ānanda prays at his feet. The bier rests between two *śāla* trees, whose spirits bring their offerings. A . . . double-roofed pavilion rises above the bier, replacing the *Chetiya*, the first symbol of the scene, as more suggestive (perhaps) of the cremation. To the left of this, behind the Buddha's head, stand Brahmā and Indra in worship, Brahmā, as senior, on the left. To the right of the pavilion are two tiers of worshippers with lotus buds. Above, 5 Devas enter, hasting and diagonal; below them, square and controlled, 4 Monks seated.[10]

To the left of the censer below the bier are eight kings or princes, their hands in adoration; to the right perhaps a king and a queen, and beyond them two drummers(?) and a dancer. Worthy of note are the legs of the couch; they are in the form of *makaras*, from whose mouths flow streams of water. In the Pāli commentary to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sūtta* it is explained that the couch which Ānanda prepares between the twin Śāla trees is in fact a pre-existing one in the garden of the Malla chieftain;[11] in the Thai life of the Buddha, the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, it is called a daybed *(divāśaiyāsana)*.[12] Perhaps, therefore, these *makaras* should be understood as a form appropriate for the supporting of a daybed in a royal garden. At the same time, of course, there might be intended an implicit allusion to the water-and-fire part of the Great Miracle, or to an idea found in the *Buddhacharita*:

> As water puts out fire, so the water of Time had to put out the Tathāgata's fire, whose flames are knowledge, whose smoke renown, and which has burnt up without residue the fuel of existence.[13]

The Ānanda temple depiction of the Buddha's death must be contrasted with the *parinirvāṇa* as it appears on the small eight-scene plaques of which a number have been found in Pagān. In them, as on large Pāla stone steles, the bier, couch, or daybed is shown from the side, not from above; of the bar which lies at the foot of the couch in fig. 25 only the end of a protruding finial is seen; instead of an undulant arch turned toward us there is a headboard; and there are no *makara* supports.

Must we suppose the existence of two rather different sculptural traditions in Pagān? The exquisitely carved eight-scene plaques deserve a study of their own. It should be pointed out, however, that the excellent reasons J. Ph. Vogel proposed in 1915 for believing those known to him to have been made in Bodhgayā have never been discredited.[14] In presenting eight of the tablets in *Old Burma—Early Pagān*, Professor Luce did not try to prove that they were all made in Pagān, and at one point expressed uncertainty about the matter.[15] Only since the publication of his *opus* has Burmese manufacture been taken as established, by several scholars;[16] in two instances, curiously, the presence of Tibetan inscriptions on the back of the plaques has not led to any doubts or questions.[17] A third plaque associable with the Himalayas is illustrated here as fig. 26. It comes from a place called Lābrang north of the Sutlej River, about eighteen miles due west of the Tibetan border in Himachal Pradesh.[18] Yet another plaque has a brief inscription in Chinese on the reverse.[19] Not all the plaques need have been made in the same place, and there are numerous

[9] *Old Burma—Early Pagān*, vol. 1, p. 357

[10] *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 136-37

[11] T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, trans., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. 2, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. 3, Henry Frowde, London 1910, p. 149 n

[12] *Brah paṭhamsambodhikathā*, Roṅ bimb kār śāsanā, Bangkok, 1962, pp. 480-81

[13] E. H. Johnston, "The Budha's Mission and last Journey: *Buddhacarita* xv to xxvii", *Acta Orientalia* 15, 1937, pp. 266

[14] J. Ph. Vogel, "Note on a Buddhist Sculpture from Kandy, Ceylon", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 11, 1915, p. 297-303

[15] *Old Burma—Early Pagān*, vol. 2, p. 175, notice to pl. 405

[16] Pratapaditya Pal, "The Story of a Wandering Bronze Buddha—and Two Examples from American Collections", *The Connoisseur* 181, 1972, pp. 203-07; Sherman E. Lee, *Asian Art: Selections from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockfeller 3rd, Part II*. The Asia Society, New York, 1975, no. 13, p. 33; Stainslaw Czuma, *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1975, no. 37

[17] Rockfeller and Bickford sculptures. The Bickford plaque has on its reverse magical syllables crudely incised in Tibetan script (not mentioned in the catalogue entry). I thank Prof. Luis Gomez for examining it.

[18] Among the Tibetan materials collected by Dr. Walter Koelz and deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in 1934. X-ray diffraction by the Department of Geology and Mineralogy at the University in 1978 showed the stone to be approximately 80% pyrophyllite with accessory amounts of quartz and potassium feldspar. The mineral pyrophyllite is an aluminosilicate which physically resembles steatite or soapstone; today deposits of it are mined in Purulia district, West Bengal, about 125 miles southeast of Bodhagayā, B. C. Roy, *Indian Mineral Resources*, Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1973, p. 115, but it is found in other parts of Asia as well. Visual comparison of fig. 26 with the Bickford plaque by Prof. William R. Farrand in 1977 appeared to show that the two sculptures were carved from the same kind of stone.

[19] *Handbook of the Collection in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri*, vol. 2, *Art of the Orient*, Kansas City, 1973, p. 151. Chinese inscription not mentioned; for awareness of its existence, I thank Dr. Jan Fontein.

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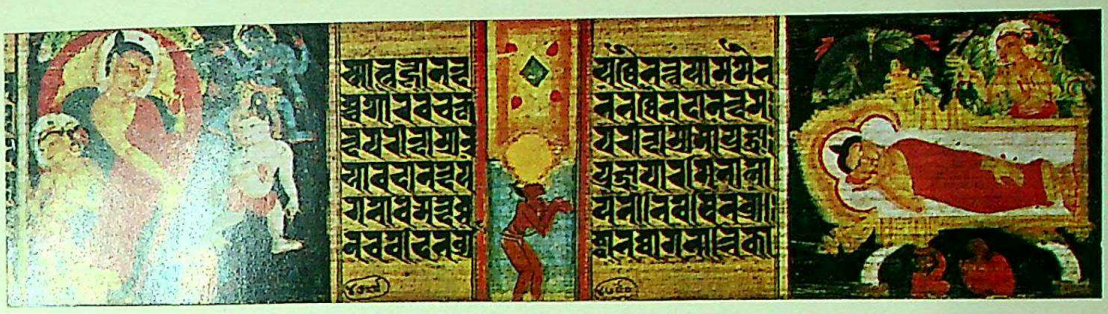

Pl. A. A scene from illustrated *Ms.* of *Prajñāpāramitā*, dated 4th regnal year of GomIndrapāla, Bharat Kala Bhavan.

differences among them. Nevertheless, Vogel knew one plaque from Sri Lanka, two from Burma,[20] and a fragment of one found at Sārnāth;[21] today we have two more from Sri Lanka,[22] many more from Burma, and three with Tibetan and one with Chinese associations. The presumption that all these plaques were mementoes of pilgrimage to Bodhgayā and made in workshops there or nearby is strengthened.

Does that mean, therefore, that the representation of the *parinirvāṇa* in fig. 25 can be considered a Burmese conception, that in fig. 26 an Indian? Matters are not so simple, for if we look at a series of Indian palm-leaf manuscript illustrations, we find striking similarities between them and the Ānanda relief. The first *parinirvāṇa* (fig. 27) is from an *Aṣhṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript at Oxford; it was copied at Nālandā in the fifteenth year of Rāmapāla, whose reign, according to a recent study of Pāla chronology, began in 1082 A.D.[23] There, supporting the couch, which is viewed from above, are the two *makaras* present in the Ānanda relief but absent in the plaques. The second example (Pl. A) comes from a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript in the Bharat Kala Bhavan; S.K. Saraswati has dated it to the late twelfth century.[24] In it, as in fig. 25, there is a complete arch surrounding the Buddha's head: this arch is at the same time the headboard of the daybed, turned toward us, and the top of an architectural niche. At the foot of this arch there is a bar whose curved ends protrude at top and bottom; the finials in which the undulant frame in fig. 25 terminates are in a sense the ends of this very same bar—only the bar has been broken. At the foot of both beds there is a straight, unbroken bar with protruding finials. The third example (fig. 28) is taken from an *Āshṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript in the British Library. In Pl. A, architectual elements rise from the upper side of the bed; in fig. 28 the architectural elements are presented as entirely distinct from the bed, which is apparently rattan, and they seem to be properties of the Buddha himself. The hooks descending from the undulant arch are reminiscent of forms found in Burmese architecture, and in later painting at such temples as the Nandamannya.

What are we to make of these relationships? It would seem probable that sculpture is following the lead of painting, for the mode of depiction—of the bed viewed from above, for instance—seems so obviously one that serves the needs of simple two-dimensional representation. Yet, at the same time, this peculiarly two-dimensional sculpture seems so endemically Burmese, as can be seen by glancing through reproductions

NOTE: For bringing materials to my attention and for help of various kinds, I thank Prof. William R. Farrand, Prof. Karl Hutterer, Dr. Forrest McGill, Mrs. Jane Terry Bailey, Ms. Nancy Musgrave and Dr. Henry Ginsburg.

[20] Illustrated as pl. XVIV in his article but not in Luce; according to a photograph (by John Irwin) now at Denison University, now at Jubilee Hall, Rangoon.

[21] "Excavations at Sarnath", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1904-05, fig. 8, p. 84. An example of the four-row type, which includes depictions of the events of the weeks following the enlightenment.

[22] L. Prematilleke, "A Miniature Sculpture from Ceylon Depicting the Eight Great Miracles of the Buddha", *Artibus Asiae* 34,1972, pp. 162-68; Nandasena Mudiyanse, *Mahayana Monuments in Ceylon*, Gunasena, Colombo, 1967, figs. 7 and 9

[23] Abdul Momin Chowdhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, Asiatic Society, Dacca, 1967, pp. 112, 272. For the Oxford manuscript, see H. J. Stooke, "An XI Century Illuminated Palm Leaf Manuscript", *Oriental Art* 1, no. 1, Summer 1948, pp. 5-8

[24] S. K. Saraswati, "East Indian Manuscript Painting", *Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, 1971, pp. 250, 261-62. The manuscript is dated to year 4 of the reign of GomIndrapāla.

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of hundreds of *Jātaka* plaques, that perhaps not all its qualities should be understood as deriving merely from the transformation of Indian paintings into a plastic medium. Does this mean that we should see Burmese influence in figs. 27-28 and Pl. A, or in any one of these three? Could it be, for instance, that a painter living in Nālandā in the twelfth century would have considered Pagān the most active center of patronage in the Buddhist world and would therefore have been open to stylistic developments centered there? Such questions cannot be answered with certainty until we have a clearer understanding of the course of stylistic development in both India and Burma, and an unchallengeable chronology.

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Sultanate Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd

The conditions have been radically changed during the last quarter century. Important exhibitions and publications have further codified the even-better known Persian and Mughal traditions. The Turks have become more willing to circulate and publish their treasures (and the Beatty Turkish catalogue in 1958 has further helped to disseminate knowledge of Ottoman works). Richard Ettinghausen's masterly *Arab Painting* (Skira, 1962) has shown the extensive boundaries of that little understood segment of Islamic painting. Crucial monographs on separate aspects of the various Deccani schools by Douglas Barrett and Robert Skelton have widened our knowledge. A recent doctoral dissertation by Mark Zebrowski may further resolve the pictorial problems of that area.

This widening of specific studies and the resulting understanding have narrowed the possible "limbos" into which the fewer, but still "puzzling", pictures can be placed. The major such area remaining is "the Sultanate", and important beginnings have already been made toward its understanding. The Khandalavala and Moti Chandra *New Documents of Indian Painting—a Reappraisal* in 1969 ably marshalled much of what was then known. The chronology of the intermediary development from Jain to Rajput painting, that is the native Indian aspects of the problem, were handled in a masterly fashion.

Since then, a second attempt has been made to underline the non-Indian side of the matter, rather than its indigenous portion. Irma L. Fraad and Richard Ettinghausen jointly published a lengthy article in *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan (1920-1970)* (Banaras, 1971). It was entitled "Sultanate Painting in Persian style, Primarily from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century: A Preliminary Study". The findings of these two authors whose separate interest and research broadened their study immensely, now established a further, and much larger, corpus of Sultanate painting, much of which was previously known, even published, but with incorrect attributions.

What remains to be done now is a major and complete study of Sultanate Painting in all its aspects. The present article is prepared solely to aid the subsequent scholar or scholars who will need as much published material, from as many sources as possible, to complete that work. May it come soon!

The *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi

The dispersed miniatures remaining from this manuscript of the *Khamsa* are important for the overall study of Sultanate painting. First, several examples were known and published many years ago, improperly attributed to the Inju school of Shiraz around the middle of the fourteenth century. Second, a large number of them are known, in many different collections. Ettinghausen published two of the three leaves in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. in 1961, and, correctly labelling them "Sultanate" for the first time, wrote of "A now dispersed manuscript of which over 25 paintings are known." (*Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections,* text to plate 1).

Long before, in 1933, Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray published one of the miniatures from this work, from the collection of Henri Vever showing Bahram Gur hunting (no. 21 not reproduced). It had been exhibited at Burlington House in 1931 (no. 418). The same miniature was republished in 1938-39 in Arthur Upham Pope's *A Survey of Persian Art* (pl. 826A), along with another one of Bahram Gur and the Villager from McGill University in Montreal (pl. 826B). The attribution was. . . . "Provincial School, beginning 14th century". In the interim, between these two publications, the Worcester Art Museum purchased another leaf from Amir Khusrau's *Khamsa* from the New York dealer Georges DeMotte in May, 1935 (acces. no. 1935.22). The miniature, showing a rider on horseback, was published almost immediately after its purchase by Percy Cott (*Worcester Annual,* vol. I, pp. 38 and 46, repr. p. 48). This was the first leaf from the manuscript that I ever saw during a visit to Worcester in 1958. What I found was an ugly, varnished scene painted on a dirty paper, notable for its shoddy repainting, the whole contrasting very unfavourably with the prettier, more elegant Persian miniatures exhibited on each side of it. The information given on the label was, of course, pure fantasy.

The next level in dissemination of correct information about the manuscript was Ettinghausen's publishing

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of two of the Freer leaves in 1961. He postulated a date of "middle or second half of the XVth century". (Khandalavala and Chandra were to opt for "late 15th century" in 1969.) The Freer Gallery having purchased its miniatures from the New York dealer Nasli Heeramaneck, he now proceeded to sell the other leaves from the same manuscript which he had possessed for some time without understanding their crucial importance. Ettinghausen's expertise now verified superior value for the works, and they were placed on the market. According to the Heeramanecks' avowed policy, they "kept the best" of the group and offered the rest to their clients. At this time, I was a favoured customer and was offered first choice. My single purchase (Jan., 1962) pictured an enthroned king with two courtiers and an attendant in three separate compartments of different sizes, the central one of which featured balanced trefoils above the king's head (fig. 29). The miniature was exhibited at Portland, Oregon (cat., 1962, no. 52, illus. p. 30) and on a subsequent West Coast Tour into 1964. It was reviewed by Karl Khandalavala in *Lalit Kala*, vol. XI who wrote at some length of "the problem of 'Sultanate painting' " and mentioned Ettinghausen's monograph in this connection. The miniature was again published in my *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd, I, The Mughal and Deccani Schools*, cat. 1a, and was exhibited between Dec., 1973 and early 1976 throughout the United States.

Others of the Heeramaneck pictures were purchased shortly thereafter by the Nelson-Atkins Gallery in Kansas City, Missouri and the Seattle Art Museum. The finest miniature, the one reserved by the Heeramanecks for themselves, was exhibited with their collection in several American museums in an exhibition organized by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts *(The Arts of India and Nepal)* in 1966 (cat. no. 145, illus.). Its very unusual iconography shows a masonry pyramid with a human eye at its apex. The miniature is now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (acces. no. L69. 24. 212).

My second miniature from this *Khamsa* was purchased from a Paris dealer in June, 1965. He had two of them, but I again bought only the best offered to me. It shows a physician preparing a potion, or a scholar reading from a book (fig. 30). Its interest lies in the four scalloped rooms in two registers on either side of the central two compartments. The text part of the leaf is badly damaged, and badly repaired with tape. This miniature was part of an exhibition circulated by the Smithsonian Travelling Exhibition Service between 1966 and 1969 (no. 64, repr.). Immediately thereafter it was shown in Bloomington, Indiana in 1970 (*Islamic Art across the World*, no. 119, repr.). It joined its mate for the Mughal-Deccani catalogue mentioned above (cat. 1b).

Still another leaf, damaged and varnished, remains in my collection. It was the second leaf from the Paris dealer mentioned above, and I returned to purchase it in July, 1968. It has never been published and, for that reason, although I did not consider it necessary to exhibit it in the Mughal-Deccani exhibition, it is shown here as fig. 31. The static poses, the round faces, so close to the Sahi king figure in manuscripts of the Jain *Kalpa-Sūtra* and *Kālakāchāryakathā*, and the horizontal band of separate compartments are all found commonly in the manuscript. So is the damaged state of miniature and text alike, with the varnish applied to hinder further damage.[1]

Other Fifteenth Century Examples

The fourteenth century Inju prototypes of the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau are much earlier in date than the fifteenth century Timurid pictures of Shiraz from which descend a larger group of Sultanate pictures. Fraad and Ettinghausen in 1971 list eight dated manuscripts in "Group A" (p. 49), three "Undated Dispersed Manuscripts" in "Group B" (pp. 49-50), and a "Group C" of eight other manuscripts from which "Detached leaves" have appeared. Their corpus is subtitled "Primarily from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century", a sensible dating for the works in question. It seems viable to continue to use these rubrics for discussion of other leaves from the same or similar sources. Four miniatures in the present collection are either included in the Fraad-Ettinghausen lists or are related to those listed.

Under C15—"*Shah-nameh*, second quarter of the 15th century" are listed three miniatures and their supposed present locations. There were four pictures, not three, from the same source in the second Sevadjian

[1] Leaves from the manuscript have also been published by M.A. Chaghatai—*Painting during the Sultanate Period*, Lahore, 1963. He chose the Vever leaf of Bahram Gur hunting, formerly published in Pope's *Survey*, and the Traitorous Vizier repulsed by the Queen, in the Freer Gallery of Art, originally published by Ettinghausen in *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India*, plate I, lower, and again by Khandalavala and Chandra, pl. 8. Two additional leaves were recently published by Pramod Chandra and Daniel J. Ehnborn, *The Cleveland Tutinama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (1976), cat. no. 18—The court of Ala al-Din Khalji (Art Institute of Chicago) and no. 19—Shirin speaking to Khusrau from the roof of her palace—a particularly fine leaf—from the Cary Welch collection (repr. pl. 6). Unpublished leaves are in the collections of McGill University, Montreal (a second leaf), Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, and Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan. It has been impossible to verify the present whereabouts of the "over 25 paintings" mentioned by Ettinghausen in 1961.

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sale of March 19, 1961, lots 139-142. The third of this series (lot 141) is the Benkaim picture (Fraad-Ettinghausen fig. 150). The fourth picture (lot 142) showed Afrasiyab arrested (sale cat. Pl IV, upper left). I purchased it at the auction, resold it later through Origins Gallery in Boston to Donald Cook of New York. Neither of the first two lots in the series seems to be *The Maritime Pursuit of Afrasiyab by Kai Khusrau* in the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Norman Horwitz, Chevy Chase, Maryland (Fraad-Ettinghausen, fig. 151). It cannot be lot 139 of the Sevadjian sale catalogue which was listed as "A Prisoner led off with his hands behind his back, clad in a simple shirt, and placed on an elephant's back", because I later purchased that miniature from a New York dealer early in 1964. It shows *The Captive Isfandiyar led away on an Elephant* (fig. 32). It was published as no. 2 in my Mughal-Deccani exhibition catalogue. The fourth lot (no. 140) of the Sevadjian sale was "A Prince standing on a rug under a tent and embracing a Captive Woman". Where is that miniature, and who owns it? And from where did the Horwitz picture come?

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Section C 18 of the Fraad-Ettinghausen catalogue presents three miniatures from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Lester Wolfe of New York City. Two of them are reproduced in the *Chhavi* article (figs. 153 and 154). All three were auctioned, with other miniatures from the Wolfe collection on July 7, 1975 by Sotheby's (lots 7, 8 and 9). These three examples are only part of what existed as a larger group of "Provincial Persian works". On March 9, 1959, I saw at least seven leaves from this manuscript at the Persian Art Gallery of Hassan Khan Monif in New York City. They were explained as Provincial Persian, 15th century. As a fledgling collector of one year standing, with only one other fifteenth century Persian picture in my collection, I was very pleased to be offered a choice of a group of works from the same series. I chose a scene showing a Female Slave being beaten before a ruler (fig. 33). The "Chinese clouds" and the pink and blue "spongey" rocks along the rounded horizon were pretty, curious and typical for a neophyte. The esthetic validity of my modest purchase (which still cost $15 more than the other leaves offered by Monif) militated against its being exhibited until the Mughal-Deccani show presented many of my Sultanate pictures. It was published there as no. 3. In addition to the three leaves bought from Monif by Lester Wolfe shortly after mine, and purchased from his auction by Bashir Muhammad and the Iranian Massaudi in 1975, there were three others bought by Cary Welch. They figured in *his* sale (Sotheby, Dec. 12, 1972) as lots 175, 176 and 177. The first of these showing the musician Barbad in his tree has been republished as III, no. 204 in the Keir catalogue (Robinson *et al.*, p. 173). The comment of that author as to his lack of understanding of the Welch auction catalogue which attributed the picture to "South India" is reiterated herewith. The other two Welch miniatures were purchased by Mehdi Mahboubian. Where are they now?

Still other leaves from the same *Khamsa* must have been distributed by H. K. Monif in 1959. At the Sotheby sale of April 13, 1975, lot 153 featured the episode of Fahrad presenting a fish to Shirin. A to-me-familiar matter with the handwritten notes of Mr. Monif and his price of $50 were decisive. I bought this second leaf to accompany my first! (fig. 34). From $50 in 1959 to £500 sixteen years later—Sultanate painting is beginning to be understood and valued!

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The usual previous attributions of Sultanate pictures to Shiraz, either fourteenth or fifteenth century, are widened to include mid-sixteenth century Bukhara provenance in the Christie, Manson and Woods sale catalogue of Oct. 11, 1960. In the Laurent Fierens collection which was then auctioned was a group of seven miniatures from a Sultanate *Shah-nama*, which is not mentioned in the Fraad-Ettinghausen lists. Three of these were bought by the Arcade Gallery in London; others by Maggs Bros., Mayer, Kegan-Paul, and Samson. The leaf I purchased was lot 42 and shows Rustam catching his steed Rakhsh from the herd while his father watches (fig. 35). It is figured as no. 4 in my Mughal-Deccani catalogue. Of the six other leaves from the same series, only one is still readily identifiable. It is the *Kai Khusrau crossing the Sea to Gang Dizh*. It was lot 45, purchased by Maggs Bros. for Everett McNear of Chicago and published by him, first in 1963 for an exhibition at the Arts Club of Chicago (no. 72) and later (1974) in the catalogue of his own collection (no. 28, reproduced). The other leaves are not presently findable.

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The most important of these fifteenth century Sultanate miniatures in my collection is a recent purchase. It is another *Shah-nama* illustration, from the Kevorkian collection (Sotheby's May 2, 1977, lot 35) and shows *Bahram's Castle beseiged by Kai Khusrau and his Army* (fig. 36). The manuscript from which it originally came must have been a fine one, esthetically superior to the compendia from which the previous leaves were extracted. The leaf measures 14-1/4 × 9-9/16 inches,

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noticeably larger than the others described above—except those from the *Khamsa* by Amir Khusrau. Another interesting aspect of the miniature is the presence of the three demons' heads appearing above the battlements of the castle walls. They are wedged into a compartment formed by the top of the miniature and the inside edges of the two outer text panels. Similar niches or small boxes will be noted again in later miniatures of Deccani provenance (see below).

Published Manuscripts of the Early Sixteenth Century

Another manuscript of Nizami's *Khamsa,* attributed to North India, and dated late fifteenth century or *ca.* 1500 provides a link between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A single leaf, in the collection of Cary Welch, had been exhibited at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard and Asia House in New York City (Welch and Beach, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks,* 1965, no. 2 illus.). The miniature shows a bed-ridden monarch attended by a doctor (fig. 37). It was mentioned by Khandalavala and Chandra (1969) on p. 56 but was not reproduced in that book. Their qualification of "What appears to be a *Sikandar-nama*" reiterates the Welch and Beach attribution. Definitely from the *Iskandar-nama* section of the *Khamsa* were three other leaves with miniatures which were joined to the doctor and his royal patient. All four were auctioned by Sotheby's in the Welch sale (Dec. 12, 1972, lot 178-181). I purchased the previously reproduced picture and included it in the Mughal-Deccani catalogue (no. 5). Two of the others (lot 179 and 180) were purchased by Edmund de Unger and are published again in the Keir catalogue (Robinson *et al.,* nos. III, 206 and 205—the second illustrated). A fourth of these Welch miniatures was bought by Hon. H. T. Early. Another miniature from this *Iskandar-nama* is in the collection of George P. Bickford (Czuma *et al.,* 43).

Other leaves from the same manuscript have appeared in later Sotheby sales. On Nov. 22, 1976, two more miniatures were sold (lots 71 and 72). They were not from the *Iskandar-nama,* but rather from the *Khusrau and Shirin.* I bought the first which shows a leering Khusrau examining a vapid Shirin in her pool, a delightful asymmetric step-pyramid shape in which the princess sits as in a trance (fig. 38). Beside this delightful bit of whimsey, lot 72's enthroned king seemed completely prosaic. It was obtained by E. S. Ross. Even more recently, two additional leaves from the same manuscript appeared at Sotheby's (Dec. 7, 1977; lots 114 and 115). Nine miniatures from a single manuscript provide opportunities to fill in further art historical *lacunae* in Sultanate painting. The treatment of the faces and patterns of the costumes worn suggest an earlier Arab prototype rather than the Inju or Timurid models we have seen in other Sultanate miniatures discussed above.

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The most important of the "Illustrated Avadhi Manuscripts", title of Chapter V of the Khandalavala and Chandra *New Documents,* is the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* or *Chandāyana.* The sixty-eight illustrations from this text (64 ff) and its addendum the *Mainā sat* (4 ff) in Bombay are of great importance, since "In this series we are confronted not with a folk or bourgeois production but with an accomplished art. . . ." (*ibid.,* p. 94). Other leaves from the same series are listed by the two authors as being in the National Museum (one leaf), the Boman Behram collection (11), a single one owned by Frances Hofer (repr. Archer, *Indian Miniatures,* pl. 12), "and some with Mr. D. Guzdar of Bombay" (p. 92). I have no idea where my own two leaves came from originally, but they were exhibited together and published as no. 6a and 6b in the Mughal-Deccani catalogue. The first, in three vertical registers is badly scratched in its middle section (fig. 39); the other shows a wonderful tree filled with birds, similar to other leaves from the text (particularly *New Documents,* figs. 165 and 171). It came from Sotheby's sale of Dec. 13, 1972 (lot 86) (fig. 40). Still another leaf with a tree, but rather more damaged, was in the Cary Welch sale at Sotheby's the previous day (lot 61).

At the time of the preparation for the Mughal-Deccani catalogue I did not know of the epistolary pioneering of Dr. P. L. Gupta who found enough other examples of the *Laur-Chandā* text to publish it (Bombay, 1964, in Hindi). Thus, my two leaves were not properly identified. Prof. Pramod Chandra, who borrowed them to include in his exhibition *The Cleveland Tuti-nama Manuscript and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Cleveland, Ohio, and University of Chicago, Nov. 9, 1976—spring, 1977; cat. 20 and 21), kindly did the necessary research and provided correct titles. The miniature with the three registers shows Mahara Sahadeva, father of Chandā, consulting with his generals after the aggression of Rūpa Chanda (*Chandāyana,* Gupta ed., section 111, p. 141). The second leaf shows Chandā under the tree warning her lover Laurak, while her husband Bāvana shoots the third arrow (*ibid.,* section 314, p. 256). The reasons for the dating of this *Laur-Chandā* to *ca.* 1525-1570 provided by Khandalavala and Chandra are explained on pp. 94 and 96, note 7. The second author's personal dating of *ca.* 1525 seems more tenable than the longer

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period. Thus, on the eve of the Mughal Conquest of India, there was a native tradition of fine painting in the sub-continent whose practitioners could be further trained by the forthcoming Persian masters.[2]

Sultanate Painting on the Eve of the Formation of the Mughal Atelier and Afterwards

The invasion of Babur into India in 1526, Humayun's invitation to Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus-Samad to join him in Kabul (1549) and later in Delhi (1555), even the establishment of the Mughal imperial atelier did not end "Sultanate Painting". With the passage of time which insured political hegemony to the Mughals and Akbar's cultural interests in fostering his own artists, the previous non-Mughal pictorial traditions became less and less popular. They nonetheless existed throughout the sixteenth century and merged into the later "sub-imperial style".

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Among the manuscripts which were prepared for non-Mughal patrons during Humayun's exile, or shortly after his return, is a *Shah-nama* which was dispersed in India about 1968 or 1969. It supposedly contained about two dozen leaves with miniatures. Several leaves appeared on the New York art market immediately thereafter. One of the most interesting of the group showed the Siege of a Fortress bristling with cannon. It was purchased by Paul Walter, was exhibited at Oberlin College (Pal, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, 1971, pl. 11) and later at Asia House (Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow*, 1973, no. 55). Another leaf, a Young Hero binding an Enemy, was bought from the same source by Jeffrey Paley (Lerner, no. 2). My own first leaf shows Rustam battling the White Div. It was included in the Mughal-Deccani catalogue as no. 8, with a date postulated of *ca.* 1550-60 (fig. 41). Cary Welch, when exhibiting the Walter leaf at Asia House had "guessed" "Lahore, probably after Babur's conquest." Either dating specifically imagines a continuation of Sultanate Painting even after the Mughal conquest.

Of the leaves of lesser interest from the same manuscript, a number have appeared in succeeding auctions at Sotheby's. On Dec. 10, 1974, lots 288 and 289 presented an episode with the hero Giv, and an Enthroned ruler in a Landscape. The following April (April 8, 1975), Siyawush brought before the king figured as lot 126. More recently I purchased a second leaf showing a Warrior slicing through an unarmed opponent (Apr. 13, 1976, lot 60) (fig. 42). It is obvious that other leaves from this same *Shah-nama* will continue to appear in subsequent auctions. (Still another leaf—*Rustam slays a wild Elephant* was reproduced in *Indian Miniature Paintings, Doris Wiener Gallery*, New York, 1974, no. 32, where an additional miniature in the collection of George Fitch is mentioned.)

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Still another *Shah-nama* manuscript originally included a leaf showing Rustam lassoing the Chaqan of Chin and hauling him from his elephant (fig. 43). It was again purchased at Sotheby's, Nov. 22, 1976, lot 70. It is close to the two *Shah-nama* miniatures discussed above, but of a slightly different size and was catalogued as "late 16th century" in the sale catalogue.

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From a different Persian text, either the *Kalila-wa-Dimna* or the *Anwar-i-Suhayli*, come a pair of small fable pictures. They are probably from the middle of the sixteenth century but may be somewhat later. They are similar to a complete manuscript of the *Kalila-wa-Dimna* which was formerly in the Dyson Perrins collection and was sold by Sotheby's on Dec. 1, 1959 (lot 91). The Monkey in a tree watching a turtle in the river (fig. 44) came from a later Sotheby sale (July 6, 1964, half of lot 31). It had been paired with another miniature showing a simurgh, a parrot and a raven. The second miniature presents the fable of the Lion who is caught in a net and the rat (fig. 45). The presence of other fable books among the products of the Emperor Akbar's studio has often caused these little pictures to be labelled "early Mughal" or "Akbari". They seem, however, very simplified in contrast to the miniatures of the Cleveland *Tuti-nama* and the University of London's *Anwar-i-Suhayli* (dated 1570), or the slightly later Beatty *Tuti-nama*, all of which were definitely prepared for the Emperor. This simplicity caused me to catalogue them with the other Sultanate works in my Mughal-Deccani catalogue (nos. 9a and 9b).

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It was not only in the territories of the former Delhi Sultanate that Sultanate miniatures were produced. They were also painted for rulers in the Deccan. This separate provenance is often explained as "Sultanate

[2] I have purposely avoided including here my four leaves from the dispersed *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of the "Kulahdar group" (see *New Documents*, pp. 83-85, pl. 21 and figs. 199-200). Three of them were included as earliest examples in my collection of *Rajput Miniatures* (see Archer and Binney, nos. 1a-c).

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(South India)". The Deccani rulers were, of course, Muslim Sultans, so the products of their artistic patronage must also be labelled "Sultanate", until the appearance of the *Nujum-ul-Ulum* manuscript which is dated 1570 A.D. and heralds the beginning of "Deccani Painting" in all its glory.

The present collection includes two fine examples of this "proto-Deccani" painting. Both feature male figures wearing the Safavid turban wound around a thin baton and compartments or niches evolving from the different spatial treatment mentioned above in relation to the picture of *Kai Khusrau's Siege of Bahram's Castle* (fig. 36).

The first, and more elaborate, shows a game of polo witnessed by six musicians in two niches above. The leaf onto which the miniature is mounted bears the seal of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda who ruled from 1581-1611 A.D. (fig. 46). On the verso is a fine introductory illuminated *unwan* above the beginning of a Persian text.

Probably somewhat earlier than the polo scene is one showing two criminals being hanged from a gibbet before a king (fig. 47). Formerly in the Cary Welch collection [Sotheby's, Dec. 12, 1972, lot 182—where it was labelled "Deccani (Golconda?), *ca.* 1570"], the tiny picture shows a two-storey lattice pavilion in several sections above the niche where the king is seated. The same elongated figures with Safavid baton turbans appear as in the polo scene. The niches in both miniatures seem to descend from those in the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau (figs. 29-31). Where have they been during the intervening century? Will others appear at some future date? (Another miniature, roughly contemporary with these, with similar niches, figured in the Pozzi sale of Mar. 5, 1971—lot 113 Hôtel Drouot).

Later Vestiges of Sultanate Painting and Other Similar Miniatures Presently Unattributable

The prevalence and popularity of Akbari painting is considered to have ended Sultanate works, but certain of the Muslim miniatures, even after the end of the sixteenth century, still descend from earlier practises. One example is a scene showing Moses (whose figure has been almost completely erased except for his flaming halo) with Aaron at Pharaoh's Court while a huge dragon attacks an army of demons (fig. 48). It comes from a *Qjsas-al-Anbiya* manuscript *(History of the Muslim Prophets)* the bulk of which still remains in several Indian private collections. It is known to have been prepared at Jaunpur, a commercial and cultural center in the Ganges Valley south-east of Delhi. Its dating presents a greater problem. At the time of the Mughal-Deccani exhibition, I felt that it must come from the sixteenth century. It was so catalogued there—as no. 7. Since that time, several colleagues have suggested a later dating, a change with which I completely agree. So miniatures of obvious Sultanate feeling continued to be produced even after the supposed end of their period.

Vestiges continue to appear into the seventeenth, and perhaps even into the eighteenth, century. A curious leaf from an unknown manuscript, other leaves of which are in the Prince of Wales Museum, in Bombay, and the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library shows a simurgh flying above a lady seated on a throne (fig. 49). Originally in the Cary Welch collection, it was sold at Sotheby's on Dec. 10, 1974 (lot 73) and again on Apr. 13, 1976 (lot 76) when I purchased it. The cataloguer listed "Central India, seventeenth or eighteenth century. . . . The style contains elements of a lost style of Sultanate painting." These two miniatures and the other leaves from the same manuscripts certainly prove that elements of the Sultanate style continued for a long time.

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It is more difficult to attribute other pictures to particular Sultanate provenance. Because, however, of its quality as a "limbo", early Indian miniatures of an Islamic subject, in default of any other known origin, must be labelled Sultanate. For example, what should be done with three leaves from the same manuscript which figured as "mystery pieces" in the Sotheby auction of July 11, 1972 (lots 143-145). They were catalogued as "Turkish, *ca.* 1530". The second half of this attribution is probably correct. The first half is extremely unlikely. The scenes are as follows: *The Interior of a Bath House* (fig. 50); two registers showing a baker's shop, if the rows of oval shapes in each register are loaves of bread (fig. 51); again two registers with two men seated in each of two niches above and below with four columns of text (fig. 52). On the verso of each leaf is text in Persian—but they are only glued on! The small text panels in the rectos appear to be Arabic. These three leaves prove the efficacy of a "way-station" or "limbo" into which the "difficult picture" can be slotted until other information may appear which helps to resolve the problem. The last decade has been full of new discoveries, new identifications, dissemination of new information. May the next ten years fill the many *lacunae* in the history of Indian painting of Muslim patronage and inspiration. I sincerely hope that the present publication will have provided some of the information vital to the eventual resolution of the problems of Sultanate painting.

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After the completion of this article and during its typing, London witnessed spring Islamic week, 1978. During eight days (March 29—April 6), Sotheby's had five auctions, two of them entirely of Eastern miniatures and manuscripts. At exactly the same time, P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. Ltd. presented an exhibition of Indian miniatures, accompanied by a magnificent catalogue—*Indian Painting*, with parts written by three separate authors: Toby Falk, Ellen S. Smart, and Robert Skelton. The Colnaghi pictures included an additional leaf from the *Iskandar-nama* (see figs. 37 and 38) and another from the Bombay *Laur-Chandā* (see figs. 39 and 40). More important—Skelton's short presentation of "The *Iskandar-nama* of Nusret Shah—a Royal Sultanate manuscript dated 938 A.H. 1531-2 A.D." (pp. 133-152) adds greatly to our knowledge of Sultanate miniatures and for this reason must be noted here. Besides the obvious value of a detailed publication of a very important text with all of its miniatures reproduced, Skelton neatly explained the history of our lack of knowledge of Sultanate painting and the evolution of its clarification. In addition, he appended a separate bibliography and a list of London auctions in which Sultanate material has been sold.

At the two Sotheby auctions, I purchased two lots of Sultanate miniatures. The first—April 3, 1978, lot 136—is a group of 24 miniatures on 31 leaves of an incomplete manuscript of Firdousi's *Shah-nama*, from the Kevorkian fund. It was unknown to Fraad and Ettinghausen in 1971. The sale of May 4 included two leaves from anther *Shah-nama*, the one catalogued by Fraad and Ettinghausen as Group B 10 Lot 2 was of Iskandar's hunting expedition (fig. 53). 3 Lot shows Rustam lassoing the Chaqan of Chin and pulling him from his elephant (fig. 54). It now figures in my collection also.

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ASCHWIN DE LIPPE

Music in Stone

Indian musical instruments and their history have been described and analyzed by Curt Sachs,[1] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy,[2] and Claude Marcel-Dubois.[3]

It has been argued that the term *vīṇā* was applied, over the centuries, to three different types of instruments.

The oldest *vīṇā* was the bow-shaped or curved harp which we already encounter at Bharhut and Sanchi (second-first centuries B.C.). It generally had seven strings—sometimes ten—and was played by a woman, seated. This pattern continues at Mathura (second-third centuries A.D.). At Gandhara and Amaravati (second-fourth centuries A.D.), the instrument was played by a man sometimes standing. Coomaraswamy mentions as the latest occurrence of the harp-*vīṇā* a Pāla dynasty Sarasvatī relief in the Dacca Museum[4] ("eighth century?" probably not before ninth). Both he and Mrs. Marcel-Dubois state that the instrument passed out of use during the post-Gupta period. Since the beginning of our era, type II b which was played without plectrum replaced the earlier form; it subsisted through the seventh century[5] and still occurs at Masrur (Kangra) in the eighth or ninth.[6]

However, Daniélou publishes a harp-player on the Kalachuri temple at Sohagpur (late eleventh century, Central India).[7]

Both Coomaraswamy[8] and Mrs. Marcel-Dubois illustrate the curved harp (type III a) on a Pawāyā relief in the Gwalior Museum (fifth century) where it is played by a seated woman. She also mentions its appearance at Kanheri (cave 90, sixth century) where it is played by the divine harpist Pañchaśikha (seated) when Śakra (Indra) visits the Buddha in the Indraśāla cave. The curved harp also occurs on the base of the Parel stele (sixth century) where it is strummed by a seated *gaṇa*.[9]

The lovely terracotta relief of a *gandharva* playing the harp (British Museum, given by Douglas Barrett) dates from the late Gupta period (fig. 55). The harp apparently has ten strings and is played without a plectrum.

The curved harp appears on the well-known Naṭeśa relief (fig. 56) in the Ellora Rāmeśvara (cave 21, late sixth century) but, due to the play of light and shadow, it generally has not been recognized. Consequently the richly bejewelled lady who plays it, seated on a pillow—opposite a singer—has been interpreted as Pārvatī with child Skanda.[10]

It does not seem to have been generally noticed that the instrument appears in the south. In the Raṅganātha cave-temple at Namakkal in Salem district (Atiya, early eighth century), a *gandharva* couple floats on the clouds above Trivikrama; the male plays the curved harp (fig. 57).

According to Daniélou, the curved harp was called *kinnarī-vīṇā* i.e. *vīṇā* of the centaurs or bird-women.[11]

G.H. Tarlekar,[12] quoting an early twelfth century author (Someśvara), associates the term *kinnarī-vīṇā* with a string instrument of fourteen chords and fourteen frets (for the notes of two octaves); B.C. Deva[13] calls it a cither.

[1] C. Sachs, *Musikinstrumente Indiens*, Berlin 1923
[2] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Parts of a Vīṇā", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* v. 50 (1930) pp. 244 ff. and "The Old Indian *Vīṇā*" v. 51 (1931) pp. 47 ff.
[3] C. Marcel-Dubois, *Les Instruments de Musique de l'Inde Ancienne*, Paris 1941
[4] N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in The Dacca Museum*, Dacca 1929, pl. XXXII
[5] Marcel-Dubois, *loc. cit.*
[6] Marcel-Dubois, *ibid.*, ASI, A.R. 1915-1916, pl. XXXIV b
[7] A. Daniélou, "Les traditions musicales", *Inde Du Nord*, Berlin 1966, fig. 2. p. 88
[8] *J.A.O.S.* 1931, *loc. cit.*
[9] *Roopa-Lekha* XXVIII, 1-2 (March 1958)
[10] R.S. Gupte and B.D. Mahajan, *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Bombay 1962, p. 213; H. Zimmer and J. Campbell, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York 1955, vol. I, pp. 295-296; cp. however, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1914-1916, II/1, p. 259
[11] *loc. cit.*, p. 88
[12] "Fretted Vīṇā in Indian Sculpture", *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, vol. 36, pt. I-IV (1965)
[13] "Classification of Indian Musical Instruments", *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society*, Baroda, vol. 4, no. 1 (1973)

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Tarlekar quotes the Nāṭyaśāstra (chapter XXIX) for the term *Chitrā-viṇā* as the name of the harp-*viṇā* with seven strings; it would have been played without a plectrum, contrary to the nine-string instrument called *Vipañā-viṇā*. Alain Daniélou, however, does not believe that the *Chitrā-viṇā* was ever a harp but rather (that it was) a lute.

V.R. Mani[14] points out that the Tevaram hymns mention *yāl* (harp) and *viṇā*, clearly distinguishing two different instruments. S. Krishnaswami[15] again tells us that the ancient Tamil texts call the harp *yazh*; he adds that the seven-string harp was called *Senkotti-yazh*.

The bow-shaped or curved harp survives in the Burmese *saun* which has thirteen strings, and the Siamese *phin*.

The next *viṇā* in time is an ovoid lute or mandolin, ancestor of the Chinese *p'i-pa* (Japanese *biwa*). It has four strings and pegs (Gandhara, Amaravati, Udayagiri) or five (Pawāyā, Nāchnā). Besides Nāchnā (fig. 58) we add Mukundarā (Kotah, fifth century) where it is almost round, and the base of the Mandasor Śiva stele (mid-sixth century) where it has five strings. The neck sometimes is slightly bent back.

Together with the curved harp, the lute appears on the same Pawāyā relief and on the Parel stele. Both instruments thus were played by the same orchestra. We may therefore expect them to have different names.

In the seventh century, the instrument becomes larger, but the big counterbass, a variation, does not occur during or after the Gupta period.

Another variant, with a round body and long neck, appears in a pillar relief of the Mallikārjuna at Paṭṭaḍakal (Chāḷukya, mid-eighth century).[16] We may add that this form also occurs in the Vishṇu cave-temple at Tirumayam (late eighth century) in Pudukkoṭṭai, above the Anantaśayī; it is carried by the *gandharva* Tumburu.[17] The cave-temple is a Muttaraiyar excavation, but the region was at least temporarily under Pāṇḍya suzerainty, and the Pāṇḍyas were friends and allies of the Chāḷukyas.

The Tumburu above the Raṅganātha in the Malayadipatti cave-temple in Pudukkoṭṭai (Muttaraiyar, early ninth century)[18] has a long-necked lute. According to my notes, the one in the Namakkal Raṅganātha cave[19] also holds a lute with a fairly long neck.

The lute survives in the Tranvancore *dunduṛi*.

The third and historically latest string instrument called *viṇā* is the so-called stick-cithara, ancestor of the modern *viṇā*. The "stick" is a hollow bamboo tube; it has one string and one additional gourd resonator. The instrument first appears at Ajanta (about 500) and Mamallapuram[20] (seventh century); then in Ellora cave 15 (about 725). It is played by men, the sound-box being pressed against the hollow of the shoulder.[21]

We may add the occurrence at Nāchnā—Kutharā (early sixth century), together with the lute (fig. 58). This again suggests the existence of two different names for the two different instruments.

At Bādāmī (cave I Ardhanārī, early seventh century) the resonator is pressed against the left chest, as at Elephanta—inviting the interpretation as the female breast, in a kind of visual pun; at Ālampur (Bāla-Brahmā, mid-seventh century) against the middle of the chest (fig. 59); at Kilaiyur (892) it rests on the shoulder. Later (eleventh century), the cithara is played by women; the resonator now is held against the shoulder. As of the twelfth century, in the north, the *viṇā* has two spherical resonators but still only one string.[22] The modern *viṇā* has seven strings and twenty-two frets (since the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries),[23] on a long, narrow sounding board.

Alain Daniélou informs me (by letter); "One "should not forget that the relation 7/22 has a cosmo-"logical significance; therefore a *viṇā* should have seven "strings and twenty-two frets although only four strings "are melodic. Three lateral strings are used for giving "the tonic and rhythmic accompaniment.

"The one-string *viṇā* is still in use as an instrument "of wandering minstrels. Today it has only one gourd. "One cannot consider it as older than the seven-string "*viṇā*."

On Pāṇḍya and Early Choḷa monuments in the south, we encounter an instrument which looks like and has been called[24] a primitive kind of *viṇā* (cithara).

[14] "Musical Instruments of Ancient India", *Bulletin of the Institute for Traditional Cultures*, Madras (1965) pt. II
[15] "Musical Instruments in Indian Plastic Art; String", *Journal of the Indian Musicological Society*, Baroda (1975)
[16] H. Cousens, "Chālukyan Architecture", *Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 42 (1926), pl. 48
[17] K.V. Soundara Rajan, "The Typology of the Anantaśayī Icon", *Artibus Asiae* XXIX, 1(1967), pl. VIII
[18] *ibid.*
[19] Soundara Rajan, *loc. cit.*; P.R. Srinivasan, "Sculptures in the Two Rockcut Vaishṇava Cave Temples at Namakkal", *Artibus Asiae* XXIV (1961)
[20] Dharmarāja-ratha; Arjuna's penance.
[21] Marcel-Dubois. *loc. cit.*
[22] *ibid.*
[23] Coomaraswamy, Daniélou, *loc. cit.*
[24] C. Sivaramamurti, "Kalugumalai and Early Paṇḍyan Rock cut Shrines", Bombay 1961, p. 30

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It has one string and apparently no gourd-resonator; it is held in a vertical position (fig. 60). However, it is played with a short bow—which would make it a kind of fiddle. The musician always is a *gaṇa* who accompanies his song. We see this configuration at Tirumalai (early eighth century), at Kalugumalai (late eighth century), at Kodumbalur (Aivarkoil, early ninth century) and twice at Pullamangai (910-920; next to Gaṇeśa and on the *maṇḍapa* roof).

Five cave-temples in Pudukkoṭṭai are distinguished by a musical inscription which has been discussed by the brothers K.R. Venkataraman and K.R. Srinivasan.[25] They discounted the previous Pallava attribution and demonstrated that the musical notation, formulated by "the Jaina preceptor and master of music Guṇasena" was inscribed by a king who calls himself "a worshipper of Śiva and a disciple of Rudrāchārya", a Kālāmukha or Māheśvara preceptor and master of music. The temples date from about 750 and were created by the Pāṇḍya dynasty.

The inscriptions consist of a short, framed calligraphic label reading *Parivādinī-e* and of a musical treatise, both in beautiful Pallava-Grantha script (fig. A). The treatise as well as the additional Sanskrit and Tamil colophons are reduced to tantalizing fragments; the remainder having been obliterated in order to make room for other inscriptions, or being concealed by structural additions.

Parivādinī is translated as "the seven-stringed lute". As we have seen above, the archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient cithara had only one string while the lute had four or five. Consequently, the *parivādinī* would be the bow-shaped or curved harp.

This corresponds with the opinion of Coomaraswamy who translates the term *parivādinī* which he found in Aśvaghosha's Buddhacharita[26] (about A.D. 100) as the "seven-stringed lute i.e. the harp-*vīṇā*".[11] Alain Daniélou informs me that the *parivādinī* is mentioned by Kālidāsa as well (about A.D. 400).

He continues: "I hardly see why the fact that it "has seven strings would imply that it is a harp. Music-"ally a seven-string harp is insufficient and would have "to be retuned for each change of mode or *rāga* which "would be very inconvenient and goes against the theory "of *grāmas* (basic scales) and *mūrchhanās* (mode obtained

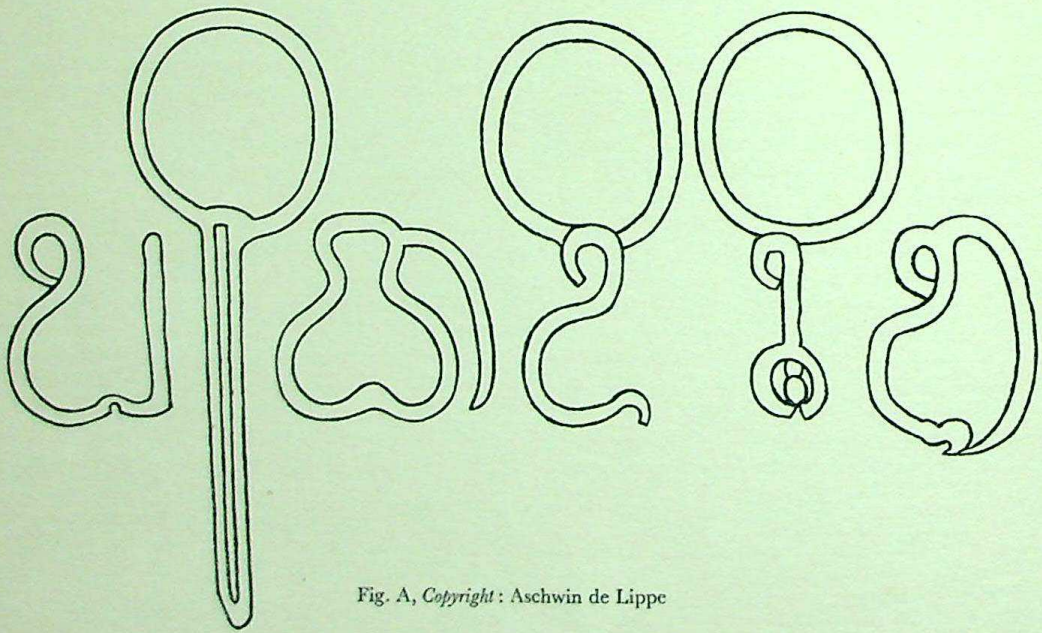

Fig. A, *Copyright*: Aschwin de Lippe

[25] K.R. Venkataraman in *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* 1960-1961, Introduction, p. 20; K.R. Srinivasan, Some Non-Pallava Cave Temples with Musical Inscriptions, *Damilica* I, 1971

[26] V/55; Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit. J.A.O.S.* 50 (1930)

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"by taking as a starting point other strings than the "first one). The theory of *mūrchhanās* and *grāmas* is of "great antiquity, being mentioned in Pāṇini (fourth "century B.C.) and the Pañchatantra.

"If one considers that the basic modes are penta- "tonic, the heptatonic ones being variants as seems "to have been the older theory, a ten-string harp "is a perfect instrument for the accompaniment of "songs. In any case, the musical possibilities of the "ancient harp are much too limited to make it a solo "instrument."

This would exclude the harp as interpretation of the *parivādinī*. Perhaps the latter term designates the round, long-necked lute mentioned above.

Daniélou says elsewhere in the same letter: "The "correlation of the instruments found in temple archi- "tecture with those mentioned in texts remains quite "difficult and is mainly arbitrary." One might, perhaps, also say that the interpretation of technical terms in the texts remains quite difficult, and that the archaeo- logical evidence does not always support the musico- logical theory.

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P. R. SRINIVASAN

Four Pieces of Sculpture

While studying the groups of sculptures at Sarnath and Nalanda I have come across a number of very interesting examples of sculptures as well as reliefs noted for their beautiful symbols and designs. Here I am dealing with two sculptures of a seated male deity—one from Sarnath and another of the same deity from Nalanda and also with beautiful bas-reliefs. The first sculpture (fig. 61) from Sarnath represents a deity seated on a rectangular pedestal with the right leg hanging below and the left bent and kept on the seat. The figure is somewhat plumpy and together with a slightly floated belly and stout arms and legs, it obviously gives an impression that it is a representation of a lord of the *Gaṇas*. The face is round and chubby, eyes open and roundish, brows knitted at the junction and the mouth is open giving an over-all impression of subdued happiness. There is a third eye on the forehead. The head of the figure bears a skull in the centre flanked on either side by a human hand. At the bottom of the skull is a representation of the crescent moon. Above the skull is shown curls of hair arranged fanwise. In the right ear a *kuṇḍala* probably a *makara* is seen while in the left ear there is the *patra-kuṇḍala*. Over the right shoulder a hooded serpent is seen.

The figure is two-armed. They bear armlets of the encircling serpent type *(nāga-valayas)*. The right hand is seen to hold a bowl *(pātra)*. The manner in which the fingers are depicted is indeed very beautiful. The figure holds a trident *(triśūla)* in its left hand. Here too the workmanship is good. On the neck there is a *kaṇṭhikā*, made of either jewels or pearls, with a prominent pendant in the middle. A *yajñopavīta* of a piece of cloth *(vastra-yajñopavīta)* is seen on the body. It is not known if the figure wears any lower cloth. The sculptor has designed the lower part so as to avoid showing any details like the cloth below the waist portion. A prominent anklet composed of *kiṅkiṇīs* is seen on the left anklet, while this is damaged on the right ankle. The details given above, such as the third eye, the crescent moon, the trident and the *patra-kuṇḍala* in the left ear, will go to show that the sculpture represents Śiva. It is known that in the formative periods of Hindu iconography, the gods and goddesses were shown also with two arms. Especially figures of Śiva with two arms are not uncommon in those periods. If this is a Śiva image, then the question arises what the bowl in his right hand indicates. In all probability it represents the bowl containing the poison called the *hālāhala*, which Śiva is known to have drunk at the time of the churning of the milky ocean by the *devas* and the *asuras*. If this is so, then the figure may be said to represent Śiva as Vishāpaharaṇa. The workmanship of the whole figure, together with the early feature of the curly hair on the head, may suggest a Gupta date for the sculpture, probably a late period at that.

The second figure (fig. 62) from Nalanda will be immediately seen to be identical with the one examined above. But here it is seated on a low *āsana* in an architectural setting in an arched niche-like place. Some of the differences between the two are as follows : Here the hair is shown as a *jaṭābhāra*, the *kaṇṭhikā* has no pendant, the serpent is on the left shoulder, an *udara-bandha* is seen, the *yajñōpavīta* is made of rectangular pieces (of gold?), a chain-like waist-band is seen and there is no anklet present. Further, the expression on the face of this figure shows anger rather than happiness. Another important detail noticed here is the representation of a cluster of something in the right hand in place of the bowl met with in the other. But there is no doubt that here the cluster represents the *hālāhala* poison only. Thus this figure may also represent Śiva as Vishāpaharaṇa. The style of this figure is evidently of a later date, perhaps of the eighth century A.D. Nevertheless, the sculpture is executed in a forceful manner.

These two sculptures one coming from Sarnath and the other from Nalanda, and representing the same deity is indicative of the fact that the people of North India of those times were fascinated by this wonderful *purāṇic* story and so arranged for its representation for purposes of worship and adoration.

The two relief-sculptures dealt with here are both from Sarnath. In one (fig. 63) there is a design in the middle flanked on either side by another design, divided by a hanging garland. The middle design consists of a wheel *(chakra)* of ten revolving spokes, encircled by four *śrīvatsa* symbols one in each of the four cardinal directions. A lotus flower is depicted at each of the four corners of this compartment. The interesting point of this design is the beautiful style in which the *śrīvatsa* symbols are rendered. The designs flanking this central

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design, represent the *triratna* symbol which is common to both Buddhism and Jainism. Sarnath being a place of Buddhist importance, here the design represents the Buddhist *triratna* viz., the Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Saṁgha*. The *triratna* symbol is like a trident, but here the central prong is stunted while the side ones are curved and end in fish-tail form. This trident-like part rests on a plain circular part which is enthroned on a three-stepped pedestal. Each stage of the pedestal is carved with lotus petals, which may be taken to indicate that the pedestal represents *padmāsana*. The whole frieze is finely designed and beautifully proportioned that it is a good specimen of sculpture in bas-relief. This may be said to belong to the early part of the Gupta period.

The next relief (fig. 64) is another architectural piece. Here two designs are seen very prominently. The one on the left evidently represents the *śrīvatsa*. It is shown in a majestic manner with lotus buds projecting out of its two bottom curls. To its right is shown the design with a lotus figure at the centre and four *triratna* symbols projecting one each from the four cardinal points. Besides, from the interspaces between two such symbols comes out a lotus stalk. It may be seen that here each of the *triratna* symbols has to be viewed separately from the other. In this case, it will look like placed on a lotus flower which is another manner of showing the wheel. When this is so, these *triratna* symbols may be seen to be similar to the *triratna* designs seen in fig. 63 discussed above. It is interesting to note that while in the previous relief a wheel is encompassed on its four sides by *śrīvatsa* symbols, here a wheel represented by a full-blown lotus flower has been surrounded on all its four sides by *triratna* symbols. For all the innocuous nature of these two designs, probably there is some principle, underlying each. It may be that in the former case, *śrī* or *the riches* of everything may be said to flow out of the *dharma-chakra*, or the rhythm in life; and that in the latter case, from the wheel, now converted into a lotus flower which is the abode of Śrī or the goddess of wealth or riches, proceeds the *triratna* or the three jewels, viz., the Buddha (the law giver), the *Dharma* (the law) and the *Saṁgha* (the followers), without which there will be no order and good in the world.

A word about the symbolic manner of showing Śrī may be said here although A.K. Coomaraswamy and others have said a lot about this. The aniconic form of the goddess has been popular throughout India for a long time. Then came semi-iconic representation of Śrī of which a good example in a stone sculpture of about the ninth century A.D. is known from Kāverippākkaṃ, Chingleput District, Tamil Nadu, which is now housed in the Government Museum at Madras. This sculpture has been adopted as the *lāñchhana* by the Archaeological Society of South India, and an interpretation of the symbol has been given there which is reproduced below: "Śrī, seated on purity, the Lotus, which rises from plenty, the waters, and in the midst of hoardes of substances, the *Nidhis*, the Treasures—which, though symbolically nine, are usually mentioned, for clarity, as two, the *Śaṅkha* (the conch) and the *Padma* (the Lotus) *Nidhis*, —shone upon by the light given off by the substances and lustrated by Elephants who are the showerers of the wealth of the Quarters, she causes wealth to be attained to by Effort, without any giving by her and without any coming by her to give, she lacking feet that could walk and hands that could give."

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RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN and EDWARD P. HENDERSON

Jahāngīr's "Meteoritic" Knife

It rarely happens that an object from the Near or Middle East can be historically pinpointed. In certain cases, it is true, we find the name of the patron, often of a high if not of the highest social station, inscribed on it and at times also the year and place of manufacture. Still even then while we have a general notion of the significance of the piece our comprehension of the specific circumstances of its making and its meaning remains nebulous. The Mughal Indian piece discussed here is an exception to the rule. It surfaced over twenty years ago from a limbo which had lasted over 350 years, and it is certainly high time to be made known to a wider public. It is a special pleasure to do so as a tribute to Rai Krishnadasa, a great scholar and leader in the field of Indian Art, who though familiar with all its aspects, always took a special interest in the arts of the Mughals.

In the following the general and art historical presentation will be made by the first author through whom the object was acquired by the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington in 1955 from a Persian called Malek Sahāmī. The second author once associated with the United States National Museum (Museum of Natural History) was the first to see and recognize the object and as he is a specialist in meteorites, he will make scientific comments.

I

The subject of this article is a knife *(kārd)* with a gold inlaid steel handle and a blade of rather coarse watered or damascened steel (fig. 65). It is generally speaking of very fine workmanship. There are, however, two aspects which indicate that it is not an ordinary object. There is first the image of an umbrella *(chhatra)* inlaid in gold on one side of the blade which implies that it was fashioned for a ruler.[1] Who that was and the circumstances of its making are indicated by a Persian inscription in *nasta'līq* script which likewise inlaid in gold is placed on the spine of the blade. The tang is here only 3 mm high, but the writing is clearly visible and easily readable, which is one more sign of the excellence of the artisan's ability (fig. B). The text states:

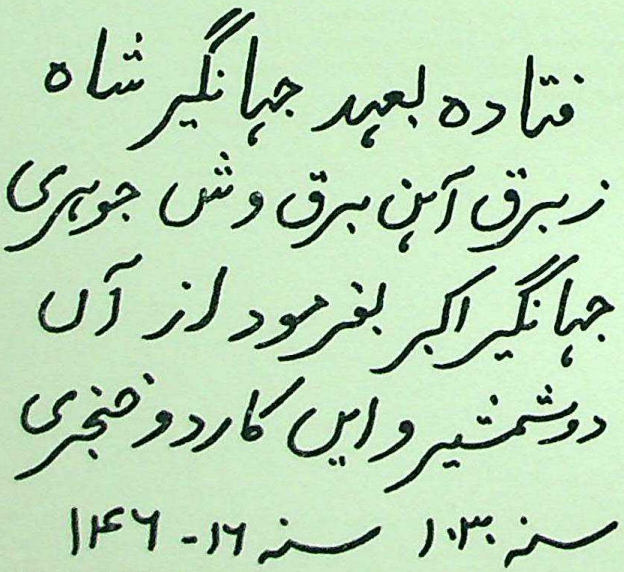

Fig. B

[1] Delhi Museum of Archaeology. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities. Coronation Durbar*, 1911. *An Illustrated Selection of the Principal Exhibits.* Published by the Archaeological Survey of India, p. 27 and pl. XLIX. In Arabic it is called *mizalla* (see P. Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden"). *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Neue Folge, vol. 14 (1935), p. 338, n. 2

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"There fell in the time of Jahāngīr Shāh from lightning iron a lightning-like precious piece. Jahāngīr (the son of Akbar) ordered to make from it two swords *(shamshīr)*, this knife *(kārd)* and a dagger *(khanjar)*. In the year 1030 (=1621 A.D.). In the year 16 (of Jahāngīr's succession), 146" (fig. 66).

Before commenting on the inscription and its significance, it may be mentioned that the word *jawharī* (i) in the second line means (like *gawhar*) "jewel, or precious piece" but it can also stand for watered or damascened steel. There is therefore a word play involved as the blade is actually made of this specially treated material. The number 146 at the end must be the number of an inventory, probably of the Imperial Treasure house; it seems less likely that it refers to the work list of a master craftsman, especially as his name is not mentioned. The inscription refers to a meteor and the making from it of four objects of a similar character in 1621 on the order of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. It is obvious that this is an event described in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* rendered as follows in the translation of Alexander Rogers ( ):

> One of the strange events of this time was that on 30 Farwardin (about 10 April, 1621) in the present year, in a certain village of the parganā of Jālandhar, in the morning, a terrible noise arose from the East, such that its inhabitants, from fright at that terror-increasing sound, nearly deserted their bodies. Whilst this noise and disturbance were going on, a light fell from above on the ground, and the people thought that fire was raising down from heaven. After a moment, when that noise ceased, and their troubled hearts recovered from their bewilderment and terror, they sent a quick runner to the collector *('āmil)* Muhammad Sa'īd, and informed him of what had occurred. He immediately rode there himself, and went to look at the spot. For ten or twelve yards in length and breadth the land was so burnt that no trace of any grass or green was left, and there were still signs of heat and burning. He ordered them to dig up the soil, and the more they dug the greater the heat appeared to be till they came to a place where a piece of heated iron appeared. It was as hot as if it had been taken off of a furnace. After a while it became cold, and taking it up, he conveyed it to his house, and placing it in a *kharītā* (cover), which he sealed, he sent it to Court. I ordered them to weigh it in my presence, and it came to 160 *tolās*. I ordered Master *(Ustād)* Dā'ūd to make a sword, a dagger, and a knife of it, and bring them to me. He represented that it would not stand below the hammer, and fell to pieces. I told him in that case to mix it with other iron and make use of it. As I had told him, he mixed three parts of lightning-iron and one of other iron, and having made two swords, one dagger and one knife, brought them to me. From the mixing of other iron he had brought out its quality (watering). According to the manner of the excellent swords of Yaman and the South, it could be bent, and became straight again. I ordered them to test it in my presence. It cut very well, equal to true swords. I called one the *Shamshīr-i-qāṭi'* (keen sword) and the other *Barq-sirisht* (lightning-natured). Bī-badal Khān composed a quatrain which demonstrated these particulars, and recited it:
>
> By Shāh Jahāngīr the world acquired order.
> There fell in his reign raw iron from lightning.
> From that iron were made by his world-taking command,
> A dagger, a knife, and two scimitars.
>
> And "Spark of royal lightning" gave the date (A.H. 1030).

In another translation of a report of the event based on the *Iqbāl-nāmeh-i Jahāngīrī*, basically the same account is given, though with a slightly different wording. The only factual differences are that Ustād Dā'ūd is mentioned as an armourer "who was well-known in those days for the sword-blades he made". It was also this artisan (not the Emperor) who suggested that the meteoritic iron "could be mixed with pure and faultless iron" and to this Jahāngīr agreed. Also, "when the cutting power of these (newly fashioned) swords was compared with that of other swords, they stood at the very head of all the swords".

The knife in the Freer Gallery of Art is therefore the only surviving (or at least known) product resulting from this reported fall of a meteor in 1621. As such it deserves a careful description. It weighs 96.5 grams and measures 27.5 cm from the tip of the blade to the end of the movable heart-shaped attachment of the hilt. The blade is 16.5 cm long and its maximum width is 2 cm. The blade and the tang together measure 25.7 cm. The thickness of the back of the blade increases to 2.5 mm, while the thickness of the tang is about 3 mm. The handle is 8 cm long.

The round handle is decorated in front and back in five units: a half medallion, a cartouche, a full medallion, a cartouche, and another half medallion, all of them showing their ornamental designs deeply chiselled against hammered-in, that is depressed, background. The half medallions show the killing of a bird by a bird of prey above it, while the medallion in the center presents a lion above a prone quadruped (antelope?) (fig. 67). These patterns are delicately executed but they

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are common decorative motifs often found in the various decorative arts of Iran and Mughal India in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century (carpets, textiles, painted marginal decorations, etc.). In this particular instance, however, being an implement made for an Imperial patron, they also have a symbolic meaning as they graphically render the exercise of supreme power. As such they have often been used in the Islamic world. The cartouches and the movable ovoid attachment to the hilt carry arabesques, while the slanting area between hilt and blade and a section of the latter's back carry more leaf-like designs which are inlaid in gold. The five ornamental units on the hilt are also framed by thin, inlaid gold lines; as stated gold is also employed for the *nastaʿliq* inscription and the umbrella on the blade; finally it should be remarked that the arabesques of the hilt attachment are placed against a gold background.

The high quality of the work on the knife is shown by comparison with a similar contemporary object from Mughal India: a knife in the City Art Museum in St. Louis (fig. 68). It is very close to the Jahāngīr piece in the general shape, the attached ornament on the hilt and the use of arabesques set against a deeply chiselled, hammered-in background. It lacks, however, the delicate gold inlay and the more ambitious decorations with animals placed in tiny areas. The Jahāngīr knife is obviously a superior work.

While the outstanding craftsmanship of Jahāngīr's knife is obvious, one important fact about it cannot be ascertained by mere visual inspection. That is, whether or not the blade was an admixture of meteoritic with other iron, as the *Memoirs* of the Emperor indicate. The technical report in Part II of this essay gives conclusive evidence of a technical nature about this point. It should be mentioned, however, that the account in the *Memoirs* is strangely silent about this point. After Ustād Dā'ūd had presented the four objects, only the two swords were tested in the Emperor's presence and were found to be of excellent quality. This led the Emperor to give an honorific name to each of them, but there is no further word about the other two objects. It may well be that the available meteoritic iron was insufficient for all four pieces and it was reserved solely to be mixed with steel for the swords. Master Dā'ūd may have been satisfied with a single demonstration of the swords and silently passed over the other two minor objects.

Distinguished as the design is which one finds on the hilt of Jahāngīr's dagger, it is nevertheless evident that it does not show a specific Mughal aspect. Actually the design follows the tradition of Iranian metalwork from the end of the fifteenth century. This is evident when one compares the design on the Jahāngīr blade with that on a Persian dagger dated 902 A.H./September 1496—August 1497, in the Wallace Collection in London. Although there the animals are not given in cartouches, the manner in which they are artistically rendered and freely combined with floral designs foreshadows the designs on the Mughal dagger.[2]

Finally it should be remarked that the imputed inclusion of meteoritic was apparently more than just a momentary whim of the Emperor. There must have been an underlying notion of magic power imparted by such material of heavenly, if not divine origins. This is borne out by the fact that, according to the fourteenth century Egyptian historian Qalqashandī, the personal sword of the Fāṭimid caliph of Egypt (up to the time of Mustanṣir and the period of depression in 1061-69) was said to have been made from a meteor *(ṣāʿiqa)*, decorated with gold and inlaid with jewels and kept in a cover *(kharītā)* with a golden design from which only the tip of its hilt projected. It was carried by one of the noblest emirs in solemn procession.[3]

II

Each year the Smithsonian Institution receives numerous objects that are assumed to be meteorites, and occasionally a freshly fallen one or a new discovery of an old meteorite is acquired. However, the knife Malek Sahāmī brought to the Smithsonian Institution was one of the most unusual "suspected" meteorites ever received. This knife, according to the inscription on the back of the blade, contained meteoritic iron from a meteorite that fell in 1621, during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr (fig. 66).

It is important to note that the use of meteoritic iron in the blade was more than a whim of the Emperor. Apparently at a much earlier date a belief developed in the Near and Middle East that the use of meteoritic iron in a sword made the metal sharper, and that anyone armed with such a weapon was thought to have some advantage over an adversary.

Meteoritic iron when polished has characteristic structures which man-made iron lacks, so it was thought a careful examination of this knife might identify the presence of some meteoritic iron. Perhaps even a visual examination could still isolate bits of meteoritic iron. There was a possibility, of course, that the smith had

[2] A.S. Melikian-Chirvani: "Four Pieces of Islamic Metalwork: Some Notes on a Previously Unknown School", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers (AARP)*, no. 10, September 1976, p. 25, figure 2

[3] Khale, *loc. cit.*, p. 339, n. 1

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repeatedly forged and reworked the metal in the blade until its original meteoritic structures were almost totally destroyed. However, even though the meteoritic iron had been extensively reworked, the metal would retain much of its nickel content; thus chemical tests would be more reliable and microchemical tests were proposed. Mr. Sahāmī authorized the tests after it was demonstrated that microchemical tests could detect very minute traces of nickel. The more tests made the more chances there were of finding meteoritic iron.

There were five delicate lamellae on the back of this knife which extended back from the tip of the blade a distance of 6 centimeters. These parallel layers were assumed to be strips of iron which were beaten thin and then forged together. Meteoritic iron sometimes has similar lamellar structures, but other than this feature nothing resembling the usual structures occurring in iron meteorites was found.

Description of Microchemical Tests

A few drops of warm dilute hydrochloric acid (1 part acid, 1 part water) were dropped on the blade, and these drops spread over several structures in the metal. The action of the acid was observed under a binocular microscope, and a delicate odour of carbides was detected. When hydrochloric acid is placed on man-made iron, carbide odours are given off but meteoritic iron does not contain carbides that are readily attacked by this acid.

When the salts started to form around the edges of the acid pool some of the liquid was pulled into a capillary tube and transferred to a glass slide and the solution was evaporated to dryness; the residue was taken up in dilute nitric acid and reevaporated to dryness. This last step was repeated at least twice to make certain all the ferrous iron was oxidized to the ferric state.

Next, enough ammonia was added to the acid solution to precipitate the brown flocculent iron hydroxide; and then a capillary tube was inserted into that solution taking care to pick-up as little of the brown precipitate as possible. After several drops of clear liquid were collected on another glass slide, some 3% dimethylgloxime solution was added; if nickel was present, a bulky red precipitate would form. Only once was there a slight trace of red noted in the solution after the dimethylgloxime was added.

It should be recalled that after the smith saw the meteorite he advised the Emperor that there was not enough material to make a sword, a dagger and a knife from it, and that the smith asked for and received permission to use man-made iron along with the meteoritic iron to make those articles. It can be assumed that the man-made iron had been reduced from various local Indian iron ores and that some of these ores may have contained a trace of nickel. That would account for the trace of nickel that was found in one of about twenty five microchemical tests that were made.

Types of Meteorites

There are essentially two types of meteorites, those made of metal and stony meteorites, which usually contain small inclusions of nickel-iron. Stony meteorites fall much more frequently than iron meteorites; about twenty-five stony meteorites are seen to fall for one iron meteorite. Although meteorites are never abundant in any place they are assumed to be rather uniformly scattered over all large land areas. Since meteorites have been falling on this earth for countless ages, no sizable land area should have an unusual concentration of a single type of meteorite. Only five iron meteorites from India are known and most of these are witnessed falls. One of the five is the Jahāngīr fall of 1621.

What has happened to the iron meteorites that fell in India? Two other large land surfaces, Australia and United States have yielded many iron and stony meteorites. There is no known reason why these two land surfaces should have a different meteorite coverage than India. The obvious explanation fits nicely into this discussion. The peoples who lived in both Australia and in United States before white man arrived were living in the stone age while the people of India, for several centuries, had advanced into the iron age. Thus the iron meteorites that had fallen in India must have served as their supply of iron.

A critical review of the translation by Alexander Rogers of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* is needed because it contained good observations to support that a meteorite did fall early one morning and also established that some of the meteorite was collected. Thus, this account contained statements that are consistent with what is known about meteorite falls as well as incorrect statements about meteorite falls. The significant points:

(1) "In the morning a terrible noise arose from the east." Any meteorite entering the atmosphere between midnight and noon is travelling at a much higher velocity than a meteorite which enters our atmosphere between noon and midnight. Thus, morning falls, due to their excessive speed, generate more noise and also are more likely to appear as a ball of fire.

(2) The objects out in space, which become meteorites after they fall through our atmosphere, are cold and moving at high velocities. When they enter our atmosphere they collide with the air and this creates heat. These falling

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objects are moving so fast that the air in front of them cannot escape, hence it becomes compressed and heated. Heat never penetrates a falling meteorite very far because as the surface of the object is heated the material in the surface layer is softened, thus it is easily carried away by the air flow. This process is a continuous operation; as the heated material is carried away, cooler material from within becomes exposed on the surface.

(3) The object that was recovered weighed 160 *tolās* about 5.27 troy pounds. Thus, it was a small meteorite (?).

(4) The meteorite (?) was later given to the Emperor or his smith who was to make it into objects for Emperor Jahāngīr.

The incorrect statements:

(1) The place where the meteorite fell "was so burned that no trace of any grass or green was left". Small meteorites, such as this one, are never hot when they fall. If that meteorite hit dry sandy soil and came in at a low angle to the ground, it could scatter dry soil over many square feet. In the confusion that existed the observers may have mistaken this freshly scattered soil for a burned over area. Two stony meteorites, both observed falls, were recovered almost the instant they fell and were covered with frost. Each stone was enough colder than the air so the moisture in the air condensed on the meteorite. One of these stones fell in India, the other one in United States.

(2) "The diggers came to a place where a piece of heated iron appeared". "It was hot as if it had been taken out of a furnace". This is totally incorrect. Any object of that weight is relatively small and no matter how high the temperature was when it fell, that small body did not have the heat capacity to remain hot very long. Falling meteorites are rapidly reduced in size as they fall and as these bodies become smaller their speed of fall is more easily retarded. Hence before the fall is completed the velocity is so reduced that the onrushing air cools rather than heats the surface of the falling meteorite.

(3) The object that was recovered was described in two conflicting ways. It was reported that "it does not stand below the hammer". Iron meteorites are almost impossible to break with a hammer but most stony meteorites are rather easily broken that way. One statement indicates that an iron meteorite fell; the other that it was a stony meteorite. The chances that a stony meteorite did fall are at least twenty-five to one.

(4) The decision to make a sword was made almost at once and it was agreed to mix this "lightning iron" with man-made iron so all the implements the Emperor wanted could be made. This implies that at that time, 1621, it was established custom to use meteoritic iron in the manufacture of swords. This observation supports the point raised earlier that the old falls of iron meteorites in India were used as a source of iron.

Conclusion

The examination of the Jahāngīr knife failed to detect the presence of meteoritic iron. At this point the author is tempted to make a conjectural statement. Since the supply of that 1621 meteorite was limited why would the Emperor order his sword maker to put meteoritic iron into a knife? He would have ordered it to be used in making the sword because prior to this fall meteoritic iron was used in making swords that were said to be unusually sharp, and because it gave the owner of the sword some special advantage. When and if the Emperor's sword is found, it will be interesting to see if this conjecture is valid.

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PRAMOD CHANDRA

The Judgment of Khusraü in the Garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān: An Illustration to the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī

The emperor Jahāngīr's copy of his own *memoirs* must have been a magnificent treasure of the imperial library, but of the manuscript itself we have very little precise information. Thus we know next to nothing of its size, the number of miniatures, their relationship to the text and so on. This is largely due to its complete dismemberment, dispersal, and considerable destruction, but nevertheless several miniatures of the Jahāngīr period continue to be attributed to it, sometime for no real reason except that the emperor and his court are represented therein.[1] Of all such miniatures, the seven in the Raza Library, Rampur, each remounted as an album folio sometime during the course of its chequered history, can authentically claim to be from the manuscript itself, one of them *(Gulāb-pāshī festival at Ajmer)* being unique in containing a line from the text of the *Tūzuk*.[2] Yet another miniature, *Feeding the poor at Ajmer*, has an empty panel, later repainted with clouds and sky, but originally also carrying a line of the text.[3] Five other miniatures, namely the *Fight between a spider and a snake, Jahāngīr visiting the shrine of Khwāja Mū'īn al-Dīn Chishti*,[4] *Return of Mukarrab Khān from Goa, Jahāngīr and the date-palm with a double trunk*, and the *Judgment of Khusraü in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān* (figs. 69-70) do not seem to have been inscribed with the text but are nevertheless such close depictions of incidents described in the *Tūzuk* that there can be little doubt that they also formed a part of the royal manuscript. The purpose of this note, written in homage to Rai Krishnadasa, whose knowledge of Indian painting is unsurpassed, is to briefly discuss the last of these miniatures and the problems that it raises in the consideration of that great manuscript.

Percy Brown first published this painting over fifty years ago in his pioneering work *Indian Painting under the Mughals*.[5] Surprisingly he identified it incorrectly taking it to represent the judgment in A.D. 1609 of one Kaukab, son of Kamar Khān and his two companions 'Abd al-Laṭīf and Sharīf, all of whom confessed to being engaged in some disgusting activity the nature of which the emperor deliberately refrained from divulging.[6] Having so identified the miniature, Brown dated it to *ca.* A.D. 1610, near about the time the incident took place, a scholarly procedure popular at the time he was writing and not yet abandoned by scholars. Actually, as the discussion below will clearly demonstrate there can be no doubt that what is represented is a very painful incident in the life of Jahāngīr when after quelling the rebellion of his son, the charming and popular Khusraü, he had him thrown in chains, the first in a series of tragic events ending in the prince's death in 1621.

The event shown occurred on 3 Ṣafar, 1015 H (10 June, 1606 A.D.)[7] in the first regnal year of Jahāngīr in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān near Lahore.[8] Shortly after the accession, Khusraü rebelled and Jahāngīr moved quickly to suppress the revolt. *Sharīf Khān*, Amīr al-Umarā[c], son of the renowned painter [c]Abd al-Ṣamad, was put in charge of the advance party, but was almost immediately recalled on account of Jahāngīr's fear for the safety of his favourite,[9] and the valiant Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī was put in his place. Later, after the submission of Khusraü in Gujarat near the river Chenab, Sharīf Khān was sent to bring him in formally to the waiting emperor in Kāmrān's garden at Lahore.[10]

The emperor, dressed in a yellow *jāmā* and orange turban, sits on a gold throne placed on a low dais beneath

[1] I. Stchoukine, for example, considered the great court scene in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, to be a part of the royal copy of the *Tūzuk* even though, on his own admittance, he was unable to trace any reference to the scene in the *memoirs*. See Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols", *Revues des Arts Asiatiques* VI, 1929-30, pp. 230-231

[2] Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, Frontispiece.

[3] *Indian Miniatures: An Album*, Delhi, 1950, pl. 17

[4] *ibid.*, pls. 19, 20

[5] *op. cit.*, p. 137, pl. 49

[6] A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 1914-18, vol. I, pl. 171

[7] Apparently not 3 Muharram as stated in the *Tūzuk*. See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maāthir al-Umarā*, translated by H. Beveridge and Baini Prasad, Calcutta, 1911-52, vol. I, p. 621, f.n. 2

[8] *Tūzuk*, vol. I, pp. 67-69

[9] *ibid.*, pp. 52-53

[10] *ibid.*, pp. 67-68

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a lightly painted black and white canopy. Underneath is a blue carpet decorated with floral arabesques and cartouches. Similar carpets, one white, one gold, the others blue, are spread around the dais and on either side of the fountain-pool opposite the emperor. Behind him stand Bhāva Siṁha (fig. C, no. 15) wearing a purple

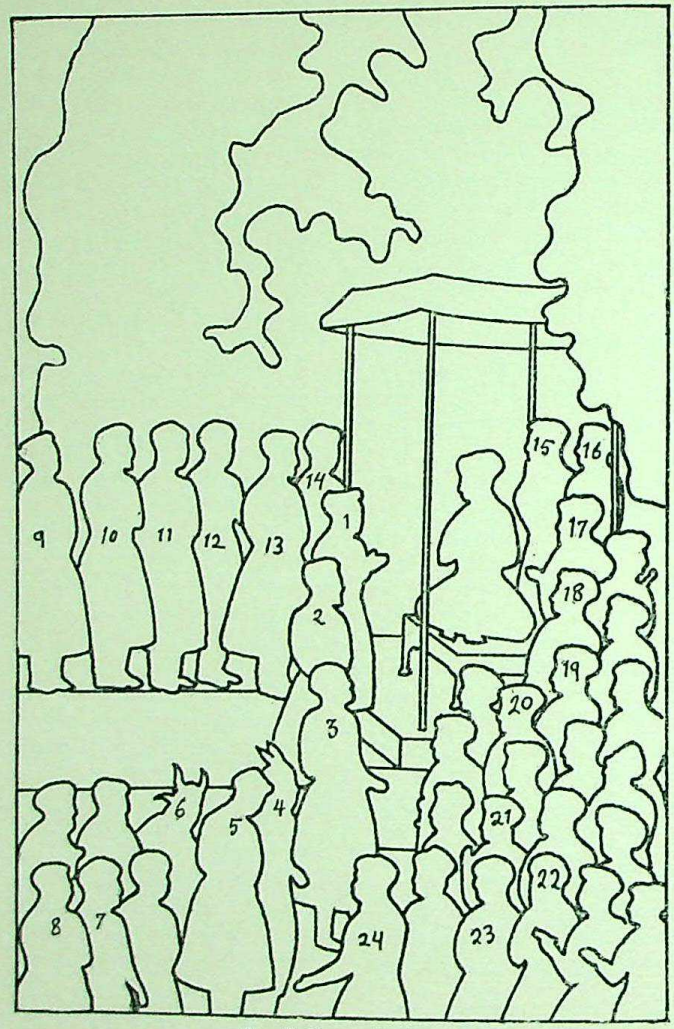

Fig. C. Key to fig. 69

jāmā and maroon turban and holding a *chaurī*, and Anī Rāya (no. 16) in white. Immediately before Jahāngīr is a man in a purple *jāmā* and green turban (no. 1), who is in all probability Sharīf Khān, Amīr al-Umarāᵉ, of whom I know no other authentic portrait. He was most surely present on this occasion and his prominent position here befits his very high rank as well as his role in bringing Khusraū to his father.[11] Below Sharīf Khān are Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, Murtazā Khān (no. 2) in a green *jāmā* and white turban and Mahābat Khān (no. 3) in a white *jāmā* and orange turban. Behind Mahābat Khān, in the company of five courtiers, are the downcast Khusraū (no. 5) and his fellow conspirators, Ḥasan Beg (no. 6), recognizable by the skin of an ox which he

[11] "I immediately ordered the Amīru-l-umarā to go to Gujarat and to bring Khusraū to wait on me." *Tūzuk*, vol. I, p. 68

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was forced to wear as part of his punishment, and ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm, bakhshi of Lahore, by the skin of an ass.[12] A large group is crowded into the space immediately below the emperor, and a row of six noblemen of high rank stand in front at the edge of the pool. Immediately behind Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg (no. 9) can be seen a red and white structure, probably a gate to the garden. The background of the picture is dominated by naturalistically painted tall mango trees, with a few small green fruits and inhabited by birds, two of which roost above and a little to the right of Jahāngīr, while yet another flits across the patch of blue sky showing through the foliage.

The picture is somewhat abraded, but fortunately the faces of the courtiers are not badly damaged. None are identified by inscription, but most of the main figures can be recognised by comparison with other portraits. See the accompanying key (fig. C)[13]: (1) Sharīf Khān (?), Amīr al-Umarās (cf. above); (2) Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, Murtazā Khān; cf. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols, Part III", *Revues des Arts Asiatiques* VII (1931-32), pl. 71, p. 236, no. 1 where he appears with a beard as here; cf. also Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols", *RAA* VI (1929-30), pl. 54, p. 220, no. 13 where he is shown beardless, apparently at a younger age; (3) Mahābat Khān; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 54, no. 11 and pl. 55, no. 14; (4) ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Khān-i khānān; (5) Khusraū; cf. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols, Part IV", *RAA* IX (1935), pl. 66, p. 192, no. 2; (6) Ḥasan Beg; (7) Unidentified; cf. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols", *RAA* VI(1929-30), pl. 55, no. 58; (8) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 54; (9) Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 54, no. 18 and pl. 54, no. 24; (11) Khān Alam; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 54, no. 1 and pl. 55, no. 18; (12) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 20; (13) Mīrzā ᶜAzīz Kokā, Khān-i Aᶜẓam; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 54, no. 3 and pl. 55, no. 13; (14) Rustam Mīrzā; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 54, no. 4 and pl. 55, no. 12; (15) Bhāva Simha; (16) Anī Rāya; (17) Itimad al-Daula; (18) Mīrzā Abu al-Hasan, later Āsaf Khān; (19) Iᶜtiqad Khān; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 32; (20) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 41; (21) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 34; (22) Unidentified; (23) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 57; and (24) Unidentified; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 55, no. 56.

Khusraū was captured in 1606, and the natural inclination—one for example which an earlier generation of scholars would have been inclined to take—would be to date the miniature about that time. Logically though this need not necessarily be so. The picture could, of course, not be earlier than the incident depicted but it is entirely possible that it was painted later in the reign of Jahāngīr. In this connection it is worthwhile examining closely the evidence presented by the *Tūzuk* itself concerning its illustrations. We learn from it, for example, that it was only in the thirteenth year of his reign (round August 1618) that Jahāngīr ordered his clerks to produce a volume by bringing together the account of the first twelve years (October 1605—March 1618).[14] The judgment of Khusraū illustrates an event in the very first year of the reign and could well have belonged to this first volume. Though the emperor does not specifically state whether the imperial copy prepared at his orders was illustrated, the fact that this was indeed the case can be inferred from two clear references in the *Tūzuk* to pictures specifically made for the first volume namely the *Return of Mukarrab Khān from Goa* and *Jahāngīr and the date-palm with a double trunk*,[15] both of which have survived and are in the Raza Library. At the same time we also know, again from the personal testimony of Jahāngīr, of an instance when a painting was made long after the event. Thus the picture of the emperor's accession to the throne by Abū al-Ḥasan and intended as the frontispiece was executed not at the time the event took place but much later being offered to him on 24 Tir in the 13th year of the reign on the occasion of the preparation of the first volume for Jahāngīr.[16] It would thus appear that the *Judgment of Khusraū* could theoretically date from anytime between June 1606, the date of the event and March 1618 when the first volume was put together at the emperor's orders.

This much being established, we have no other recourse but to style if we are to date the miniature more closely. If we compare it, for example, with the Victoria and Albert Museum *Darbār* by Manohara to be dated in the early years of the reign[17] we find here neither the deep and rich colour nor the archaistic treatment of trees and rocks which link that picture to the

[12] *Tūzuk*, pp. 68-69

[13] Sincere thanks are expressed to my student Mr. Daniel J. Ehnbom who helped me in the preparation of this article, particularly in the identification of the figures.

[14] *Tūzuk*, vol. II, pp. 26-27

[15] *Tūzuk*, vol. I, pp. 215, 353

[16] *Tūzuk*, vol. II, p. 20

[17] I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols", p. 216 dates the miniature to *ca.* 1610-1614 on the basis of the age of Prince Parviz as depicted there. I personally feel that it may well be of *ca.* 1606 or so on the basis of earlier work by Manohara done in the late Akbar period (cf. S. C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, New York, George Braziller, 1978, pl. 15). This date is supportable on the basis of the personages represented and may well depict a private gathering after the suppression of Khusraū's rebellion.

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works of the late Akbar period. The style of the Rampur miniature is much more meticulous and refined, the colouring cool and harmonious, recalling strongly the style of the Boston *Darbār* datable to *ca.* 1619 and a typical example of the mature phase of the Jahāngīr period.[18] The *Judgment of Khusraü* is likely to be of about this time also, a date closer to 1618 than 1609, for reasons adduced in the previous paragraph, being the most likely.

The painting bears an ascription on the front of the dais on which the throne is placed but the name of the artist is too abraded to be read. Nevertheless, on the strength of the exquisite brushwork, elaborate yet fresh, studied yet lively, this picture can perhaps be attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan. The superb portraiture, particularly of Jahāngīr, solemn, pained, perplexed, and the dejected and downcast Khusraü would support such an attribution which I must emphasize is still somewhat conjectural. Among other court scenes by this artist attention is drawn to one in the Freer Gallery, to which this picture bears some resemblances.[19] It is, however, once again the style of the *darbār* scene in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which has been attributed jointly to Abū al-Ḥasan and Manohar by Welch[20] that makes an attribution to that artist most likely.

[18] I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols", pp. 230-231 dates it by a rather dubious identification of the incident to *ca.* A.D. 1619. The date, however, is acceptable on stylistic grounds and endorsed by S.C. Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, New York, 1963, p. 167

[19] I. Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols, Part III", *RAA*, VII, 1931-32, pl. 71, and R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperor of India*, New Delhi, 1961, pl. 11 right.

[20] Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, p. 167

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JOANNA WILLIAMS

Chār-Chomā and the Late Gupta Period in Mālwā

Chār-Chomā or Chomā-Mahādeva lies roughly twenty-five kilometers south-east of Kota in Rajasthan, near the border of Madhya Pradesh.[1] It is probable that this area formed part of the ancient region of Mālwā.[2] The temple, which enshrines a four-faced Śiva *liṅga* referred to in the village name, is still an important place of pilgrimage, and the zeal of the priests or *pujārīs* may have discouraged study of the shrine.[3] Two fifth or sixth century inscriptions on the temple were in part transcribed by M.L. Sharma in his *History of Kota State*.[4] For an art historian, the importance of Chār-Chomā lies in the first place in enlarging our picture of the various ways in which decorative forms were deployed upon architecture of the late Gupta period. In the second place, the shrine helps to construct a continuous history of the art of Mālwā in this germinal period. Chār-Chomā fills a gap between Mukundarā on the one hand and the remains of Nagarī and the Mandasor area on the other, demonstrating the interaction between distinctly local traditions and the pan-Indian styles which were still at work during the twilight of the Gupta Empire.

The first inscription, located on a pillar now installed at the rear of the front chamber, is extremely difficult to decipher (figs. 71 and 80).[5]

1. Muktā . . . mayīṁ bhavapratikṛitiliṅgaṁ jagatyadbhūtaṁ
2. Prāsādaṁ . . . sayadāyadśilaṁ prāpyandha . . .
3. Dhatte . . . guṇānvitāñcha vasudhāṁ . . .
4. Kāmya . . . danasaśyasītava . . . prī . . .
5. . . . sadhū . . . pūdāguṇalardha . . .
6. da . . . dhatatītyabhātva . . . rābh . . .
7. . . . sa . . . yavnadvitayamida . . . sya . . .
8. . . . sarvvasya kṛītaduritavṛiattaiḥ bhavataḥ
9. Namaḥ . . . svānyasthini marutvate praṇathine prītā dadhīñcha dado . . . dhathā : sa . . .
10. . . . kartuṁ dvijāteḥ priyaṁ dātuḥ prārtharyituścha soramahnirtulyat . . .
11. . . . dhanaṁ ladhumane tasyāmyadātā purā

From this, no donor's name or date emerges, although the first two lines do refer to the foundation of a stone temple *(prāsādaṁ)* with a *liṅga* marvellous throughout the world, bearing an image of Bhava or Śiva. Presumably this describes a *liṅga* like the eighth or ninth century one now installed in the interior (fig. 79). If this original is reproduced in the small image in the center of the early lintel in fig. 82, it would seem to have had one face rather than four.

The second inscription to the north of the doorway on the lower exterior molding is much clearer (fig. 72):

Nalinīkapi malayasamāḥ śatapushpāpādikāḥ
Sutanuḥ kāryyāḥ/kadu hiṅguṁ sito dhūpo deveshu 'pi
Durlabho bakulaḥ //1// Jalanāga priyaṅgunāñcha
Vyādhira sādhikaḥ/pratyagro tula gandhoyaṁ
varaṇāḍayo jala dātyaye //2//

The contents here, however, are somewhat obscure. This appears to record a list of medicinal plants involved in a donation at the already extant

[1] It is located roughly fifteen kilometres beyond Kethūn, and must be approached by a *kachchā* road. I am indebted to Mr. Ashok Kumar, Collector of Kota, for the kind loan of a jeep. I would also like to thank Dr. R.C. Agrawala, Director of Archaeology, Rajasthan State, and Mr. Raghuvir Singh, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal, both of whom facilitated and encouraged my work. In my visits to Chār-Chomā (November, 1974, and February, 1975) there was considerable local resistance to photography of the temple, and this article is therefore preliminary in nature.

[2] Mālwā or Mālava is usually thought of as co-terminus with the more recent Madhya Bharat excluding that part to the north of Gunā (Kailash Chand Jain, *Mālwā through the Ages*, Delhi, 1972). This is not, however, conclusively indicated by pre-Paramāra records. Mālava coins and inscriptions in the *Mālava saṁvat* are found within Rajasthan. It has been argued by S.R. Goyal that Mālwā should be identified with the Ajmer-Tonk-Mewar area ("Did the Vākāṭakas Invade Rajasthan in the Middle of the Fifth Century?" unpublished paper, Rajasthan History Congress 1973)

[3] *Archaeological Survey of India, Progress Report, Western Circle*, 1905-06, 57 (mentions indecipherable inscriptions); the photographs are listed but unpublished. The site was photographed in 1969 by the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.

[4] Mathura Lal Sharma, *Kotā Rājya kā Itihās*, Kota, V.S. 1996, vol. I, appendix 2. Because of possible inconsistencies in palaeographic developments, I would prefer not to use the script as a precise guide in dating the temple.

[5] I have reproduced M.L. Sharma's transcription with slight changes; for example, he mis-numbers lines 8 through 11

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temple.[6] A full translation should await a Sanskritist with a background in āyurvedic pharmacology.

Clearly some portions of the temple go back to the period of these inscriptions, while others, such as the spire, were added in the fifteenth century or later. It is conceivable that the entire building represents a pastiche of early fragments set into a later fabric, like the Mahādeva temple at Nāchnā.[7] This is probably the case for the front chamber or *maṇḍapa* at Chār-Chomā, constructed of blocks of stone of varying size (fig. 73). But behind the front side windows, we see a shift to the consistent rectangular masonry of the Gupta period. All of the lower decorative elements in this rear portion seem to be undisturbed. For example, the foliate mid-wall frieze shows a neat margin on either side of the rear windows as if originally interrupted by them (fig. 77).[8] The early wall may extend only up to the bottom of the straight-edged cornice molding or *chhādya*, which is set irregularly around the upper half of the double *chandraśālās*. It would follow that the straight-edged molding and the decorative band above this are not necessarily contemporary with the Gupta wall.[9] The front windows on both sides are blocked up (fig. 77, right), and it is impossible to determine the original placement of these or of the early fragments incorporated into doorways B and C, which are slightly out of alignment with the rear of the temple. The very existence of these carvings, the inscribed molding by doorway C, and vestiges of Gupta form in the much recut columns of the interior would suggest that the original shrine has some such front chamber, perhaps much enlarged and yet to a degree copied when rebuilt.[10]

If we accept the authenticity of the rear of the Chār-Chomā temple, this provides a unique example of several decorative elements known at other sites in isolation but here set into a credible context. The large *chandraśālās*, which seem to form part of a superstructure, for example at Bhūmarā and Deogarh, are here clearly part of the walls (fig. 77). Those on the back, moreover, serve as windows, like the great arches of the *chaitya* halls (fig. 76). Another element not seen *in situ* elsewhere is the foliate frieze used horizontally two-thirds of the way up the wall. This may explain examples from Sārnāth and Bhūmarā which seem to have been placed on their side and not to have formed part of a doorway.[11] Finally, the appearance of a plain member below this, reproducing the curve of the *kuṁbha* (half rounded) molding at the bottom of the wall,[12] is not found in other Gupta examples. This presages the development of base moldings forming the *vedibandha* which in medieval architecture seems to move up the wall or rather to expand so that the wall proper *(jaṅghā)* begins above this.[13] Chār-Chomā, however, shows a wall divided into three equal horizontal panels (fig. 74). To consider the lower one as part of the *vedibandha* base would be anachronistic. The whole testifies to the desire to articulate and elaborate the originally plain chamber in a manner comparable to the development of vertical

[6] The first two lines may tentatively be translated thus:

Oh fair one, trees should be made with many flowers, like the *Nalinī* (lotus), the *Kapi* (species of *Karañja*), or the *Malaya* (sandalwood),

The bitter *Hiṅguṃ* (Asafoetida), the bright *Dhūpa-tṛiksha* (a species of pine), the *Bakula*, rare even among the gods.

I am indebted to Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini for making even this much sense out of the verses.

[7] A Gupta doorway, windows, and figural pieces were incorporated into the original shrine (*Archaeological Survey of India, Progress Report, Western Circle*, 1918-19, P. XVII). Since 1918, the Pārvatī temple has been further dismantled, and pieces from it have been incorporated into a new porch on the Mahādeva temple. For such a later addition, see K.D. Bajpai, "Madhya Pradesh Sculpture", *Mārg* XXVI (1973), fig. 30

[8] Above the standard T-shaped windows or *jāla-gavākshakas* (*Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* LVI, verse 22) of the side walls occurs a rounded molding which bears what seems to be a portion of a small *chandraśālā* at either end (fig. 77). This is the sole element which might suggest a different original placement, in some manner that the *chandraśālās* were completed. The unfinished portion of the foliate frieze to the right in figs. 75 and 76 is an example of the lack of completion, common in Indian art.

[9] Michael Meister has pointed out that a similar straight-edged *chhādya* occurs on the complex cornice of the Vāmana temple at Maṛhiā ("A Note on the Superstructure of the Maṛhiā Temple", *Artibus Asiae* XXXVI, 1974, 87). The band above with alternating bosses and a pattern of triangular floral motifs is unknown in Gupta examples.

[10] The presence of Inscription 2 on adjoining stones (fig. 72) would suggest that at least substantial parts of the *kuṁbha* moldings of the front have been re-used from an earlier structure. The *jagatī* or base is also discontinuous, the rear bearing another *kuṁbha* molding, while the front is edged with a considerably later notched pattern. The central columns have much damaged *pūrṇa ghaṭa* bases. The plain post in doorway B is clearly a later insertion (fig. 80)

[11] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914-15, pl. LXIVd (Sārnāth). R.D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmarā, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 16, Calcutta, 1924, pl. VI b, c (possibly part of the porch). Perhaps also Vincent Smith, *"The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā"*, *Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series* XX, Varanasi, 1969, pl. XXIV 2

[12] According to M.A. Dhaky, the *doyen* of studies of Indian architectural texts, this term, attested only in medieval literature, is best used to describe a half-rounded molding since we have no record of Gupta terminology. *Kuṁbha* means literally, vase or pot. *Khura*, meaning hoof, is also applicable.

[13] The Gujarati Miyāṇī temple no. 1 demonstrates this with the wall above articulated by a frieze in the middle (J.M. Nanavati and M.A. Dhaky, *"The Maitraka and the Saindhava Temples of Gujarat"*, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* XXVI, Ascona, 1969, pl. 51)

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panels (*triratha* plan) and of superstructure in the Gupta temple at Deogarh.

The precise position of Chār-Chomā within the Gupta period can only be determined by a comparison of some aspects of its decor with that of other Gupta temples, from which a relative and ultimately an absolute chronology emerge. To begin with the exterior, simple *kuṁbha* or half-rounded moldings are a feature which one would expect to find elaborated in the late Gupta period, as in the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā, the Daśāvatāra at Deogarh, and the Śiva temple at Bhūmarā. In fact, however, the Vāmana temple at Maṛhiā retains such simple moldings at a date probably soon after Bhūmarā.[14]

The doubled *chandraśālā* establishes, I believe, a rough *terminus post quem,* far aside from disassociated examples at Mathurā, one of the earliest occurrences of this form must be the rear pilasters of the porch of the Kaṅkālī Devī temple at Tigowā (fig. 85). The exterior contours here show less sharp excrescences than in later examples, suggesting a formative version of the motif. The elaborated *chandraśālā* continues, sometimes, but of course not always, doubled. Foliage also occurs within the frame, as on the sides of Chār-Chomā, at Bhūmarā and Mathurā in examples which have no very early features.[15]

The pillars and pilasters of Chār-Chomā lack any elements of chronological significance, aside from the foliage visible in fig. 78, which is neither as broad-leaved as in the early Gupta nor of the notched and diffused type characteristic of the late (as in fig. 93). The vase capital without foliage remains in use from some very early examples at Sāñchī to late ones at Nāchnā and is thus not indicative of specific date.[16]

The panel from doorway B in the background of fig. 80 is more informative. The placement of this, flanking an entrance with columns *in antis* is comparable to the lateral slabs which flank the entrance at Mukundarā (fig. 90). Obviously the decor has been elaborated, yet the basic panel of flutes governs the design of both and the central feather-like band occurs on the inner columns of Mukundarā as well. Later versions of this same panel, again flanking an entrance, decorate the gateways of Nagarī (fig. 88) and of Khilchipura in Mandasor District (fig. 89). In these we see fewer decorative bands than at Chār-Chomā, although the reversed scallops at the end show that this does not represent a complete return to the Mukundarā version.

The innermost doorway at Chār-Chomā, fig. D (A on the plan, see page 53), shows a number of elements in its overall organization which point to a relatively late Gupta position. The River Goddesses stand at the bottom of the jambs (fig. 83), without a larger male attendant, as at Bhūmarā.[17] The T-shaped configuration of the frame is preserved here only in the outer band, with flying *vidyādharas* ingeniously used to turn the corner, but no significant element occurs at the end of the lintel as had earlier been common (fig. 81). At the same time, the lintel shows a central focus with the side *vidyādharas* converging on a small *liṅga,* comparable to the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā and preceding the further emphasis of this central element by size or by frame.[18]

Specific motifs on this doorway are particularly close to Mukundarā. Most striking is the inner band which forms two crook-like curves in the center of the lintel (fig. 82), precisely like the architraves of Mukundarā (fig. 86). This crook is elaborated below to form a *makara* head from which the band issues (figs. 83 and 84). This general configuration relates to examples from Ajaṇṭā to Bodh-Gayā, but the specific form at Chār-Chomā occurs only at Mukundarā and in a lintel from Mathurā.[19] The band itself at Chār-Chomā consists not of a twisted garland, as at Mukundarā, but rather of overlapping broad leaves with seed clusters between, a motif conventionally known as an acanthus band. This last element does not appear at Mukundarā or at any of the early and middle Gupta sites, making its appearance gradually at Nāchanā and presumably

[14] Pramod Chandra, "A Vāmana Temple at Maṛhiā and Some Reflections on Gupta Architecture", *Artibus Asiae* XXXII, 1970, pl. 2

[15] R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.,* pls. XII, XIIIa. Smith, *op. cit.,* pls. LXXXIII 2, LXXXIV 1. Other examples more recently discovered are in the Mathurā Museum. The doubled form of the *chandraśālā* and the elaboration of the contour with excrescences may well originate in Mathurā as well.

[16] John Marshall and A. Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi,* London, 1940, pl. CXXVIIb; James Harle, *Gupta Sculpture,* Oxford, 1974, pl. 106 (Nāchnā, where the majority of vase capitals lack foliage).

[17] Odette Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde,* Paris, 1964, pl. 19b. It is possible that the very worn doorways of Udayagiri Cave 19 and Tumain had initiated this pattern earlier.

[18] It appears to me that in general the early Gupta lintels (Udayagiri 4, 6, 17, Tumain) lack a strong central focus, which begins to appear in the Nāchnā Pārvatī doorway and is developed in the later Nāchnā doors, Bhūmarā, and Deogarh. This, like the developing pattern of the River Goddesses, is probably not an entirely consistent process.

[19] Odette Viennot, "Le temple ruine de Mukuṇḍarā, entre Mālwā et Rājasthān," *South Asian Archaeology,* ed. J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J.-J. M. Ubaghs, Leiden, 1974, pls. 65, 70

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at Mathurā and Sārnāth soon before that.[20] Immediately flanking this band is a ruffled margin, possibly representing a row of leaves or petals, most clearly visible as part of the crook below (figs. 83 and 84). This is unusual as part of a Gupta doorway and again strongly resembles the Mukundarā architraves, where it borders the twisted garland with crooks. The Chār-Chomā lintel is surmounted by an unusual row of acanthus leaves arranged side by side, and above that a row of dentils on which lions' faces are just visible (fig. 82). Lion dentils do occur at Mukundarā but are quite widespread in the middle and late phases of Gupta architecture. Finally, above that is a band of smaller dentils stepped three-dimensionally, a motif which originates quite early, occurring at Udayagiri Cave 6, and which disappears in late Gupta monuments except perhaps in the periphery of the Gupta sphere.[21]

The figural style at Chār-Chomā is difficult to assess, for much of the carving is covered with whitewash, and the River Goddess of fig. 83 has been recut. The small male immediately above her in the outer band would suggest that these figures are still three-dimensional in pose, lacking the mannered stance and fluttering detail of the Mandasor images. Likewise, the foliage of the doorway does not approach the turbulently subdivided form of the Soṇḍni Guardians (fig. 93).

To translate these comparisons into an absolute date is inevitably unsatisfactory in a short article. For the material outside Mālwā, a list of this author's opinions concerning examples mentioned here will suffice :

Early Gupta :
- Udayagiri Cave 6 : *ca.* 402
- Sāñchī fragments : *ca.* 410

Middle Gupta :
- Udayagiri Cave 19 : *ca.* 430-50
- Tigowā, Kaṅkālī Devī : *ca.* 445-70

Late Gupta :
- Nāchnā, Pārvatī : *ca.* 490-500
- Nāchnā, Kumrā or Teliya Math : *ca.* 500-520
- Bhūmarā : *ca.* 520-30
- Maṛhiā : *ca.* 530-40

The date of the Gupta temple at Deogarh is too complex a question to discuss here, but it seems clear to me that it cannot precede the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā. On the whole, a date of *ca.* 500-10 would be indicated for Chār-Chomā on the basis of its numerous resemblances to the Pārvatī temple, with a few parallels to Bhūmarā as well.

For comparisons within the adjacent areas of northern Mālwā, ampler discussion is appropriate. Mukundarā (or Darrā), roughly thirty kilometers to the south of Chār-Chomā, is the subject of recent articles by Michael Meister and Odette Viennot. The former author suggests a date for Mukundarā in the first quarter of the fifth century, a position which I consider somewhat too early.[22] His argument is based in part on the simple form of the exterior half-rounded moldings. This type continues, however, at Tigowā, Chār-Chomā, and as late as Maṛhiā without the addition of more elaborated moldings. Professor Meister also stresses the early "kelp-like" foliage of Mukundarā (*e.g.*, fig. 90). While I agree with his contention that typologically this precedes the notched form of the late fifth century and after, I would caution that one often sees different versions of this curling foliage used side by side, for example, on several of the doors of Udayagiri. Mukundarā's foliage is fairly close to that of the Buddha image dated 474 A.D. from Sārnāth.[23] Moreover, I would assign slightly later dates to comparative examples which Meister takes to belong early in the fifth century.

Mme. Viennot, on the other hand, places Mukundarā in the second half of the sixth century, a position which I find considerably too late.[24] Again a fundamental source of the difference is the late date to which she assigns most of her comparative examples. In discussing moldings, she ignores the simple half-rounded type of the exterior and focusses upon the fully-rounded kind *(torus, kumuda)* at the base of the central pillars, which she compares with the Gupta temple at Deogarh. Precisely, the same form occurs on the central pillars at Udayagiri, Cave 19, which Mme. Viennot would at least place before Deogarh and the 533

[20] At Nāchnā it occurs on a grill which may well have formed the rear window of the Pārvatī Shrine (K.D. Bajpai, "Madhya Pradesh Sculpture through the Ages", *Mārg* XXVI, 3, 1973, fig. 32). It also occurs on the Gupta doorway of the Mahādeva temple (*Archaeological Survey of India, Progress Report, Western Circle* 1918-19, Pl. XVII) and on doorways built into the nearby Kumrā Math (Walter Spink, "A Temple with Four Uchchakalpa (?) Doorways at Nāchnā Kutharā, *Chhavi*, ed. Anand Krishna, Banaras, 1971, figs. 319-22)

[22] For example, it survives at Ālampur : Odile Divakaran, "Les temples d'Ālampur et ses environs au temps des Cāḷukya de Bādāmi", *Arts Asiatiques* XXIV, 1971, fig. 7 *etc.*

[23] Michael W. Meister, "Darrā and the Early Gupta Tradition", *Chhavi*, Vol. 2, ed. Anand Krishna, Banaras, 1980, pp. 181-94. The author kindly sent me a draft of this article in 1973, and its writing slightly precedes the following one by Mme. Viennot. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Meister not only for sending me his manuscript, but also for reading and criticizing the present article (for the opinions in which, of course, he is not to be held responsible).

[23] John M. Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth", *Artibus Asiae* XXVI, 1963, 10-26, fig. 1

[24] O. Viennot, "Le temple ruine de Mukuṇdarā", *South Asian Archaeology*, 116-27

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inscription of Mandasor.[25] She also argues from the "unfinished medallion" motif of the pillars (fig. 90), an element indeed current in the sixth century in the Western Deccan, but, as she admits, going back to the much earlier caves of Junnār and Kanheri; thus this may be revived for the first time at Mukundarā. Finally, Mme. Viennot suggests that the crook-like band of the Mukundarā architraves (fig. 86) is a motif of short duration within the sixth century. Here I must disagree strongly. A Mathurā example which she illustrates must surely belong to the fifth century, to judge from the flat, smooth-edged foliage and from the lack of elaboration on the *chandraśālā*.[26] On the other hand, the motif continues in a meander-like form (as at Bhūmarā) in several examples from Bodh-Gayā which may well belong to the seventh century (fig. 87).[27] Thus the presence or absence of this motif is inconclusive for date, and we must look at its form. Mukundarā shows a very simple version of the band, one to be expected rather early in its history. In short, a date in the general range of 470 to 485 seems reasonable for this temple.

The later sites of Nagarī and the Mandasor area take us 125 kilometers to the west and south-west respectively from Chār-Chomā; yet these two centers are separated from each other by almost the same distance and seem to be the product of the same carvers. The panels in figs. 80, 88 and 89 provide grounds for comparing the later sites with Chār-Chomā, although other elements such as the *chandraśālā* have changed more radically. The Mandasor remains in particular provide a chronological landmark in their association with Yaśodharman, one which even Mme. Viennot has tentatively accepted.[28] If these carvings are ascribed to the second quarter of the sixth century, Nagarī should precede by no more than a decade (*ca.* 520), and Chār-Chomā should precede that by a slightly greater interval. Thus we arrive at a position of *ca.* 500-10, which is consistent with the dates proposed above for monuments outside this area.

The continuity of development within this region of northern Mālwā is neatly demonstrated by a sequence of foliate capitals. At Mukundarā, the prominent bracket capitals are a puzzling feature, contrasting dramatically with the restraint of the pillars below (fig. 90). Nowhere else in the Gupta world do we find a comparable treatment of the bracket with rounded edges overrun by flamboyant foliage, although the elaborate figural treatment of this member at Ajaṇṭā may be related. At Chār-Chomā, a fragment which now serves as part of the *somasūtra* or receptacle for oblations flowing out from the *liṅga* seems originally to have formed a bracket capital, hence the illustration upside down in fig. 91.[29] Here we see the new acanthus foliage which fascinated the Chomā carvers, ingeniously used to cover the faces of the bracket and soften the edges. The lion capital at Nagarī in fig. 92 is no longer a bracket and probably formed part of a *dhvaja-staṁbha* or independent column, surmounting either a lotiform member or a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*.[30] The latter would explain the foliage at the corners which seems to issue from below, of the general type just seen at Mukundarā but more developed in the fragmentation of each lobe with notched edges and medial grooves. Along each side acanthus leaves remain, simplified and in the center inverted to overhang the edge. Finally at Mandasor, this configuration is further developed above the colossal guardians of Soṇḍni (fig. 93). The pendant acanthus leaf has been doubled and sharpened in form. But the whole is dominated by one of the most exuberant versions known of the long-lived Gupta foliage, conceived here with a complexity which articulates every edge and surface.

More significant than raw chronology is the picture which emerges of the evolution of stone architecture and sculpture in this region. Mukundarā would seem to present an enigmatic beginning, although both Viennot and Meister present reconstructions which help us to explain its present puzzling condition.[31] For all our

[25] O. Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales*, *op. cit.*, 35, 174

[26] O. Viennot, "Le temple ruine de Mukuṅdarā," *South Asian Archaeology*, fig. 70d

[27] This doorway is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The jambs do not precisely match. The serpent at one end of the meander band is a motif which Mme. Viennot considers an innovation of her "third period", seventh century in date (O. Viennot, *Temples de l'Inde Centrale*, *Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient*, *Mem. Arch.* XI, Paris, 1976, p. 128). Two more doorways with meander are preserved at Bodh-Gayā itself, to the west and south-west of the Mahābodhi Shrine.

[28] O. Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales*, *op. cit.*, 160

[29] I must thank Michael Meister for pointing this out to me.

[30] The indentations on the top surface resemble the Soṇḍni (Mandasor) lion capital of Yaśodharman, which surmounted a lotiform member (J. Williams, "Sculpture of Mandasor," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI, 1972-73, figs. 1, 2). The lower border of the Nagarī capital, however, might be taken for the rim of a vase.

[31] The one aspect of Mme. Viennot's reconstruction which I would question is her assumption of a surrounding *pradakshiṇā-patha* ("Le temple ruine", *South Asian Archaeology*, 117-18). The space between the exterior base molding (F in her fig. 1) and the interior pilasters unfinished on their outer face (C and D) is less than a meter. Given the usual thickness of Gupta walls, often at least a meter thick, I feel it is more likely that this formed a single wall, probably of brick to judge from the total absence of stone masonry and the presence of many brick fragments at the site. While we have no other early examples combining stone and brick in this way, it is possible that other shrines where only scanty stone carvings survive were constructed on this pattern (*e.g.*, Bilsaḍh, Tumain, Gaḍhwā).

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comparisons, one must admit that the flavour of the carving there is exceptional and fresh in its simplicity. The placement of the interior columns within surrounding stone sockets which bear the base molding may indicate a wood-working tradition. It seems likely to me that the walls of the shrine consisted of brick, perhaps also a common material previously in the area. At all events, part of the unusual character of the decorative motifs at Mukundarā may stem from its role as an early attempt at stone-carving by the Mālwā artisans. On the other hand, a few elements not entirely within the common Gupta vocabulary of design may reflect influence from the Western Deccan. Ajaṇṭā does show similarly simple columns in the early caves and regularly elaborates the decoration of the brackets in what might be the source for Mukundarā's unusual treatment of that member.[32] The late Vākāṭaka ruler Prithvīsena II claimed that his father had won the obeisance of the lords of Mālwā, and while one may doubt the political substance of such a boast, contact between the two areas is possible in the 470's.[33] The Mandasor inscriptions indicate that the region was disturbed at this point, and I would hypothesize that this is the moment when earlier architectural traditions in wood were abandoned.

By contrast, Chār-Chomā is more closely in touch with developments elsewhere in central and north India. Connections with north-eastern Bundelkhand, particularly Nāchnā, have been cited, as well as with Mathurā. I should think that the latter are primary and that the related developments at Nāchnā derive from a common source, but the role of Mathurā as the center of Gupta style is a separate subject. Why should Mālwā be exposed to more cosmopolitan currents rather than developing the local character of Mukundarā? Again, our date of *ca.* 500 suggests a historical explanation. In the 490's we hear of a ruler named Gaurī in the Mandasor area who seems to establish stability and who introduces (perhaps as an ancestor) the power of Yaśodharman forty years later.[34] It is also possible that the Hūṇa invasions of the end of the fifth century brought about a dispersal of carvers from Mathurā, where the quantity of works at this point seems to decline.

Finally, the remains of Nagarī and Mandasor demonstrate the continuing desire to build upon the earlier Gupta style in the very choice of motifs. Similarly, Yaśodharman claimed to surpass the glory of the Guptas in his Soṇḍni pillar inscriptions. At the same time, the images of Mandasor introduce gradual and involuntary changes—elaboration, religiosity implied by colossal scale, and movement away from Gupta norms—of a kind that were going on throughout the former empire, but in each region in a slightly different way. The process of localization was not a simple and steady one, in short, but rather a constant interplay between those centrifugal and centripetal forces that created a dynamic tension within what we loosely call "Gupta art".

[32] Philippe Stern, *Colonnes indiennes d'Ajantā et d'Ellora*, Paris, 1972, figs. 41-47, *etc.*

[33] V.V. Mirashi, *"Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas"*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* V, Ootacamund, 1963, 79-81. An obvious reason for questioning this claim is the absence of Vākāṭaka inscriptions in Mālwā or Kosala, also said to be conquered.

[34] J. Williams, "Sculpture of Mandasor", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI, pls. 72-73, 51-52

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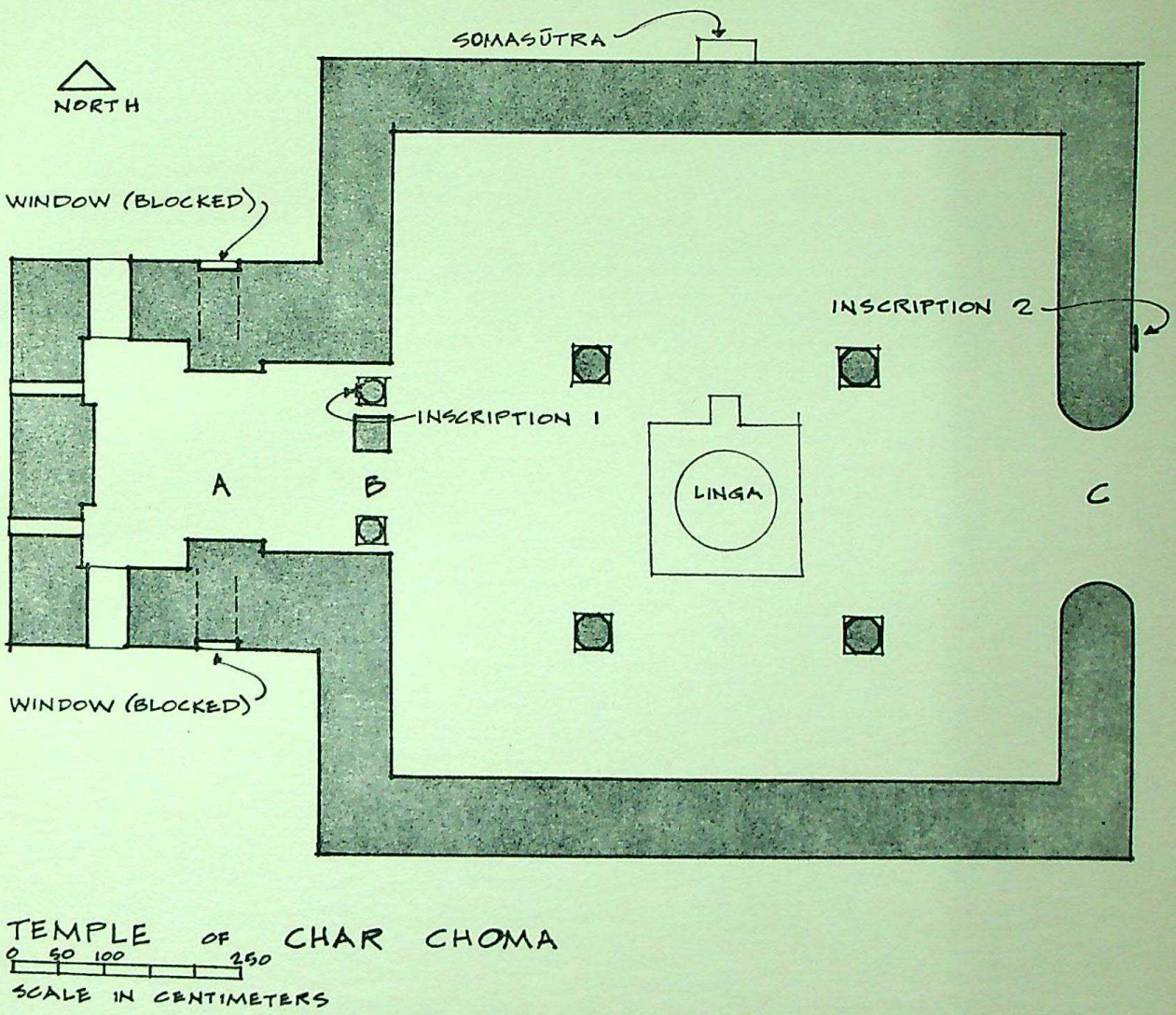

Fig. D

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SUSAN L. HUNTINGTON

The Buddhist Stūpa at Gyāraspur

Although the Hindu temples and remains at Gyāraspur in the northeastern Mālwā plateau have received considerable attention by archaeologists and scholars, the earlier Buddhist *stūpa* about three kilometers west of the site has received virtually no notice (fig. 94).[1] The *stūpa* is situated part of the way up a large hill; its height above the plain below is reminiscent of the setting of numerous other Buddhist sites (fig. 95). The west face[2] of the *stūpa* is set virtually against the side of the hill[3] although the remains of a stone pavement found on the other sides indicates that passage was allowed at least around three-quarters of the monument. The pavement is clearly visible in a view of the northeast side of the structure (fig. 96). More modest in size than the *mahā-stūpa* at nearby Sāñchī, *stūpa* I, the monument is still by no means insignificant. Its core was originally faced with stones cut in a rusticated manner reminiscent of the *stūpas* at Sāñchī which were enlarged around the

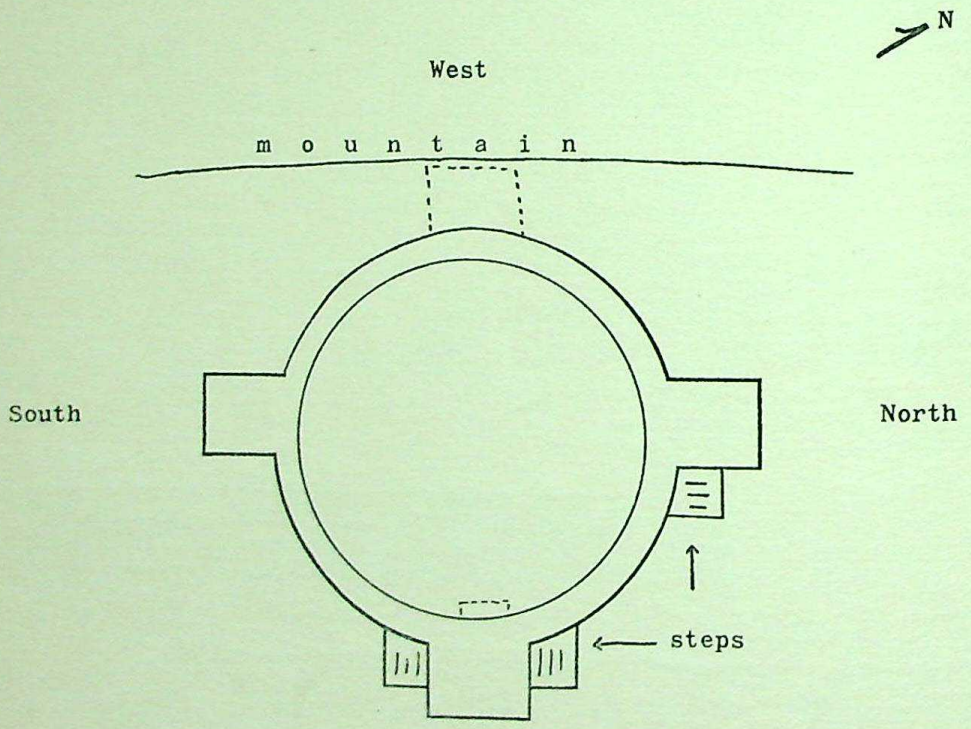

Fig. E

[1] Joanna Williams has pointed out to me that the *stūpa* is mentioned in H.V. Trivedi, *Bibliography of Madhya Bharata Archaeology*, part I, Indore, 1953, p. 15. J.D. Beglar briefly mentioned the *stūpas* at Gyāraspur (*Archaeological Survey of India, Report of a Tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, 1871-72; and in The Central Provinces, 1873-74*, VII, Calcutta, 1878, pp. 90 and 93)

[2] The *stūpa* is oriented 30° northeast of magnetic north; however, I will refer to the four sides according to the cardinal directions, with this adjustment kept in mind.

[3] Because of this, the image on the west side is difficult to photograph except at an angle.

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turn of the Christian era. In its shape, the *stūpa* shows further correlation to the monuments of Sāñchī and the Bhilsā area in general, a fact not surprising since the sites are separated by hardly thirty kilometers. Rectangular platforms extend outward from the *stūpa* on the north, east and south sides (figs. 94-97) although staircases give access to these platforms on the north and east sides only (figs. 96 and 97). A fourth platform may have existed on the west. The original, or at least conceptual, form of the structure may be suggested in a rough sketch plan (fig. E). At the platform level, the remains of a narrow pathway surrounding the circular core of the monument may have been used in circumambulation (figs. 96 and 97).

So far, no documents have been discovered which can shed light on the date or history of the Gyāraspur *stūpa*. In terms of the features described, especially those which are shared with the monuments of Sāñchī and the Bhilsā region, it is possible to suggest a rather early date for the structure. Perhaps it was largely a product of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana period, although the core may have been considerably earlier, possibly dating as early as the Maurya period.[4] No *toraṇas* or carved railings are present, however, to verify sculptural ties to Sāñchī or other early Buddhist monuments. A few carved floral medallions are found on pillars in the debris around the *stūpa*, but these suggest a later date, perhaps in the late fifth or sixth century A.D.

Four stone sculptures, one on each side of the monument, further indicate artistic activity relating to this *stūpa* during the late-Gupta period and represent clearly another manifestation of the late-Gupta idiom in central India (figs. 98-104). These images are nearly identical in size (about 1.3 meters) and are carved from single pieces of stone. Each consists of a seated Buddha in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, although several *mudrās* are displayed. Each is flanked by a pair of attendants who are clearly *bodhisattvas*. The images seem to be the product of a single time period and were part of a unified iconographic scheme, as will be demonstrated below.

In order to establish a date for the images, it is necessary to turn to the sculpture which is best preserved that on the south (figs. 100-102), although a quick glance at the others will show that, excluding the differences of condition and possible original sculptural quality, the depictions of the Buddhas in particular are quite comparable. A fairly well accepted *terminus post quem* is provided by the four Buddha images placed facing each of the entranceways of Sāñchī *stūpa* I (figs. 105-108) since they are presumed to have already been in place by 450-451 A.D.[5] The Sāñchī images are carved with great delicacy and refinement and convey a feeling of calmness and introspection.

In this way, they clearly anticipate the style which gained currency at Sārnāth in the third quarter of the fifth century, as documented by the three well known dated carvings of 474-476 A.D.[6] In contrast, the images from Gyāraspur, especially visible in that on the south, display a greater tension and sense of activity. The backs of the figures seem more sharply arched and the chests are thrust forward. In addition, the shoulders are less broad and sloping. Where visible, the facial features also indicate certain differences. Most notably, the eyes of the Gyāraspur Buddhas do not have the lowered lids characteristic of fifth century Buddha images, but instead the eyelids are incised to suggest that the Buddha is looking outward rather than inward. The peculiar forward thrust of the upturned feet of the southern Buddha is difficult to explain, although this feature occurs in a number of stone sculptures from Bihar of the eighth century.

Perhaps the best clues to the dates of the images may be seen in the depictions of the attendant *bodhisattvas*. Those on the southern and northern images are best preserved and will be used in this analysis, again in comparison to the four sculptures from Sāñchī. The attendant figures alongside the Buddhas from Sāñchī have a casualness and sense of relaxation visible in their poses; several of them are depicted with one leg clearly bent and in some cases, the figures seem to rotate on an axis, with heads and bodies turned in an active manner. This is seen especially in the attendant to the proper left of the Buddha placed at the northern entrance (fig. 108). At Gyāraspur, however, the poses more clearly approximate the *tribhaṅga* posture most often associated with post-Gupta idioms. In the southern image, for example, the figure to the proper left of the Buddha stands in a most exaggerated pose. Both legs are nearly straight, as opposed to the one leg bent position seen in the Sāñchī examples. Furthermore, the Gyāraspur examples are more heavily adorned with jewelled headdresses, again a feature which suggests a later date. Several of the figures bear lotus stalks in their hands which rise the full length of their bodies and sinuously

[4] This is suggested by Beglar, *A.S.I. Report*, VII, 93

[5] The Sāñchī inscription of the year 131 (usually accepted as the Gupta era) mentions the place where the images of the four Buddhas are seated. This seems to indicate that the images had already been put in place by that date (450-451 A.D.). On stylistic grounds, it must be assumed that the placement of these images occurred not long before the date of the inscription since they clearly fall within the stylistic parameters of mid-fifth century works. For the Sāñchī inscription see John Faithfull Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 260-262

[6] See John M. Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth", *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 10-26

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follow the curves of their stances, once more suggesting a later date. Perhaps the closest parallel may be seen by comparing the figure to the proper left of the southern Buddha to the standing Śaivite *dvārapālas* from Soṇḍnī (fig. 109) which have been dated to around 530 A.D. on the strength of their association with the Yaśodharman inscription of 533/4 A.D.[7] Although the Gyāraspur figure is in a slightly more animated pose, the body proportions and treatment of ornamentation are strikingly similar. Thus, because the Buddha figures clearly seem to post-date the Sāñchī images, yet remain within the general framework of Gupta art, as well as the relationship of the attendant figures with late-Gupta or slightly post-Gupta idioms, it is possible to suggest a sixth century date for the four sculptures, perhaps around 530-550 A.D.

As has been discussed above, the *stūpa* itself relates to monuments of pre-Gupta times, thus raising the problem of the relationship between the images and the monument. One very clear example of an earlier monument being refurbished exists at Sāñchī *stūpa* I where Gupta period images were placed at strategic locations on an already existing structure. Perhaps a similar redecoration occurred at Gyāraspur at a slightly later date. Since Sāñchī is so near to Gyāraspur, it might even be suggested that the inspiration for this transformation might have come from Sāñchī itself. That the four Gyāraspur images were not part of the original conception of the *stūpa* may be seen in the fact that the images on the north, south and west are not set into niches, but simply rest against the face of the structure. On the east, however, a niche with stone jambs is recessed to receive an image. Niches never existed on the other three sides as is evident from the solid form of the *stūpa* in these locations. I would suggest that in the original plan of the *stūpa*, a niche was constructed on the east, which was the principal side of the structure.[8] Buddhologically, this is the correct orientation for such a monument.[9] It is impossible to say what originally might have been contained in the eastern niche of the Gyāraspur *stūpa;* this was either removed at an early date so that the later image could be placed inside, or the niche might have already been empty for some time.

The significance of the four sculptures goes far beyond their stylistic and chronological importance, however, for they document developments which must have been occurring within the Buddhist religion during the Gupta period, but which find final realization in the art of eastern India, Nepal and other regions several centuries later. In these later idioms, there are two very clear interpretations for Buddhas placed on the four sides of a *stūpa*, and numerous levels of meaning. For example, in eastern India under the Pāla dynasty, numerous stone votive *stūpas* were produced having four sides with a niche on each (or four principal sides and four intermediary sides, each carved with a niche). These four (or eight) sides in turn each carry a representation of a Buddha in a specific pose or activity. On one level of meaning, these clearly represent life scenes of Śākyamuni Buddha, that is, the four principal events (and four secondary events).[10] These votive *stūpas* find their iconographic parallel in the numerous stone stelae from eastern India which are also carved with depictions of these same events.[11] Gupta period precedents for such compositions are well known.[12] Such scenes are usually recognized by the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* for the Māravijaya, *dharmachakra mudrā* for the first sermon and miracle of Śrāvastī, *varada mudrā* for the descent, *abhaya mudrā* for the submission of Nalagiri and *dhyāna mudrā* for the offering of the monkey. The birth and *parinirvāṇa* scenes do not show the Buddha in specific *mudrās*. In some of the more graphic depictions of these scenes, clearly identifiable features are included to indicate the subject.[13] Such life scenes of Śākyamuni represent the *Nirmāṇakāya*, although when depicted on a *stūpa* (which is inherently *Dharmadhātu* and thereby specifically *Dharmakāya*), it is likely that other levels of meaning are also present.

[7] See Joanna Williams, "The Sculpture of Mandasor", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI, 1972-3, 50-66, figures 3 and 4

[8] The east was clearly the main side, for not only is the eastern platform the only one with stairs on both sides but the *stūpa* is situated so that the east faces the valley below while the west faces the mountain. It may be assumed that the choice of site was deliberate to give prominence to the east.

[9] Exceptions occur, of course, as in *stūpa* I at Sāñchī which has the south as its principal side.

[10] The eight events are the birth, Māravijaya, first sermon, miracle of Śrāvastī, descent from Trayastriṁśa, submission of Nalagiri, offering of the monkey, *parinirvāṇa*. When only four scenes are shown, at least in eastern India, these are generally the Māravijaya, first sermon, miracle of Śrāvastī and the offering of the monkey.

[11] A well-known, graphic example occurs in the famous Jagdishpur stele. See R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XLVII, Delhi, 1933, pl. XXa

[12] See Joanna Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's life," *Ars Orientalis*, X, 1975, 171-192

[13] For example, the Māravijaya may be shown with the Buddha seated under the *bodhi* tree and with the hosts of Māra surrounding him and attacking him; the first sermon may have not only the deer and wheel but also the heretics depicted; the miracle of Śrāvastī may show the multiplication of Buddha figures; the descent from Trayastriṁśa is often depicted with the Buddha accompanied by Indra and Brahmā standing on ladders; the submission of Nalagiri frequently shows the elephant; and the offering of the monkey often includes the monkey and a bowl. The birth and *parinirvāṇa* are easily recognized because of the figure of Māyā grasping the *śāla* tree at the birth and the reclining Buddha in the *parinirvāṇa*.

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A second alternative besides life scenes of the Buddha is that the figures represent the *jina* Buddhas. These, of course, are more easily associated with directional significance. In the art of Nepal, this seems to be the more usual meaning intended. Through variation in *mudrās* and *vāhanas*, these representations are distinct from the standard life scenes discussed above. Normally, Akshobhya is depicted on the east in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, Ratnasaṁbhava is shown on the south in *varada mudrā*, Amitābha appears on the west in *dhyāna mudrā* and Amoghasiddhi occurs on the north in *abhaya mudrā*. Their respective *vāhanas* are: elephant, horse, peacock and *garuḍa*. The *jinas* are the *Saṁbhogakāya*, a concept which had been well formulated by the Gupta period as evidenced in texts[14] although its appearance in art at that time is problematic.

The Gyāraspur Buddhas (and their Sāñchī precedents) are not easily explained in terms of one or the other suggestion. That is, they are not clearly representations of Śākyamuni Buddha in a variety of poses depicting his life scenes, nor do they conform to the usual patterns of *jina* Buddhas. Further, they do not seem to be a combination of the two levels of meaning in a clearly observable form. In addition, the Gyāraspur and Sāñchī examples are not similar to one another, making the problems even more difficult.

At Sāñchī, all four Buddhas are seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana* and all four display the *dhyāna mudrā* (figs. 105-108). Each is flanked by a pair of male attendants bearing what appear to be *chaurīs* except in the case of the image facing the south (fig. 106) which has a figure with hands clasped and an ascetic's hair style to his right and a crowned figure in a similar pose to his left. Presumably, these are depictions of Brahmā and Indra, respectively. Large circular halos carved with intricate foliate and gem motifs are placed behind the heads of the Buddhas and flying figures appear at the tops of the stelae (lost in the case of the southern image but presumably once present). The headdresses of the other three Buddhas' attendants are damaged or do not reveal distinguishing characteristics. Thus, the four representations are very similar, except for the attendants of the southern sculpture and a few other details. These include the fact that the attendant to the proper left of the eastern Buddha holds a *vajra* in his left hand and the differentiation seen in the pedestals of the images. Thus, the Buddha on the south appears on a lotus seat and cushion, that on the north bears three small figures in the lower center of the pedestal and those on the east and west are too worn to determine the original form. Clearly, some differentiation is intended among the figures in spite of their considerable similarity. The greatest individuality is seen in the southern sculpture, an occurrence which may relate to the unusual orientation of this *stūpa* to the south.

The four Gyāraspur images are far more differentiated than those at Sāñchī. While all four Buddhas sit in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, that on the east displays *dhyāna mudrā*, while those of the south, west and north appear in *varada*, *dharmachakra* and *dhyāna mudrās* respectively. Not only are the *mudrās* distinguished, but the Buddhas wear different types of robes: the Buddha on the south wears a garment which leaves one shoulder bare while the other three figures have both shoulders covered. The attendant figures are also more clearly individualized than their Sāñchī counterparts. On the east, the Buddha is attended by figures holding *chaurīs* in their right hands but the figure to the proper right of the Buddha holds a large lotus in his left hand while the opposite figure holds an indistinct but perhaps vase-like object in his left hand at his hip. Further, he has a Buddha in an indistinct pose in his headdress. On the south, the right attendant of the Buddha has his right arm down but holds a large open lotus in his left and wears an antelope skin while the figure on the Buddha's left is holding what appears to be a *vajra* in his right hand. Further, his headdress contains a seated Buddha in either *varada* or *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. The attendant to the proper right of the Buddha on the west has a vase(?) in his left hand and displays an unintelligible *mudrā* in his right, while the opposite attendant has indistinct attributes. The Buddha on the north is attended on his right by a figure with indistinct *mudrās* and attributes, but who clearly bears a figure of a seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa* or *varada mudrā* in his headdress. The figure to the left of the Buddha has a flower in his left hand, a damaged right hand and another figure of a Buddha in his headdress, although the *mudrā*, which seems to be *dhyāna*, is not certain. Furthermore, the figure wears a distinctive antelope skin over his left shoulder.

The above descriptions as well as other observable features of the stelae may be simplified by a chart:

The differences, while apparent, are not easily explained since they do not relate to easily identifiable iconographic patterns. The Gyāraspur Buddha stelae are much more differentiated than the Sāñchī examples and it may be inferred that they represent a slightly later formulation of Buddhist iconographics. Yet it is clear

[14] See for example the *Ratnagotravibhāga* which defines the three body system but does not spell out the forms, *mudrās*, etc. of the Buddhas. This text is conservatively dated to the early fifth century. See Jikido Takasaki, *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra)*, *Serie Orientale Roma*, XXXIII, Roma, I.S.M.E.O., 1966, p. 61

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	EAST (fig. 98)	SOUTH (fig. 100)	WEST (fig. 103)	NORTH (fig. 104)
BUDDHA LEGS	*Vajraparyaṅkāsana*	*vajraparyaṅkāsana*	*vajraparyaṅkāsana*	*vajraparyaṅkāsana*
BUDDHA HANDS	*dhyāna*	*varada*	*dharmachakra*	*dhyāna*
PROPER RIGHT ATTENDANT	*chaurī* (right hand) lotus (left hand) figure in headdress stands on uncertain object	right hand down lotus (left hand) figure in headdress wears antelope skin stands on rocky landscape	right hand damaged vase? (left hand) hair unclear stands on lotus	right hand unclear left hand unclear figure in headdress stands on lotus
PROPER LEFT ATTENDANT	*chaurī* (right hand) vase? (left hand) *jaṭāmukuṭa* stands on uncertain object	*vajra* (right hand) left hand broken elaborate crown stands on rocky landscape	right hand unclear left hand unclear *jaṭāmukuṭa* stands on lotus	right hand unclear flower (left hand) figure in headdress wears antelope skin stands on lotus
PEDESTAL	lions at corners with deer? flanking wheel	plain, with cloth hanging	lions at corners with deer? flanking wheel	lotus, stem, scroll, two figures

that the Gyāraspur sculptures do not conform to the usual iconographic patterns found in later Indian, Nepali and other examples.

Because of the total lack of features which suggest associations with the life scenes of Śākyamuni, and the presence of attendants which must certainly represent *bodhisattvas*, it is unlikely that the stelae depict the *Nirmāṇakāya* level. Ties to *Saṁbhogakāya* iconography are clearly present, however. For example, the Buddha on the south is shown in *varada mudrā*, and thus, in spite of the lack of the horse *vāhana*, may be tentatively identified as Ratnasaṁbhava. The other three Buddhas, however, are not in *mudrās* appropriate to their locations nor do they provide the specific combination of *mudrās* usually found in later iconography. Examples of the *jina* Buddhas displaying other than the most commonly associated *mudrās* are found in Buddhist art, however. Vairochana (who is identical with and interchangeable with Akshobhya in the *panchajina maṇḍala*), is widely depicted displaying *dhyāna mudrā* as the central Buddha of the *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala*, where his attendants are Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara.[15] Amitābha is commonly shown in *dharmachakra mudrā* as the Buddha of Sukhāvatīvyūha in East and Central Asian painting.[16] Amoghasiddhi is sometimes represented under the *nāga* Muchilinda and displaying *dhyāna mudrā* in Nepali *stūpa* iconography.[17] Although the three examples given here are not known in one single extant context where they are unquestionably identified as members of the *panchajina maṇḍala*, it is possible to suggest that such "unusual" forms did occur. Applying this principle to the Gyāraspur *stūpa*, the figures on this monument could be tentatively identified as Akshobhya/Vairochana on the east, Ratnasaṁbhava on the south, Amitābha on the west and Amoghasiddhi on the north. In any case, it is safe to assume that some type of *Saṁbhogakāya* iconography is at work there and that at the least, the combination of Buddha figures indicates a transitional (if not fully developed) *maṇḍala* of *jina* Buddhas. The lack of specificity in the *vāhanas* and difficulty in determining the identification of the *bodhisattvas* remain a problem.

It should not be misconstrued that I am suggesting that the four Gyāraspur images are the earliest known representations of *jina* Buddhas, for this is clearly not the case.[18] Their importance lies instead in the fact that we have some indication of their original position in relation to an architectural setting, thus providing clues to an iconographic programme presumably intended by their makers. Thus, the images at Gyāraspur form an important document in the study of Buddhism in the late-Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

[15] See John C. Huntington, "The Tendai Iconographic Model Book Shosonzuzo Dated 1858", *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, vol. 4, Śata Piṭaka Series, vol. 223 (ed. Perala Ratnam), Delhi, 1975, p. 133

[16] For example, see the Horyu-ji mural painting in the *kondo*, wall painting number 6

[17] This occurs on a number of votive *stūpas* from Nepal and a few from eastern India. However, I know of no published example.

[18] The Mathurā museum recently acquired a pedestal of a sculpture which bears an inscription recording the installation of an image of Amitābha on the 26th day of the second month of the rainy season in the first regnal year of king Huvishka (i.e. the year 28th of the Kushana Era). The fragment was found at Govindanagar on the western outskirts of Mathurā. This is the earliest known Indian image of Amitābha. See *Northern India Patrika*, October 18, 1977, p. 8. I am grateful to Susan L. Buchanan for calling this image to my notice.

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ODILE DIVAKARAN

The Beginnings of Early Western Chāḷukya Art

Investigating the style of Chāḷukya monuments[1] and establishing their sequence, particularly in the sixth and seventh centuries, have proved to be difficult because of the great variety of these monuments, the lack of dated material and the insecure knowledge of the styles which flourished before and provided inspiration.[2] However, the political history of the dynasty is well-known[3] and there exists inscriptional evidence to reinforce stylistic arguments based on the study of the architecture and the sculpture.

The Chāḷukyas came of an indigenous Kannaḍa stock.[4] They probably hailed from a part of ancient Karṇāṭaka now in Āndhra Pradesh, in the neighbourhood of Ālampur and Śrīśailaṃ.[5] They would have been familiar with the traditions of Amarāvatī-Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in which the following elements appear: tiered superstructures topped by domes, *śālās* and *kūṭas* sometimes part of a roof-line, apsidal shrines, pillared halls, rounded railings guarding steps (figs. 110 and 111) frolicking *gaṇas, nidhis,* mercenaries in Scythian dress, an eight-armed aspect of Vishṇu etc. The headless or lotus-headed "shameless" Devī, popular in Chāḷukya centres (Mahākūṭa, Nāgānātha, Siddhankolla, Pañchaliṅgala, Ālampur) is derived from a Sātavāhana type continued at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (figs. 112 and 113). On the other hand, the Chāḷukyas were also the direct successors, in the Deccan, of the Vākāṭakas and the Kaḷachuris who excavated the famous caves of Ajanṭā, Jogeśvarī, Elephanṭā and Ellorā, monuments which are pervaded with Gupta and post-Gupta influences. This background may explain their parallel attachment to northern and southern types, and how it is not necessary to assume a Pallava influence to understand early monuments of a southern class like the Mahākūṭeśvara (Mahākūṭa), and the three *Śivālayas* at Bādāmī.

Bādāmī, in the heart of Karṇāṭaka, was perhaps chosen as a base from where the two most important rival dynasties, those of the Kadaṁbas and the Kaḷachuris, could be crushed. It became the Chāḷukya capital when it was fortified in 543 A.D. by Pulakeśin I. It was developed under the next king, Kīrtivarman I (566-7—597-8), its "first maker" according to his son.[6] To qualify as its maker it is likely that Kīrtivarman turned Bādāmī not only into a centre of political power but also into a religious seat, an *adhishṭhāna,* where brahmins were settled and temples built.[7] That the earliest temples are rock cut is no longer under dispute. A close look at the main caves of Bādāmī (cave IV, being quite modest and derivative, is not considered) shows, as proved below, that they were excavated in

[1] The monuments built during the hegemony of the Chāḷukyas who ruled from Bādāmī, within the confines of their empire, can be called Early Western Chāḷukya. The extant monuments—leaving aside the problem of caves excavated at Ellorā perhaps during their time—are found mainly in two centres. The first consists of clusters of shrines or isolated temples mostly in the valley of the Malaprabhā, particularly between Bādāmī and Aihoḷe. It includes the following sites: Bādāmī, Nagral, Chikka Mahākūṭa, Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakal, Siddhankolla, Aihoḷe. Other temples and remains are found at Sulebhavi, Kellūr, Hunguṇd and B.N. Jalihal (information given by Carol Radcliffe). A doorway recently found at Ittagi bears an inscription of Vinayāditya's reign. South-west of Bādāmī, the Madhukeśvara at Banavāsi, although considerably altered later, goes back originally to the Chāḷukya period. South-east of Bādāmī, on a sacred hill near Sandur (about 50 kms. from Hospet) rises the Pārvatī temple. The second concentration of monuments is found between the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā (very near its confluence with the Kṛishṇā) and the Nallamalai. This region is not always acknowledged as being part of the Bādāmī empire although it remained so from *ca.* 620 A.D. until the Rāshṭrakūṭas took over during the second part of the eighth century. Inscriptions connecting this region and the following kings: Pulakeśin II, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya, are not lacking. Temples and remains are found at Ālampur, Pañchaliṅgala, Kudaveli, Tandrapadu, Mahānandi, Panyam, Kadamara Kalava, Satyavolu and Turimella.

[2] The recent studies of Walter Spink on the Vākāṭaka and the Kaḷachuri monuments have cleared the picture. See "Ajanta to Ellora", *Marg,* vol. XX, no. 2, March 1967

[3] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Chaḷukyas of Bādāmi", *The Early History of the Deccan,* parts I-VI, ed. G. Yazdani, Oxford 1960, pp. 201-232; D.C. Sircar, "The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmī", *The Classical Age,* ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay 1962, pp. 227-249; N.L.N. Rao, "The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi", *Maharashtra State Gazetteers,* History, part I, Bombay, 1967, pp. 201-231

[4] N.L.N. Rao, *op. cit.,* pp. 203-206

[5] N. Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum,* vol. I, Hyderabad 1962, pp. 42-43

[6] *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. III, p. 51

[7] R.S. Panchamukhi, *Karnatak Inscriptions,* vol. I, 1941, pp. III-V and pp. 2-4

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the order I, II, III. Since cave III is dated 578 A.D.,[8] it would appear that the three caves were excavated in eleven years under Kīrtivarman. It is also possible that the Śaiva cave No. I was done when Kīrtivarman was the *yuvarāja*. From the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[9] we know that both Pulakeśin I and Kīrtivarman I worshipped Śiva. Common features shared by these caves and those of Aihoḷe help assign a date to the latter.

Without entering into detailed descriptions can one identify a few of the significant features in the three Bādāmī caves pointing at their affinities with the earlier fifth and sixth century styles in the Deccan and their internal sequence[10] so as to clarify their stylistical and chronological position?

The overall impression is that, although the caves are extremely original, they have drawn on a number of Gupta, Vākāṭaka and Kaḷachuri forms which give them all the markings of sixth century art. On the other hand, there appears to be a clear evolution of which the first step is cave I, the second step cave II, and the culmination cave III, so that this evolution coincides with the ascending topographical order.

In cave I, the delicate treatment of the pillars, the intricate tracery of floral motifs, scrolls and beaded garlands, the vigorous grace of the bracket-figures *(gaṇas, vyālas, makaras)* and of the *gandharva* couples on the ceiling, a line of tiny lion-heads on the entablature, cannot but recall the Vākāṭaka caves (for instance, Ajanṭā 16 and Ajanṭā 19). A pillar, in the second row, shows an attempt to place *gaṇas* at the corners of a high squarish base below a fluted neck supporting a round cushion capital in the Kaḷachuri manner (Elephanṭā, Ellorā 26). The proportions of Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara—wide shoulders, strong torso, slightly bowed legs, high *jaṭās*—the well balanced thrust of powerful arms in the case of Naṭeśa, the spoked halo of the *dvārapāla*, all suggest an awareness of Ellorā 14 and Elephanṭā. On the other hand, the iconography of Mahishamardinī takes after a Gupta type. A sheer invention of the Chāḷukya genius is the coiled spiral of a *nāgarāja* on the central ceiling. The fullness of its modelling will be lost in later versions. The asymmetry of the cave underlined by a single guardian on one side of the façade, a chapel and a Naṭeśa carved in the rock on the other, hints at an initial step in rock-architecture. Two main features link cave I to cave II while they also help to indicate the further advance made in cave III. Both caves I and II show a great liking for the theme of frolicking *gaṇas* (fig. 114), a theme well-known in Vākāṭaka and Kaḷachuri caves (cf. Ajanṭā 26—Ellorā 10). They are found under the sculptured panels inside the caves and on the base of the façade. The latter is made of a plain cornice above a continuous frieze of *gaṇas*. This archaic treatment of the base, almost identical at Bādāmī I and II, would prove that these two caves are very close in time. Inside the Rāvaṇa Phāḍi at Aihoḷe appears an equally archaic base. The crisp organization of the partly structural base at Bādāmī III stands in great contrast. There, a cornice decorated with a pattern of *nāsikās* and geese caps a frieze well-divided by pilasters framing pairs of *gaṇas*. This detail alone is sufficient proof that cave III is posterior to caves I and II. This conclusion is further reinforced by a study of the wall that separates the verandah from the hall. In cave I, there was an attempt at carving a doorframe between the verandah and the *maṇḍapa* (fig. 115). But only doorjambs were carved on each side. They are not continued by an overdoor because the whole bay represented too wide a span to be bridged. In cave II, the width of the bay was reduced and the area of the dividing walls increased. Two results were thus achieved (fig. 116) : a complete doorframe could be carved and the surface of the dividing walls could be put to use. However, nothing remains of the paintings which occupied these new surfaces. This development of the doorframe and the dividing walls clearly indicates that cave II followed cave I. More subtly, cave III goes one step further. The side panels introduced in cave II are now given equal value with other panels. They are occupied by large sculptures, those of Varāha and Harihara. Given the proportions of the cave, a doorframe would have appeared unrealistic. Instead, the entablature is continuous and carved with a narrative frieze inspired by that of cave II. Other details confirm this sequence of the caves and the firm anchorage of this group in sixth century art.

Coming back to cave II, another progress in relation to cave I is seen in its rational layout and its symmetry, inside and outside. On the inner side of the rock, flanking the verandah, two *dvārapālas* face each other. This is an unusual position, somewhat similar to that of two guardians in Scythian dress at the Rāvaṇa Phāḍi (Aihoḷe). It could have been inspired by the

[8] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, 1877, pp. 363-364

[9] *ibid.*, vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 16-20

[10] Gary Tarr, "Chronology and development of the Chāḷukya cave-temples", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. VIII, 1970, pp. 157-170. The argument of Tarr regarding the chronology of the Bādāmī caves runs parallel to mine. But we differ in our understanding of the caves at Aihoḷe. Tarr and Lippe (see no. 12 below) have provided beautiful photographs of the caves and their sculptures.

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position of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Ellorā 21. Stylistically, with their flaccid modelling, relaxed pose, piled up and stylised *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the guardians look so much like late Kaḷachuri ones, say at Ellorā 29, that they appear almost out of place in a Chāḷukya cave. At Aihoḷe, the *dvārapālas* of the Jaina cave, also derived from Kaḷachuri models, take after earlier examples, for instance, those of Elephanṭā cave IV where they are accompanied by a dwarf. The modelling, at Aihoḷe, is much more realistic, and the faces more indigenous.[11] Inside Bādāmī II, there is the suggestion of a nave leading axially to the sanctum. Pillars topped by square cushion capitals in the second line, again recall the Kaḷachuri connection (cf. the engaged pillars of Ellorā 14). A small relief of a seated Lakulīśa suggests the same origin (cf. Ellorā 21).

In cave III, the emphasis is on providing the maximum space for large panels of sculpture at the two symmetrical ends of the cave, inside and outside the verandah, as well as for an assembly hall in front of the sanctum. The eye travels to the left and to the right to behold divine images, just as in Ellorā 21. But here, the spatial arrangement is free from twin-pillared screens, while these are not discarded in the Rāvaṇa Phāḍi and the Jaina cave at Aihoḷe. Sculptures grow out of the rock with unbounded movement. This is particularly true of Trivikrama[12] who, unlike the frontal icon of Bādāmī II, is half turned, caught in the action of striding the worlds. The colossal scale of this sculpture makes it all the more striking. The two, probably earlier, panels, Vishṇu on Śesha and Varāha are still provided with a base of *gaṇas*. But this base, compressed and devoid of any vitality, appears like an apologetic quotation of cave II. Vākāṭaka and Kaḷachuri influences are perceptible. A Kaḷachuri touch with hardly any disguise can be seen in the figure of Bhūdevī lifted by Varāha. On the other hand, the idea of having bracket-figures on the pillars of a façade might have been inspired by Vākāṭaka and Kaḷachuri examples at Ajanṭā 20, Aurańgābād 1, Ellorā 21, while the grouping of the figures in elegant pairs is properly Chāḷukya. Ever since the Maurya period, the tradition of colossal images has always been present in Indian art. It was particularly in favour with the Kaḷachuris (Elephanṭā etc.). Absent in Bādāmī I and II, this taste for the colossal is asserted, with a new note of almost brutal force in Bādāmī III where everything, the pillars and particularly the sculptured panels inside and outside the cave, is massive and powerful. This cave, in every way an audacious work, truly achieved a culmination.

Already referred to, the Jaina cave and the Rāvaṇa Phāḍi at Aihoḷe, have, in contrast, retained the measured grace and elegance of a slightly earlier period. Slim and relaxed, all the figures in the Rāvaṇa Phāḍi, including Varāha, hold rhythmic poses. Their elongated tiaras or *jaṭās*, spoked haloes, oval faces, long weapons, ridged garments with sashes falling in straight folds, accentuate a verticality unobserved elsewhere. However, some of the bracket-figures in Bādāmī III might have been influenced by their style. The twin-pillared screens of this cave look back to the Vākāṭaka-Kaḷachuri traditions. The iconography hints at influences from Western India (the Western India stretching from Elephanṭā to Manḍor), particularly the Naṭeśa surrounded by Mātṛikās and Śiva receiving the *tripathagā Gaṅgā*.[13] An entirely Chāḷukya version of the Devī killing the buffalo can be seen in the *antarāla*. The smiling Mahishamardinī made to face Varāha (like Varāha she is an *avatāra* whose mission is to restore *Dharma*, therefore the symmetrical position) skillfully reconciles tension and serenity, movement and poise. Her sinuous bow—very similar to that of Trivikrama in Bādāmī II—echoes the curves of her body. Her arms open and spread out like rays. In stark opposition, the long vertical thrust of her *śūla*, almost parallel to the sword, pierces into the arched rear of the buffalo, breaking an otherwise serene harmony. The composition of this panel appears much more sophisticated than that of the Mahishamardinī in Bādāmī I. From the iconographic point of view, the

[11] It has been observed by some that the *dvārapālas* of the Jaina cave recall Pallava ones. There is definitely a type of male figure in Pallava art of the seventh century related to the Deccani styles of the sixth century, particularly to the monumental *dvārapālas* of the Kaḷachuri caves which have also inspired those of the Jaina cave. Of the two kinds of *dvārapālas* which appear in the Pallava caves, sometimes together, one is tranquil and unarmed, the other heavy, fierce and leaning on a mace. The first kind is characterised always by a relaxed pose and a lighter build, a triple-bend with one hip sometimes jutting out and in some cases by a high *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The figures are often half-turned to one side. They do not hold weapons. This group has almost surely been influenced by the Kaḷachuri (and Chāḷukya?) guardians. However, the Pallava guardians do not have the spoked halo seen at Elephanṭā, also at Bādāmī I and Aihoḷe (the Jaina cave and the Rāvaṇa Phādi) and before at Udayagiri 19, Bāgh and Ajanṭā. One example can be quoted from Kuraṅganilmuttam, Pl. X, B&C in K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, Delhi 1964. In the Ādivarāha cave, at Mahabalipuram, a Gaṅgādhara Śiva (Pl. LVI. A) with its relaxed and well-marked *tribhaṅga*, the firm modelling of its torso and limbs, appears as almost a direct descendant of Gaṅgādhara Śiva at Elephanṭā. One upper right hand holds a lock of hair on which descends a female figure, just as there was at Elephanṭā (see H. Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, Bombay, 1934, p. 38). This would confirm that influences in the formative age of Pallava art travelled from the North to the South, and not the reverse.

[12] See Aschwin Lippe's fig. 21 in "Early Chāḷukya Icons", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXIV, 4, 1972. In this article are published the main sculptures of the caves at Bādāmī and Aihoḷe, also those of the Mahākūṭeśvara.

[13] Kirit Mankodi, "Gaṅgā Tripathagā", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXV 1/2, 1973, pp. 139-140.

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quick gesture of the Devī turning back the head of the buffalo to break his neck becomes a hallmark of Chāḷukya Mahishamardinīs in the seventh century. The twin-pillared screens of this cave, its sculptured ceilings in the hall, the demure Pārvatī in *tribhaṅga* accompanying Naṭeśa, find very close counterparts in the Jaina cave. They appear to be contemporary, later than Bādāmī I, but probably earlier than Bādāmī III.

The ground-floor of the Buddhist cave at Aihoḷe, partly structural, exhibits two doorframes and six transversal beams in the porch which are related with the Bādāmī caves style. The inner doorway has, in a very original fashion, miniature figures of Avalokiteśvara and Padmapāṇi at the base of a doorjamb, both being the familiar guardians in Kaḷachuri Buddhist caves. Instead of *mithuna* figures in small panels, *jātaka* scenes are represented. One of these could be identified as the *Vyāghrī Jātaka*. The outer doorway has a line of *kūṭas* and *śālās* on top, after a fashion inaugurated at the doorframe of the sanctum in Bādāmī III. The cave appears to belong to the end of the sixth century, after Bādāmī III.

The impact of the caves on the structural temples cannot be denied, particularly with regard to decorative sculpture on pillars, ceilings, and icons. For instance, the Vishṇu riding Garuḍa in a medallion on a ceiling of the Malegitti *Śivālaya* is clearly derived from a similar theme in Bādāmī II. Another carved ceiling of Bādāmī II represents the Sudarśana *chakra* of Vishṇu made of fishes. It is imitated at the Durgā temple, Aihoḷe, and at the Jambuliṅga, Bādāmī[14].

Which are the earliest Chāḷukya temples? It can, now,[15] be surmised that the Gaudar gudi at Aihoḷe and the Kumara Brahma at Ālampur are amongst the earliest Chāḷukya foundations. On the other hand it has generally been assumed,[16] without looking into the evidence, that one of the earliest Chāḷukya temples must be the Mahākūṭeśvara at Mahākūṭa, because of the erection of a column, dated 601 A.D., presumably in front of the temple. The contents of the inscription[17] when properly studied, do imply the existence at that time of a very important shrine, the Makuṭeśvara, and the stylistic analysis of the extant temple does reveal early features. The present Mahākūṭeśvara should, therefore, be identified with the Makuṭeśvara of the inscription. It becomes the first in a sequence of temples having a superstructure belonging to the southern class.

One of the key issues in interpreting this inscription lies in the ambitious character of Maṅgaleśa, a younger brother of Kīrtivarman, who was not in the direct line of succession. Already in 578 A.D., while consecrating the stupendous cave III at Bādāmī, and proclaiming this action to the world, Maṅgaleśa meant to be as glorious as his brother, the king, who had sponsored the more modest caves I and II. The exceptional attention and honour paid by Maṅgaleśa to the Mahākūṭeśvara or, to use its original name, the Makuṭeśvara, and the solemnity with which he invested his connection with this temple, force one to ask : was this also a stupendous monument, in fact the earliest temple? According to the inscription, after Maṅgaleśa had succeeded his brother (whose son was too young to rule), he defeated Buddharāja, a king of the prestigious Kaḷachuri line and took away his wealth. But Maṅgaleśa was intent on going further and setting up a pillar of victory on the Gaṅgā. He thought it proper, first, to erect a *dharmavijayastambha* at Mahākūṭa in 601 A.D. and to supplement an already rich endowment made to god Makuṭeśvara, an aspect of Śiva worshipped by his father and his elder brother before him. He made a gift of ten villages in the presence of the queen-mother (mother of Kīrtivarman, not his own mother) summoned for the occasion. Aihoḷe (Aryapura) and Paṭṭaḍakal (Keśuvoḷala) figure on the list of villages. This underlines the paramount importance of the Makuṭeśvara. Another deduction can be made. In 601, the temple must have

[14] O. Divakaran, "Le Temple de Jambuliṅga (daté de 699 ap. J.C.) à Bādāmi", *Arts Asiatiques*, T. XXI, 1970, pp. 15-31

[15] S.R. Rao, "A Note on the Chronology of Early Chāḷukyan Temples", *Lalit Kalā* 15, pp. 9-18; O. Divakaran, "Les temples d'Ālampur et de ses environs au temps des Chaḷukya de Bādāmi", *Arts Asiatiques*, vol.. XXIV, 1971, pp. 51-74

[16] In "Dating the Mahākūteśvara Temple at Mahākūta", *Oriental Art*, N.S., Autumn 1975, vol. XXI, 3, pp. 242-251, G. Michell has gone against this general opinion. The same author has published the plans and the elevations of the Bādāmī, Aihoḷe and Mahākūṭa temples discussed in connection with the Mahākūteśvara. See the separate volume accompanying his *"Early Western Chalukyan Temples"*, London, 1975

[17] See no. 9. The inscription, dated in the fifth regnal year of Maṅgaleśa (601 A.D.), begins with the eulogy of the Chāḷukya lineage and that of the first kings : Jayasiṁha, Pulakeśin I, his two sons Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa, compared to Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Kīrtivarman is credited with more conquests than he really achieved, then follows the praise of Maṅgaleśa himself, in poetic terms, the mention of his victory against king Buddha whose wealth he took, his desire to set up a pillar on the Bhāgīrathī. Finally, it comes to the point. Maṅgaleśa is setting up this column as a Dharmavijayastambha. He has called the queen-mother to let her know that he is supplementing endowments made by his father and by his elder brother in connection with the worship of Mākūṭeśvaranātha. To this end he is gifting ten villages.

The foundation of the temple is nowhere mentioned, but the circumstantial evidence does let one assume that an important shrine of the Lord of Makuṭeśvara existed when the pillar was raised. Stylistically, the *chaturmukhaliṅga* sheltered in the small pavilion within the sacred tank seems to be the earliest vestige at Mahākūṭa, perhaps to be associated with the earlier endowments.

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been a considerable establishment (not a modest shrine) to call for such a donation. Four out of the ten villages, modern Kendur, Paṭṭaḍakal, Aihoḷe, Nandikeśvara (if the latter corresponds to Nandigrāma) represent a lot of fertile land by themselves. Was the temple in need of revenue because it had just been completed? The summoning of the queen-mother (wife of the first king, mother of the second) together with the raising of a pillar of victory of *Dharma* (as if to emphasize his performance of royal duties, for a good king must uphold *Dharma*) in front of the Makuṭeśvara, again make one wonder: was all this a claim to legitimacy, in front of a temple built by his brother, a claim to continue the dynastic and religious work of his predecessor, from one who wanted, unlawfully, to keep the throne for himself and his son? In short, it can be plausibly inferred that the Makuṭeśvara is a royal foundation due to Kīrtivarman(who died in 597-8 A.D.) and that it had just been completed when the column was raised in 601 and a munificent donation made in the presence of the queen-mother. It will now be seen that the stylistic evidence also ties this temple with both the sixth and the seventh century.

It should be stated first that the condition of the architectural development in the Deccan alone could not have led to the erection of such a temple. Prior to the Chāḷukya period, shrines had been built in brick and wood, or brick, stone and wood (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Ter, Chezarla), while in Northern India all-stone temples had been built for more than a hundred years. One must assume, therefore, that the Chāḷukyas imported craftsmen from the North. Northern elements are actually many in the Mahākūṭeśvara while they are completely lacking in the Mallikārjuna, a later replica.

The ground-plan of the Mahākūṭeśvara belongs to a type that will not be repeated before the second half of the seventh century. (In the region of Bādāmī-Aihoḷe, the ground plans of most temples built during the first half of the seventh century are original experiments. However, there is a clear tendency from the beginning to surround the sanctum with an ambulatory passage). On an axial line, from east to west, the temple consists of a detached Nandī pavilion having four pillars, a porch having four pillars and next to it a hall more developed in width than in length with four central pillars. The walls of the hall narrow down around the sanctum to form a passage. Two windows light the hall and two more light the passage, on the north and the south sides. Pillars have no decoration. They are topped by plain curved brackets. The organization of the hall is unusual in two ways: the roof is flat and there is no attempt to indicate a nave with the help of longitudinal beams. On the contrary, the beams run across the hall from the north to the south. Engaged columns strengthen the walls. The doorframe of the sanctum is completely inspired by late Gupta examples. One molding is decorated with a scroll issuing out of a *gaṇa*, another frames *mithunas*. It is continued over the door by flying *vidyādharas* converging towards the centre. At the bottom on either side, two groups depict respectively Gaṅgā and Yamunā, each followed by a *dvārapāla* of the same size. On the inner side appears the bust of a *Nāgarāja*. A typically northern pattern of *nāsikās* forms the main molding of the overdoor. There is in addition, below, a dedicatory block.

The external elevation (fig. F) is extremely revealing. All the forms stand out clearly. None has merged with the background as will happen later. They are

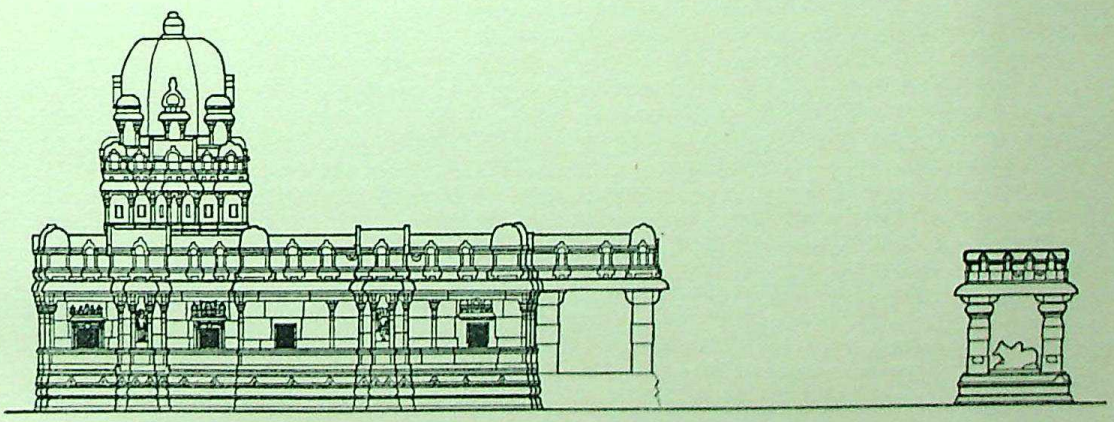

Fig. F. External elevation of the Mahākūṭeśvara *ca.* sixth century, Mahākūṭa.

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endowed with a pristine simplicity, be it in the base, the roofline of miniature shrines *(kūṭas* and *śālās)*, or the octagonal dome rising steeply above the lower storey, without any subordination to a general design. A few hesitations, a lack of perfect symmetry, betray the early age of the monument. On the other hand, imagination and care have been lavished on details, particularly in the decoration of the base and that of the windows. It should be recalled that windows to light a *pradakshiṇā-patha* were a well-known feature in North India, for instance, at Nāchnā and at Chārchomā (fig. 117), south-east of Kota. The presence of northern craftsmen has been assumed already and it is no surprise to find dominantly northern patterns of *nāsikās* above the windows of the Mahākūṭeśvara. The very high base running around the temple has five main moldings. The latter include a typical northern torus of moderate size and, at the top, a lively narrative frieze. The wall of the ambulatory, on the south side, displays the best decoration (figs. 118-119). Śiva and Pārvatī are represented in a number of scenes, always in a relaxed mood and in a late Gupta attire. Floriated scrolls, *gaṇas* and *makaras* introduce their varied notes as evidence of a spirited imagination. Above, the main articulation of the wall-surface is a central projection continuous from the base to the roof so that it stands out almost like an autonomous part (a similar projection appears also on the *maṇḍapa* wall). This consists of an outer pair of pilasters, projecting away from the wall, which support the cornice and the base of a *śālā* superstructure. Then comes an inner pair of pilasters also projecting with their own base, which supports the cornice and the base of a niche-like opening in the *śālā*. A figure of Śiva appears between the inner pair of pilasters and the whole unit looks like a miniature shrine. In view of its roof, this miniature shrine, planned organically from the base to the top, can be called a "*śālā* unit". On the west side (back), the wall on either side of the projection remains plain. On the north and south sides of the ambulatory, the projection is not quite in the centre and the two windows flanking it not quite symmetrical. The *maṇḍapa* wall (fig. 120) is clearly centred on the same type of projection which again frames a Śiva figure. Then, on each side, comes a pilaster followed by a window. The intermediate pilaster keeps, as it were, the window a little away from the projection, thus emphasizing to the maximum the "*śālā* unit". At each end of the wall is carved a single pilaster, not related to the *kūṭa* coming above. On the contrary, at the Upper *Śivālaya* and at the Malegitti *Śivālaya* (Bādāmī), the *kūṭas* as well as the *śālās* are supported by their own pairs of pilasters and form a projection from the base to the roof. In temples later than the Mahākūṭeśvara (excepting the Mallikārjuna, its neighbour) it is also to be noticed that, at the level of the sanctum, the roofline of *kūṭas* and *śālās* is not planned independently of the superstructure but is made to appear as its lowermost storey. This is almost the case at the Upper *Śivālaya* where one can see the beginning of a quest for a perfect pyramidal outline with the dome as its apex and the lowermost line of *kūṭas* and *śālās* as its base. In contrast, as said above, the superstructure of the Mahākūṭeśvara rises independently. It consists of a square lower storey with projections and recesses, topped by one *kūṭa*, one niche, one *śālā*, one niche and one *kūṭa* on each side, supporting an octagonal dome flanked by one *kūṭa*, one niche and one *kūṭa*, on each side.

The style and the iconography of the five Śaiva images, three in the projections of the ambulatory wall, two in those of the *maṇḍapa* wall, suggest an early date. They are all in a relaxed pose, two-handed, with a snake in one hand or at the waist, including Ardhanārīśvara (north wall) who holds a trident and a lotus. The two *dvārapālas* on the façade, one (south) in *saumya* form and the other (north) in *ugra* form—there is a skull in the *jaṭā*—stylistically relate with sixth century sculpture. Both are in a tranquil pose (figs. 121-122). The southern one sports a high and piled-up *jaṭāmukuṭa* recalling the period of the Kaḷachuris.

Some architectural features of the Mahākūṭeśvara, for example, the roofline of *kūṭas* and *śālās* and the wall-pattern of projections and windows, appear also in a number of temples belonging to a "southern" class. They are the Lower *Śivālaya*, the Upper *Śivālaya* and the Malegitti *Śivālaya*, all at Bādāmī. A study of the different stages of development of these architectural features in each temple helps in establishing a sequence for these monuments. The Malegitti *Śivālaya* appears as the most developed of these temples and the Mahākūṭeśvara as the earliest. The Malegitti being related with the dated Meguti temple (634 A.D.) at Aihoḷe, this again supports the theory of an early seventh (or end of the sixth) century dating for the Mahākūṭeśvara.

The Lower *Śivālaya* which has a dome and a lower storey very similar to those of the Mahākūṭeśvara may have followed the latter closely in time. The doorway of its sanctum, devoid of an overdoor, indicates an early date. The Upper *Śivālaya* has a wall-pattern of fully developed "*kūṭa* units" as well as "*śālā* units" and its main niche containing a divine image is aligned on the central projection of the superstructure (fig. G). The Malegitti is a sophisticated version of the Mahā-

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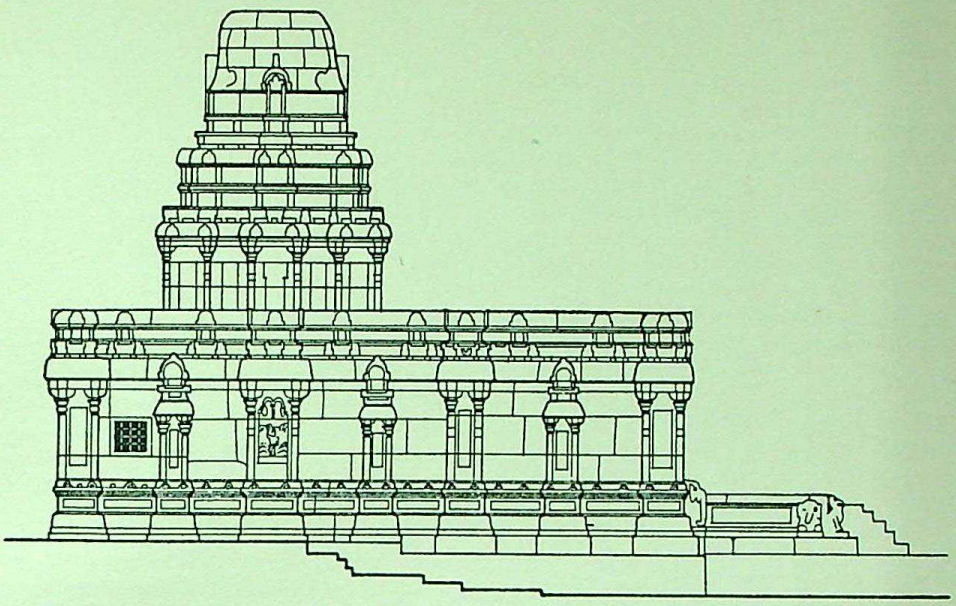

Fig. G. Elevation of the upper *Śivālaya*, first half of the seventh century, Bādāmī.

kūṭeśvara, less the ambulatory and its decoration of windows and niches. The superstructure presents an outline strikingly pyramidal. The organization of its *maṇḍapa*-wall is directly derived from that of the Mahākūṭeśvara and can be summed up as: a central projection with a single pair of pilasters (for a better integration with the wall) supporting a *śālā*, flanked by two windows (with *makara toraṇas*), all this between one "*kūṭa* unit" at either end. These "units" are projected from the base all the way to the roof but in a rather close and compressed way. While each of them is clearly defined, they merge, nevertheless, into a well-knit whole (fig. H).

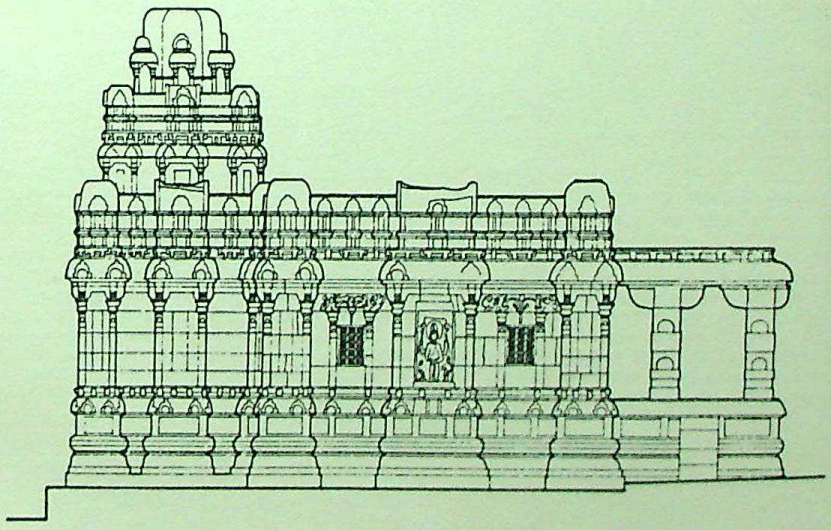

Fig. H. Elevation of the Malegitti *Śivālaya*, mid-seventh century, Bādāmī.

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The same "*śālā* unit", projecting in the centre of the wall and framing an image under a *makara toraṇa* (figs. 123-125) appears on the main body of a little known temple, the Pārvatī temple at Sandūr (near Hospet, Bellary District). This temple can be linked to the previous group on this account, also because its sculptures reveal an unmistakable affinity with those of the Malegitti and, in a more subtle manner, with those of the Mahākūṭeśvara. Besides, the two pairs of its *dvārapālas* (figs. 126-127) include a couple of foreign mercenaries who might have, in turn, inspired those of the Mallikārjuna at Mahākūṭa (bearing witness to an easy exchange of ideas and styles between widely separated Chāḷukya centres). At the Saṅgameśvara in Kudaveli[18] and at the Durgā temple in Aihoḷe, a new variation on the theme of "*śālā* units" and "*kūṭa* units" appears. Completely independent niches following these designs frame divine images on the walls. Reinforcing this architectural link is a strong similarity in the sculptural idiom. For example, all of these temples (as also the Sārangi Maṭha, Kontiguḍi group, Aihoḷe) show an identical type of male figure having: a high tiara, an oval face with narrow eyes and a thin smiling mouth, broad shoulders, a strong inflated chest and rounded limbs (figs. 128-130). This type would be the ultimate expression of a Kaḷachuri—Chāḷukya fusion already visible at Bādāmī (cf. Harihara in cave I and a loose sculpture of Vishṇu, in the verandah of the Bādāmī Museum).

None of these temples is dated. Fortunately, the Meguti temple at Aihoḷé, dated 634 A.D.[19] provides a major clue to the date of the Malegitti. Both temples have one element of the base in common, a rare type of cornice with a curved profile underlined by bands and bearing a decoration of *nāsikās* capped by a lotus. Yet another shared feature is a curved bracket with a wave-ornament, on the pillars, also seen at the Upper *Śivālaya*. The base itself at the Malegitti is more advanced, as is the overdoor of the vestibule between the nave and the sanctum. This suggests a date not earlier than the mid-seventh century for the Malegitti.

Given the sophistication achieved at the Malegitti, forty years after the Mahākūṭeśvara, it is difficult to account for the archaizing tendency of a temple like the Mallikārjuna at Mahākūṭa. The outer shell of the temple, with a few minor changes, almost duplicates that of the Mahākūṭeśvara. But the style of the sculptures in the niches, the interior organization, the three sculptured ceilings and the overdoor of the sanctum can connect this temple only with late seventh century art, as it is exemplified at the Jambūliṅga (699 A.D.) at Bādāmī.[20] As a continuation of this tendency, early motifs (like the Vishṇu wheel of fishes at Bādāmī II, the Narasiṁha and the pillars decorated with full medallions at Bādāmī III) are imitated in the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe. It is as if Chāḷukya art in this region, towards the end of the seventh century, could only be reminiscent, awaiting the arrival of new influences.

Before this renewal took place with the impact of Pallava art, the Mallikārjuna, in its architecture, was a last homage to one of the very first Chāḷukya monuments, the Mahākūṭeśvara, while the Durgā temple looked back to the period of the Bādāmī caves and to their northern inspiration.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Dr. George Michell for permission to reproduce the three elevations (figs. F, G, H) from his work referred to in note 16, also the American Institute of Indian Studies for permission to reproduce the photograph of fig. 117, and Mr. B.V. Shetti for that of fig. 127.

[18] O. Divakaran, "Les temples d'Ālampur..." *op. cit.*, fig. 52-62

[19] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, pp. 4-12

[20] J.C. Harle in "Le temple de Nāganātha à Nagral", *Arts Asiatiques*, T. XIX, 1969, pp. 69-70, and Michell in "Dating the Mahākūṭeśvara, *op. cit.*, p. 250, have both given a second half of the seventh century date to the Mallikārjuna. As noticed by Harle in "Some remarks on Early Western Chāḷukya sculpture", *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. P. Pal, Leiden, 1972, p. 67, the sculptural style of this temple is a development of that seen earlier at the Malegitti *Śivālaya*, but the northern (Gupta-Kaḷachuri) touch has nearly disappeared. The Śaiva images, all four-armed, are stiff and ill-proportioned. They present squat figures with wide and heavy shoulders, big hands, a flat torso and a very thin waist. They are not raised on the base seen in earlier temples. Like the Mallikārjuna, the Jambūliṅga at Bādāmī shows some evidence of archaism, for instance, in having a twin-pillared screen as an entrance between the porch and the hall, a formula derived from the caves and tried in several temples (the Kumara Brahma at Ālampur, Chikki gudi at Aihoḷe, the Lād Khān etc.). Archaism triumphs at the Durgā temple where architectural and sculptural details all echo earlier notes. Ideas and probably craftsmen were freely exchanged between the Bādāmī region and the Ālampur region. The Saṅgameśvara at Kudaveli, for instance, announces many of the features which find fuller expression in the Durgā temple, in particular the ultimate development of *śālā* and *kūṭa*-units into independent niche forms, also a return to a Gupta-Kaḷachuri style.

Pl. 1. An illustrated leaf from Kalpasūtra MS., *Devasāno Pāḍo* style, Western India, fifteenth century.

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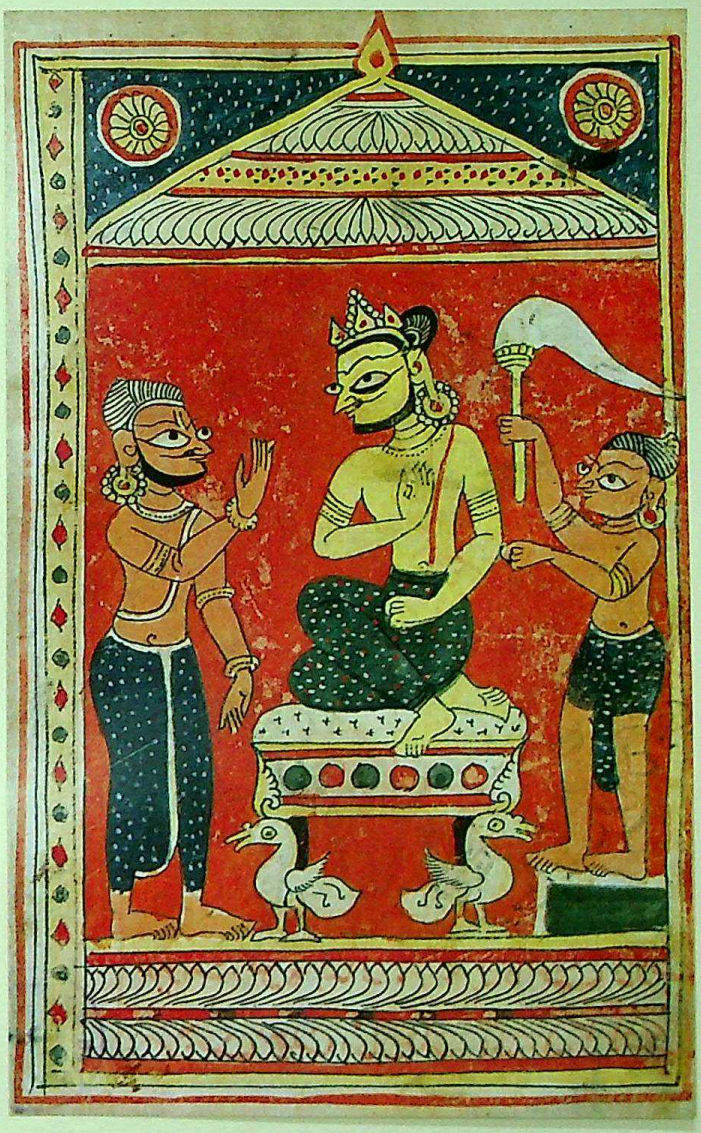

Pl. 2. A scene from the *Laur-Chandā*, Uttar Pradesh, *ca.* 1450-75

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Pl. 3. A Scene from *Mṛigāvat*, Eastern U.P., *ca.* 1525

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Pl. 4. A scene from *Hamza Nāmā:* Battle scene, Mughal, *ca.* 1560

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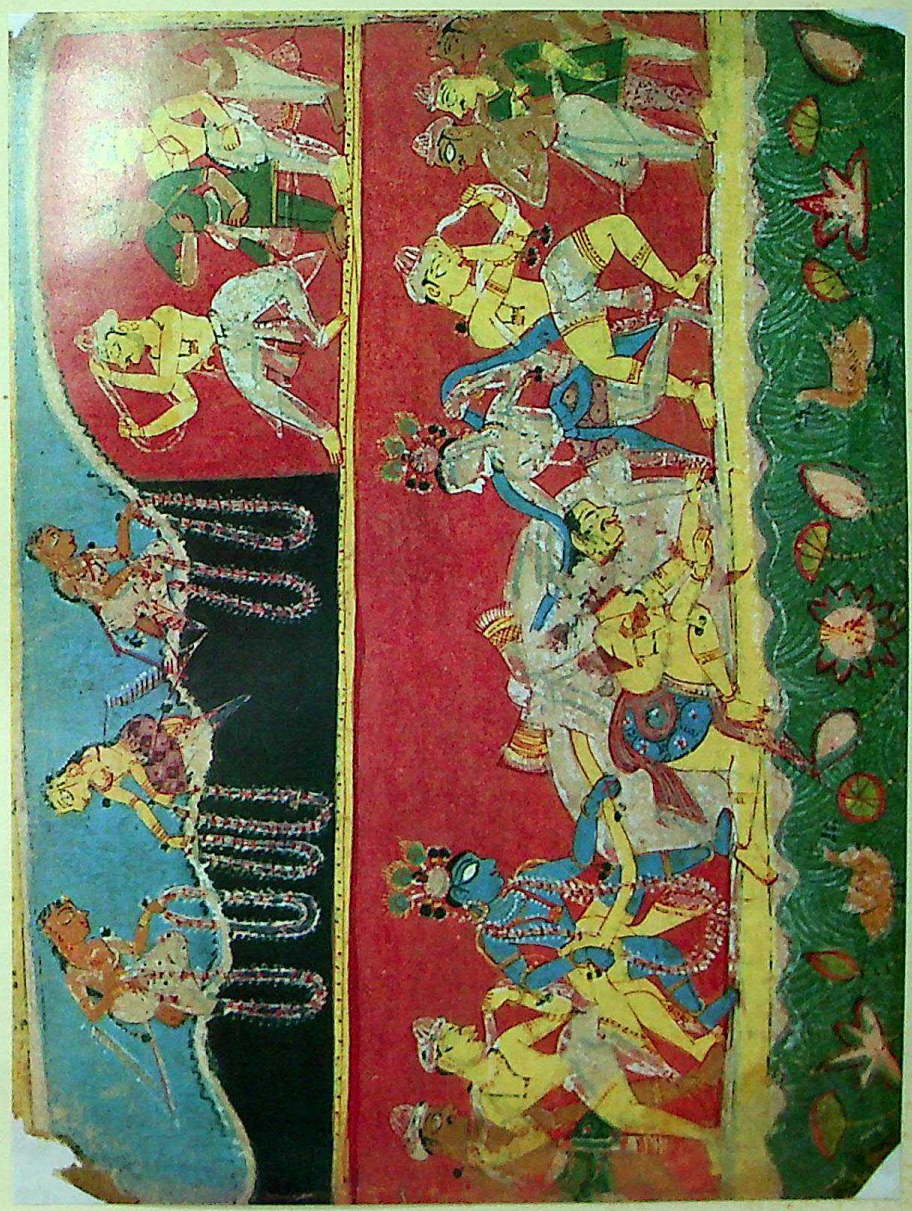

Pl. 5. A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa:* Kṛishṇa and *Gopas* rob Kaṁsa's *dhobi*, Early Rajasthani, *ca.* 1575

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Pl. 6. Battle between Kṛishṇa and Bāṇāsur, Early Rajasthani, *ca.* 1575

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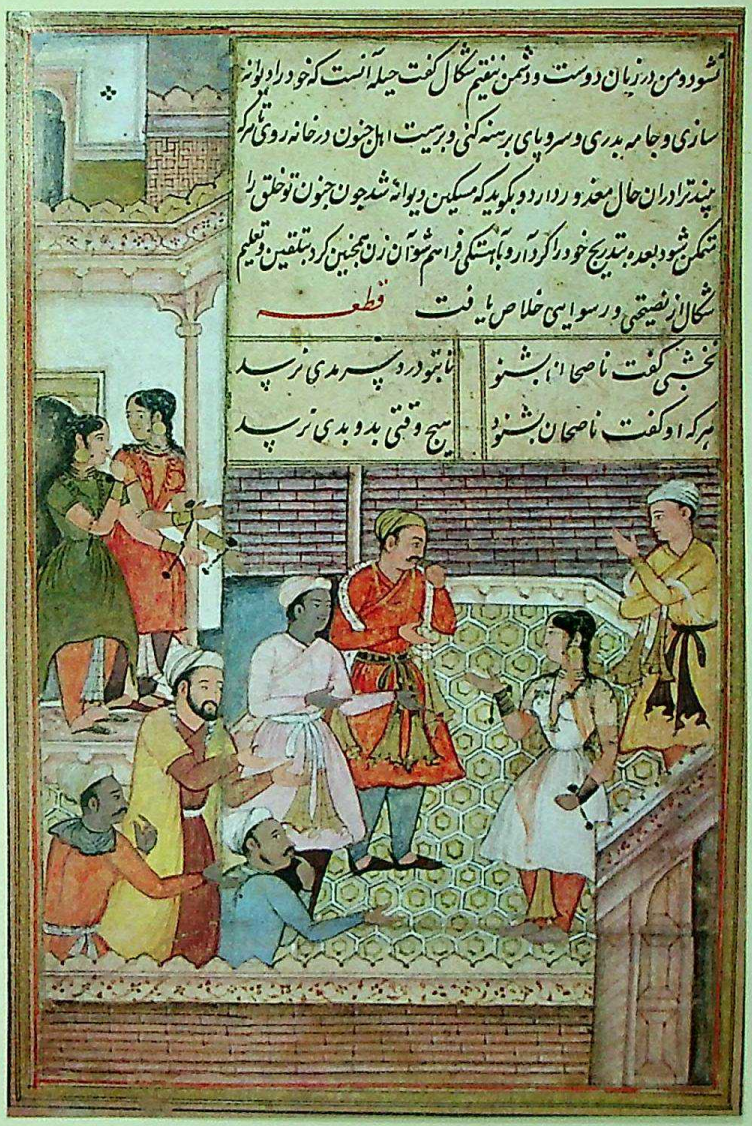

Pl. 7. A scene from *Tūtī-Nāmā*, Mughal, *ca.* 1580

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Pl. 8. *Rāga* Mālakosa, a folio from a *Rāgamālā* series painted at Chāvand (Mewar) in 1605

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Pl. 9. *Rāgiṇī* Bilāwala, wife of *Rāga* Hindol, Bundi, *ca.* 1615

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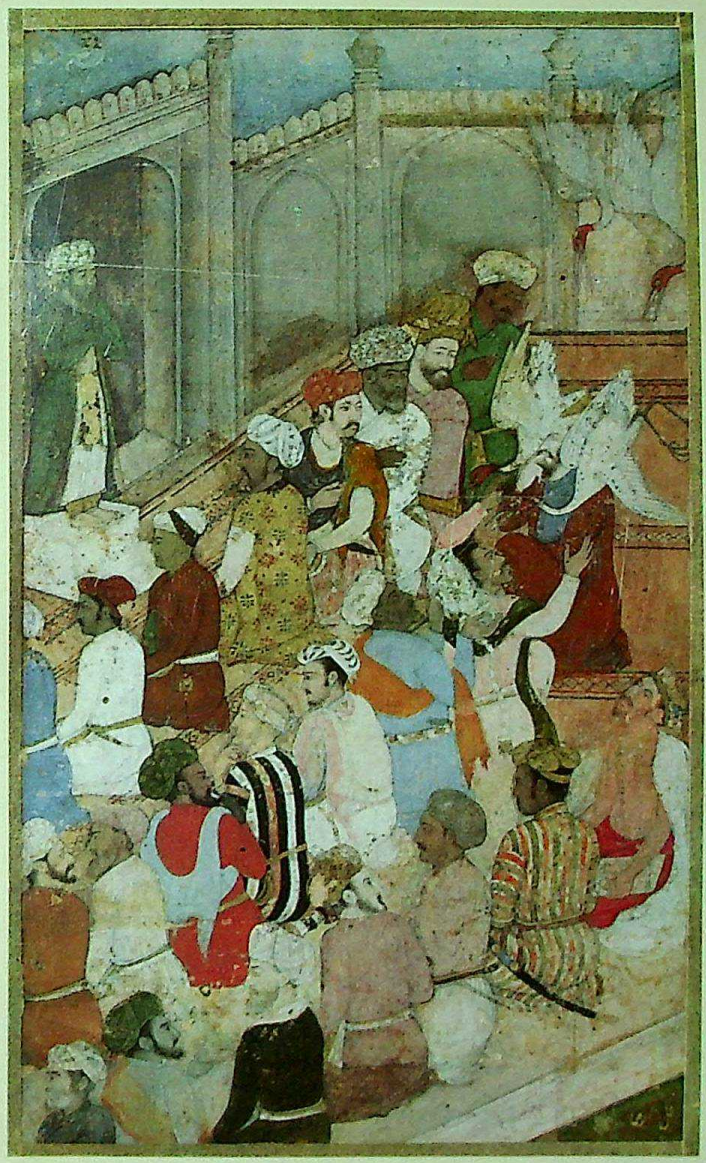

Pl. 10. Cranes attacking the congregation in a mosque, a leaf from *Iyār-e-Dānish*, Mughal, *ca.* 1615

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LOTIKA VARADARAJAN

Figurative Kalamkari and its Locale

Kalamkari or *Chintz* constituted an important segment in the trade textiles of pre-modern India. The term relates to a specific process or technique followed for the patterning of cotton textiles rather than to any special design or group of designs. Cotton textiles could be ornamented in a variety of ways. Yarn of different colours could be intermixed in a plain or tabby weave. Supplementary wefts could be introduced in which case there could be differences in colour along with a brocaded effect. There could be variations in weave which could lead to textural differences. The process of dyeing could also be so manipulated as to lead to variations in colour culminating in a patterned effect. The same result could be achieved by stamping colours by means of a set of blocks directly onto the cloth. The latter process permitted far less variation in form and outline, but proved quicker. The basic method followed in India was that of dyeing rather than stamping although the latter method was not unknown.[1] It is to this category of textiles—cotton textiles patterned through the use of polychrome dyes rather than the loom—that the term *kalamkari* has been given.

The technique of *kalamkari* evolved from the basic properties of cotton fibre. Cotton unlike wool, linen and silk did not take easily to dye. Different methods of dyeing were evolved to overcome this difficulty. Ochre and indigo were among the few colours which could be applied directly. For other colours the material had to be treated selectively with different types of mordants before the desired colours would appear. The four most popular colours in India were black, red, blue and yellow, all of mineral or vegetable origin. Black, red and yellow required initial processing with mordant. If black were to be further treated with alum, the mordant for red, and the fabric dipped in madder, the resultant hue would be chocolate. Variations in the alum mordant would yield red, pink, violet or brown.[2] The application of yellow on blue would yield green. Dyeing with madder and indigo involved mastery over two divergent processes—the application of mordant and the judicious use of resist. The mordanting could be done either with a brush *(kalam)* or a block. When the fabric was to be dyed in indigo, those portions of the cloth which were not intended to take on blue were protected from the dye by the application of a resist. In the south,[3] unlike Gujarat, mud was avoided and wax was the preferred medium. Wax yielded better results and this may have been a factor contributing to the finer and more delicate workmanship of the south. The date for the introduction of block printing into India has yet to be established, but in the descriptions given by Europeans of techniques practiced in the south there is no mention of this process.[4] There is only one description of methods followed in Gujarat, that given by the Frenchman, Georges Rocques. Rocques makes very clear references to the practice of block printing in Gujarat. The use of the term *painted* by Rocques carried the clear connotation of the coating by wax of areas intended to remain white or assume the colour green.[5]

European factory records make it clear that apart

[1] The factor which contributed to the continuity of dyeing tradition in India can be attributed to the inherent difficulties of stamping indigo directly onto cloth. The reduction of indigo with orpiment was known in Germany before 1577 but in India, until chemical dyes replaced natural indigo, the only method for obtaining the colour blue was by means of dipping the material in dye vats with or without prior reservation of desired portions. For the chemical process of indigo dyeing please see *Société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, Bulletin Trimestrial no. 11, 1953; P.R. Schwartz, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'application du bleu indigo dans l'indiennage européen", p. 78, A. 23

[2] Musée sur étoffes de Mulhouse, *Quelques aspects de l'impression surétoffes*, p. 4; A.B. Beer. *Trade goods, A study in Indian Chintz in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design*, Washington, 1970, p. 43

[3] For the purposes of this article terms such as *South* and *Southern coasts* should be taken to read as coastal Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh reaching northwards approximately upto Narasapur.

[4] *Journal Oeconomique*, Juin, 1756, anonymous, "Concernant les teintures des Indes", p. 47; P. Mertens, *Traité sur les toiles peintes dans lequel on voit la manière dont on les fabrique aux Indes et en Europe*, Amsterdam, 1760 (1925 facsimile), p. 40; *Bulletin de la société Industrielle de Mulhouse*, 1967; Mlle. D. Raaschou, "Un document danois sur la fabrication des toiles peintes à Tranquebar aux Indes a la fin du XVIIIe siècle", based on a manuscript entitled, "Description des toiles peintes ou la manière de peindre les Indiennes" by John Peter Rottler, a Danish missionary at Tranquebar; John Irwin and K.B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, London, 1970, pp. 36-55

[5] P.R. Schwartz, *Printing on cotton at Ahmedabad, India in 1678*, Ahmedabad, 1969, pp. 4-5, 7-8 p. 21 n.31. The reference to the painting of green cannot be accepted. All references testify to the universal practice of securing green by the overpainting of indigo with yellow.

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from block printing, painting could also be found in operation in Gujarat.[6] However, the chief difference between Gujarat and the southern coasts was that workmanship in the latter areas was much finer.[7] This difference is specifically noted by François Martin, the French factor who had equal experience of both coasts.[8] This feature of the relative crudity of Gujarat patterned textiles as compared to those of the south was not a phenomenon restricted to the medieval period. It has remained a constant factor in craft tradition. This is apparant if traditional Gujarat patterned textiles are compared to those of Masulipatnam even in recent times, although, it must be confessed, the slight asymmetry of Gujarat patterning has a charm of its own. Conversely the superlative traditions in *ikat* and *plangi* so well entrenched in Gujarat, have been noticeably absent on the southern coasts. One of the distinctive features of Gujarat ornamentation is, in fact, the close links from the point of view of form, between printed patterns and the motifs evolved through the *plangi* and *ikat* techniques.

Kalamkari designs on the basis of extant samples may be divided into four basic groups. The free flowing repeat designs in piece goods, the tree of life found on furnishings particularly *palampores,* the cypress tree motif associated with prayer mats and figurative designs portraying both human and animal motifs. The first category appears to have been executed by the use of the *kalamkari* technique both in Gujarat[9] as well as on the southern coasts. The latter three appear to be associated exclusively with the southern coasts. Commissioning agents, while specifying specific articles and themes, drew on a common fund of expertise. While individual activities such as beating, bleaching, dyeing and the marking out of the design on cloth may have led to functional division among artisans, there is no evidence that artisans were also grouped according to the category of finished article commissioned. This distinction is important to bear in mind in any attempt made to relate a stated category of painted textiles to a particular geographical area.

Traditions of decorative art as expressed in temple architecture in the south provide strong evidence that *kalamkari* traditions evolved along the same grooves as other branches of the plastic arts. A striking feature of figurative *kalamkari*[10] is the division of space into alcoves. Narrative appeal is strong with a subtle intermingling of several sub-themes contributing to make up the final form. Floral sprays suspended vertically or shaped in festoons constitute recurrent backdrops.[11]

The evolution of this Vijayanagar style had its roots in earlier traditions. Fig. 131 features pillars of the Airāvateśvara temple, Dārāsuraṃ, dated to the Chola period (Raja Raja II, 1150-1173 A.D.). The decorative content serving to cut the pillar into the horizontal rather than the vertical field in evidence here, develops much further in the pillars of the Vijayanagar period. Figs. 132 and 133 are details from pillars in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the Hazārā Rāma temple, Hampī (*circa* 1509-1529). The fractionization of space into smaller panels, each having strong visual appeal based on basic homogeneity of theme is developed much further here. Fig. 134 shows a panel from a ceiling at the Varadarāja Perūmal temple, Kāñchipuraṃ dated *circa* sixteenth century. The painted figures are shown in a very low relief against a neutral background. The composition bears a close affinity to temple cloths which may have been put to similar use in other locales. The tradition of floral sprays is clearly highlighted in figs. 156 and 157, from the Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tanjore (eleventh century A.D.) and the Govindarāja temple, Tirupati.

The unity of design finding expression on painted cloth and fresco painting is equally strong. Figs. 135 and 136 depicting the marriage of Śiva in the Mahārañga *maṇḍapa* of Virūpāksha temple, Hampī (early sixteenth century), show the stylistic convention of division of space into niches which is so much in evidence in *kalamkari,* particularly some of the pieces commissioned for the European market (figs. 145 and 146). Figs. 137, 138 and 139 demonstrate the close parallels in the molding of form and use of decorative motifs in the same media.

A further refinement of the conventions developed in Virūpāksha may be observed in figs. 140 and 141.

[6] *Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions,* 9353, f.67

[7] The French used the term *lampasses* to refer to the southern painted textiles used in the Asian carrying trade. *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce,* Ouvrage posthume du Sieur Jacques Savary des Bruslons, continué par M. Philemon—Louis Savary, vol. III, Copenhagen, 1761, p. 507, q.v. The terms *toiles peintes* or *Indiennes* were used for painted textiles for the European market.

[8] Linschoten also remarked on the fine quality of patterned textiles available on the southern coasts which could, on occasion be more highly priced than silk. A.C. Burnell ed., *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies,* vol. I, London, 1885, p. 91. Please also refer to *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club,* vol. 53, nos. 1-2, 1970; E. Jonxis, "Some Coromandel Chintzes", p. 41.

[9] There are several samples of such work on display at the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam.

[10] See *Lalit Kalā,* 5, 1959, John Irwin, "Golconda cotton painting of the early seventeenth century", p. 48. A large number of figurative *kalamkari* from various collections have been brought together in this article.

[11] For further observations on this theme please see J. Mittal, *An illustrated Deccani Manuscript from Rajamundry, a hitherto unknown centre of painting in the Deccan,* p. 10, paper presented at the Coomaraswamy Seminar, New Delhi, 19-20 December, 1977 (C.S.)

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These show how the narrative content of the panels is made more explicit by the insertion of running explanatory texts of the basic theme. This stylistic convention continues into present times as is evident in the later work in *kalamkari* produced at Kalahasti (fig. 166)[12] as also in fresco paintings in temples such as the Vijayaraghava *devasthānaṃ* at Tiruvallur. The Vijayanagar period was one of considerable cultural cross fertilisation and the hybrid feature of figurative *kalamkari* catering to a variety of tastes may be found paralleled in the field of sculpture. The stone *dvārapālikā* (fig. 142) at the Mīnākshī temple, Madurai shows evidence of the influence of Italian Renaissance sculpture. Such exuberant vitality may not have contributed towards the building up of aesthetic content but was responsible for diversification in taste which constituted an important parameter in so far as the demands made on the artisan were concerned, even if allowance be made for the import of skills. In this climate artisans were well attuned to catering to the varied tastes of patrons, and hence would have no difficulty in adjusting to the needs of export markets.

Figs. 143-147 include some of the pieces made for the European market. The ability of the Indian artisan of yore to fashion myriads of motifs geared to satisfy the most divergent and fastidious of tastes is awe inspiring, to say the least. Figs. 143 and 144 were made for the French market, and fig. 144 is an extraordinary Indian exercise in European *Chinoiserie*. Figs. 146 and 147 are details from a very rich *kalamkari* hanging commissioned by the Dutch. It was probably the strong pictorial content of pieces such as these which led to the formulation of the theory that figurative *kalamkari* was a by-product of the defeat of Vijayanagar at the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. Court artists had to seek new patronage and turned to the medium of cloth painting.[13] Fig. 148 appears highly Persianised and may be compared with a similar piece dated to about 1645 A.D. housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[14] It forms a sharp contrast to the Krishna Riboud *Kalamkari* frequent (fig. 161) which has strong Hindu overtones.

Figs. 149-155 show a variety of animal forms executed in *kalamkari*. Fig. 149 although made to English order, contains the inset which is illustrated here. This is wholly indigenous in inspiration. Figs. 150 and 151 have a staunchly European bias as can be seen from the presence of the dog and what appears to be a somewhat perplexed reindeer confronted by a Church steeple. The monkeys in fig. 152 are evocative of the Hanuman iconography. The aquatic life shown in fig. 153 is reminiscent of a similar scene in one of the panels in the seventeenth century *kalamkari* piece on display at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The plumage of the bird in fig. 154 brings to mind contemporary Dutch paintings of still life, while the dragons of fig. 155 are once again elements of an European *Chinoiserie* fashioned by the Indian hand.

Figs. 156-158 show the link between sculpture and *kalamkari*. In view of climatic conditions in India, textiles tend to degenerate rapidly unless special care is taken. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the oldest extant pieces of Indian patterned fabrics are found outside the country. At Fostat in Egypt, large numbers of fragments were conserved for centuries under the dry desert sands. Others have survived in the temperate climes of Europe. It is quite possible that temple cloths were used in the pre-Vijayanagar period even though none have been found.

Radical innovation in the sense of the introduction of a new medium is a rarety in the sphere of temple decoration and it appears unlikely that *kalamkari* temple cloths could have been entirely a post-Talikota innovation.[15] Painted cloths had specific usages such as providing an awning outside the temple, as curtains within the temple or as drapery on temple carts. The *kalamkari* tradition could be said to have constituted a parallel tradition rather than being an innovation introduced at a stated period in time.

Despite surface difference there, there are also many notable similarities in individual *kalamkari* pieces. This is another pointer to a common place of origin. The profiles of the male faces in the seventeenth century *kalamkari* hanging at the Prince of Wales Museum (figs. 159

[12] The earlier fresco paintings have inscriptions in Telugu. There is, however, a transition to Tamil. The use of Telugu in predominantly Tamil areas, and, indeed, the adoption of the inscriptional panel itself, raises interesting questions. One explanation may be that whereas initially the script was intended as a show of imperial power, it later became a stylistic convention with Tamil replacing Telugu as the script used.

[13] Jagdish Mittal, *Andhra Paintings of the Rāmāyaṇa*, Hyderabad, 1969, p. 27

[14] Reproduced in *Voedingsnieuws*, no. 63 cf. N.V. Nutricia, Zoetermeer, Winter, 1970, plate 2, p. 1021

[15] Jagdish Mittal, *op. cit., loc. cit.* While the central authority may have declined in Vijayanagar the scale of some of the temples constructed during the Nayak period such as the Raṅganātha temple, Śrīraṅgam, Mīnākshī temple, Madurai, Varadarāja Perūmal temple, Kāñchīpuraṃ, and the Rāmaswāmy temple, Kuṁbakonaṃ, bear ample testimony to the resources at the command of the Nayaks. Continued patronage to the Vijayanagar court's artists was assured as the artistic traditions of Vijayanagar were nurtured by the Nayak rulers, so much so that the terms *Vijayanagar* and *Nayak* with reference to the arts were virtually interchangeable.

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and 160) may be compared to the undated Krishna Riboud fragment (fig. 161). Figs. 162 and 163 portray another religious theme in *kalamkari* technique. Fig. 162 was commissioned for the Armenian Church. Fig. 163 is a late piece fashioned in Masulipatnam towards the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The subject appears to be the universality of the Christian faith. Unlike fig. 162, it is largely block printed. It is significant that, with the exception of the Krishna Riboud fragment, all these samples are known to have originated on the south-east coast.

Figs. 164 and 165 show a purely Vaishṇavite theme in the *pichhavai* tradition. The costume of Krishṇa (fig.165) and the running border design (fig.164) suggest a provenance of the Masulipatnam region. It was probably commissioned by members of the Śri Nathji Cult.

Figs. 167 and 168 bring forward the tradition of figurative *kalamkari* to the modern period. Fig. 166 was executed at Masulipatnam in the late eighteenth century. Fig. 167 was fashioned at Kalahasti in about 1900 A.D., while fig. 168 was painted by craftsmen under the direction of Kora Ramamurthy at Kalahasti in recent times. The link between these and the Tiruparutikunram panels of fresco painting (figs. 140 and 141) remains unbroken.

In view of the manner in which the category of *kalamkari* pieces cited fall into place within the existing framework of art traditions in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the references of John Irwin to the existence of figurative *kalamkari* traditions on the west-coast cannot be accepted.[16] The Burhanpur figurative panels with Vaishṇavite themes appear a localised phenomena.[17] It would seem to have more in common with the religious traditions of *pichhavai* paintings of Nathadwara rather than constituting one facet of a more widely based commercial phenomena. Figurative *kalamkari* dated *circa* 1890 to the Saurashtra region with the *Rāsa* theme (figs. 169 and 170), are block printed and form a distinct contrast to its southern prototype. *The Mathaji ne Pachedi* tradition of painted cult figures of the Mother goddess, is again a religious phenomenon localised to the members of the *Vagher* community in Gujarat. It did not have any commercial overtones.

It may, therefore, be stated that *kalamkari* as a technique of dyeing was widely practiced in all parts of the country wherever madder and indigo were in use for the purpose of dyeing woven cotton cloth. However, *kalamkari* in the more specialised sense as related to the production of articles such as prayer mats, *palampores* and wall hangings, both religious and secular, earlier referred to in the text, could be said to have been localised to the region along coastal Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.[18] The strongest evidence for this is provided by the traditions of art history. Given the canons of decorative design prevailing in medieval Gujarat as against those in evidence during Vijayanagar/Nayak period, it becomes plain that whereas an organic link may be established between figurative *kalamkari* and other art traditions in the latter locale, it is much more difficult to forge a similar link in Gujarat.

[16] John Irwin, P.R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indo-European Textile History*, Ahmedabad, 1966, p. 16

[17] References to Burhanpur painted cloths may be found in John Irwin, M. Hall, *Indian Painted and Printed Fabrics*, Ahmedabad 1971, pp. 67-68. Kalyan Krishna has, in fact, raised the question as to whether these *kalamkari pichhavais* were executed at Burhanpur at all. Please see Kalyan Krishna, *Pichhavais, The Temple Hangings of the Vallabhaite sect*, p. 16 (C.S.)

[18] The Carnatic and Gingelly coast respectively in seventeenth century European parlance.

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DORIS CLARK CHATHAM

Pratīhāras from Paṭṭaḍakal to Ellora:

The Early Western Chāḷukya Basis for the Sculpture Style of the Kailāśa Temple

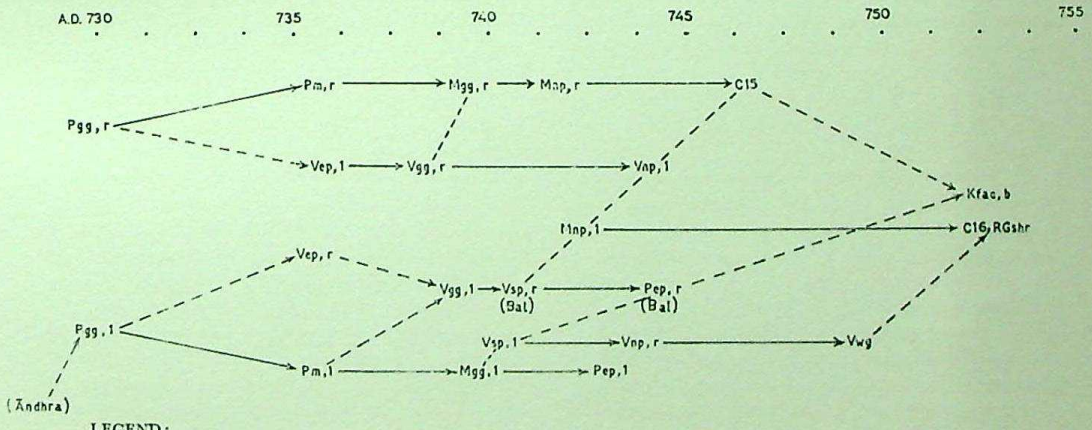
It was in Paṭṭaḍakal, in Chāḷukya territory, that the style which is the primary source for the later Rāshṭrakūṭa style of Ellora was developed. Early Western Chāḷukya style represents the fertile period of experimentation, tentative, eclectic borrowing, innovation, and finally, crystalization, that formed the basis of Rāshṭrakūṭa elaboration and further, less rapid and less prolific evolution. It seemed appropriate to me, therefore, in my analysis of the Kailāśa temple, to look first at the beginnings of this style and to try to isolate its components and discover the process of its development by the artists of Paṭṭaḍakal.

The subject of the *pratīhāra* (often called *dvārapāla* or *dvārapālika*) lends itself well to such a study, since the treatment of the human figure reveals both the personal "handwriting" of an artist and the collective character of his school more readily than purely decorative motifs, which are easily transferred. At the same time, elimination of the narrative element narrows the field of expressive variation that might cloud the picture, from the point of view of purely stylistic considerations.

Identification of straight-line sequences in the development of the *pratīhāras* of Paṭṭaḍakal is more than usually difficult, as iconographical data consists of a large vocabulary of items that were combined in an apparently infinite number of combinations. In addition to such details as necklace *(hāra)*, arm-bands *(keyūra)*, sacred-thread *(yajñopavīta)*, headdress *(mukuṭa)*, clothing *(udara-bandha* and *kaṭi-bandha)*, weapons, etc., there are two other means of differentiation. One is the pose, of which there are three types, which may be described as follows:

Type I. The *pratīhāra* leans on a *gadā* (club), which is on the doorway side. Both feet are flat on the

PRATIHĀRA FIGURE STYLE DEVELOPMENT
Early Phase: Paṭṭaḍakal to Ellora



LEGEND:

(a) ——— (solid line) = direct relation
(b) - - - - - - - - (broken line) = influence

Bal	—	Baladeva	P	—	Pāpanātha Temple
b	—	basement	V	—	Virūpāksha ,,
fac	—	façade	M	—	Mallikārjuna ,,
wg	—	west gate	K	—	Kailāśa ,,
np	—	north porch	RG	—	River Goddess
s,e,w	—	south, east, west	C	—	Cave at Ellora
r,l	—	right, left	m	—	maṇḍapa
shr	—	shrine	gg	—	garbha-gṛiha

Appendix I

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ground, but the leg on the door side is flexed, and a hand rests on the protruding hip.

Type II. The *pratihāra* leans on a *gadā,* with the leg on that side raised so that the knee or foot rests on the *gadā.* A hand on the other side rests on the hip.

Type III. The *pratihāra* leans on a *gadā* on the doorway side with the leg on that side bent at the knee, so that its foot rests on its toes behind the other foot. A hand on the other side rests on the protruding hip.

The other differentiating element among *pratihāras* is the figure style, and it is this which is the most reliable means of classifying the figures according to school. The chart in Appendix I illustrates the relationships within a representative sampling of *pratihāras,* based on considerations of figure style, combined with ornamental motifs. Figure style is the primary characteristic of a school, but certain motifs are preferred by each. In some cases, however, a mixture of motifs from different schools exists which can be explained as a borrowing from a sculptor of another school (*i.e.,* work-team) working nearby. Iconographical details thus cannot be relied upon as workshop indicators unless the context is carefully considered. Several master sculptors contributed to the evolution of the style, but only one of these, Baladeva, has left us his name in inscriptions.[1]

The sculptures under consideration here fall into two basic groups, or schools, within the Chāḷukya tradition, in which the shape of the head is a basic distinguishing feature. Examples of the two head types are shown in figs. 171 and 172. As will be seen in the following pages, those figures with an "oval-head" generally have long-waisted, supple bodies, and those with a "square-head" are characterized by more abrupt transitions and angular poses.

The earliest of the figures represented in this survey are the *pratihāras* on either side of the *garbha-gṛiha* doorway of the Pāpanātha temple in Paṭṭaḍakal (figs. 173 and 174). These belong to the two general groups, or "schools" mentioned above. The figure on the proper right of the doorway, which belongs to the "square-head" school, is of the third pose type described. He wears a simple necklace of four strands of "pearls" and a *yajño-pavīta* of three strands. His arm-bands are horned lion-heads, or *kīrtimukhas,* with simple swags and pendants at their bases. He is wearing a high, conical, jeweled crown *(kirīṭa),* and his hair is a wide-spreading mass of regular, flat curls. From the simple bands of drapery he wears, long streamers touch the ground on either side. These details are of types that have been identified as being "southern" or "Tamil" in origin. One of these is the form of *gadā,* tall and slim.[2] Another is the form of the *triśūla,* "almost circular in contour, its outer prongs being fully curved whilst the long central prong projects upwards the whole resting on a *pīṭha* at the point of the handle."[3] The third detail is the presence of horns on his head. Sivaramamurti traces this feature of Pallava art back to the Bhairavunikoṇḍa cave-temples at Nellore, in an area lost by Mahendravarman I to the Western Chāḷukya king, Pulakeśin, who started the line of Eastern Chāḷukyas when he put his brother in power there. Quoting Jouveau Dubreuil, who postulated a theory of a relationship between the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas and attributed the origin of the cave-temple concept of the Pallavas to Mahendravarman's admiration for the cave-temples of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, he claims the same origin for the horns of door-guardians.[4] The possibility of such a source for the innovation Mahendravarman proudly took credit for in many of his inscriptions might bear further investigation, but it is interesting that, although the examples we have of early eighth century *pratihāras* from the Chāḷukya area of Āndhra (fig. 175) have no horns, they do have a figure type similar to some of the Pāpanātha examples, a similarity that can also be observed in the female figures.[5] The implication may be that the horns, like the figure style, did originate in Āndhra, before the time of the Early Chāḷukyas, rather than in Pallava territory.

The figure type which the Āndhra examples have in common with Pāpanātha figures is long-waisted, with a low center of gravity; the head is long, with an oval face, and the crown is a slightly tapering cylinder. This links them more directly with our second *pratihāra* from the Pāpanātha temple. The figure on the proper left of the *garbha-gṛiha* doorway represents an early stage of the "oval-head" school. The style of this figure is fluid and elastic, with a strong sense of movement. The pose is of the second type described above. Again, the draperies, swirling around the figure, are very simple, but they, as well as the figure, are much more rhythmic and less awkward than in the case of the right-hand guardian. The *gadā* is of the "southern" type, but there are no horns, and he carries an axe *(paraśu)* rather than

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a *triśūla*.[6] The jewelry is also simple, and the arm-bands are not figurative.

The design of the *pratīhāras* at either side of the doorway leading from the eastern to the western *maṇḍapa* of the Pāpanātha temple is considerably more elaborate than that of the *garbha-gṛiha* figures (figs. 176 and 177). Although similar, they exhibit differences of proportion and of detail that link each to one of its predecessors, thus continuing the distinction between the left and right sides. The one to the proper right of the doorway has horns, lion-head arm-bands, and a simple, four strand pearl necklace with a heavy *yajñopavīta* of twisted strands. His wide mass of curls is even larger than the hair of his counterpart. The figure on the left is similarly related to the earlier left figure, having more slender proportions and more delicate detailing, including non-figurative, but now more complex, pointed arm-bands. His hair falls into a more natural cascade on his shoulders, and he has no horns. His necklace is particularly distinctive, made up of both flat and thick beads with a bottom row of pendants and loops. He carries a heavy axe. Both figures wear heavy, complex drapery bands with large hip-bows, and each leans on a *gadā*, which is no longer "southern", but is of a type known to be common in Chāḷukya areas.[7] The figure on the left has a more ornate head-dress with larger side pieces and additional ribbons. He also has an added strip of small bells hanging from his hip, and his *yajñopavīta*, which splits into two near the shoulder, is accented with clusters of flowers. Both have halos *(prabhā-maṇḍala)* but the one on the left is more elaborate.

Another pair of *pratīhāras*, also related to the first two described, are on either side of the doorway on the east porch of the Virūpāksha temple in Paṭṭaḍakal (figs. 178 and 179). The artist of the figure on the proper right seems to be associated with the workshop team that was responsible for the Pāpanātha *garbha-griha*. His figure style is particularly like that of the earlier left-hand figure: long-waisted, fluid, heavy in the thighs, with a narrow, oval head and high, slightly tapering cylindrical crown. His drapery is simple and in very low relief, a characteristic that sets these two apart stylistically, and his jewelry and *yajñopavīta* (which splits into two near the shoulders, like that of the Pāpanātha, left side *maṇḍapa* guardian) are simple pearl strands. The figure on the proper left belongs to the other school of the Chāḷukya style. The center of his weight comes higher; transitions are more abrupt, and the head is square, with a broad jaw and brow. The crown is more conical, as it tapers from the broad brow to a point. The *gadās* of both figures are of a heavy, Early Chāḷukya type,[8] and both have *prabhā-maṇḍalas*. A very unusual feature is that both have only two arms, rather than four, and therefore carry neither *triśūla* nor *paraśu*. The left figure has the same simple drapery and jewelry as the other, but his hair has a more flamboyant spread, in cork-screw ringlets that may be a variation on the form at the Pāpanātha temple. Another feature that may possibly derive from that source is the presence of a kind of horns. They are here, however, of a different shape, and probably represent a *triśūla* behind the crown.

On either side of the doorway of the Virūpāksha *garbha-gṛiha* are *pratīhāras* that represent a ripening and crystalization of the two major trends of Chāḷukya style (figs. 180 and 181). On the proper right, the broad-faced figure carries forward the main characteristics of the left, east porch figure. The decorative details have become richer in variety and are more three-dimensional. The two part *yajñopavīta* now consists of a heavy rope of pearls and a long, flat ribbon, hung with bells, an enlargement of a feature introduced in the Pāpanātha *maṇḍapa*. The pointed, jeweled arm-bands now include a small lion-face. The curls of hair are no longer flattened out, and the pointed crown and drapery are strongly plastic in modelling. The figure has four arms. In one back hand he holds a serpent and in the other, a combined Chāḷukya-type *triśūla* and *paraśu*. A fragment of another *triśūla*, or horns, is visible behind the head. The figure on the proper left is of the figure style of the east porch, right side guardian, and he wears a similar cylindrical crown, but some of the details bear a relationship to the figure on the other side of the door. The long ribbon added to the *yajñopavīta* has bells, like its neighbour, although the main part is more ornate, being accented with flower clusters, possibly borrowed from the Pāpanātha left *maṇḍapa* figure, whose delicate necklace is also echoed in a flatter version. The arm-bands, however, have well developed, fully modelled lion-faces. He holds a serpent and a *triśūla* of the "southern" type, but, in addition, a large Chāḷukya-style *triśūla* appears above the crown. Sivaramamurti has observed this variation of the horns appearing in the Choḷa period.[9]

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Mallikārjuna temple, the *pratīhāras* have a more direct relation to the Pāpanātha *maṇḍapa* figures (figs. 182 and 183). Their skirts or bands of drapery, with large bows on the hip, resemble those examples in complexity and in the realism of their cloth-like drape. The band of bells starts at the hip-band and is short, as also in those examples. The figure on the proper left is of the long-headed type with the cylindrical head-dress, and the other is of the "square-head", pointed crown type. The jewelry, crown and *yajñopavīta* of the left figure at the Mallikārjuna *garbha-gṛiha* are further refinements of the same forms on the Pāpanātha *maṇḍapa* left figure, all being handled in an extremely intricate manner. An additional decorative note has been introduced in leg ornaments above the ankle. The right-hand figure employs larger, bolder forms, and his arm-bands are pronounced lion-heads, deriving from the Pāpanātha *maṇḍapa* right figure. Both hold serpents and Chāḷukya *triśūlas*.

On the south porch of the Virūpāksha temple, both *pratīhāras* are of the oval-faced school. The figure on the proper left is nothing but a fragment, but, what remains, reveals a few tentative relationships (fig. 184). Its necklace and cylindrical crown are crisp and sharply cut, like the *garbha-gṛiha* figures, but different in detail from any of the earlier examples. The hair is similar to that of the left, east porch figure. The "horns" are identical to those of the right Pāpanātha *maṇḍapa* guardian when viewed from the front, but are actually parts of a large *triśūla* behind the crown. Sure placement of this artist is doubtful because of the extensive damage and the fact that those features which remain are all of the mechanical type that were freely passed about the workshops. Working next to this artist, however, was the one who has left us his name and whose work is, fortunately, in excellent condition (figs. 185 and 186). His name was Baladeva, and the assurance and daring originality of his work, as well as the fact that he inscribed his name on it, indicate that he was a major master at this site. The earlier work to which this one is most closely related is the *pratīhāra* on the proper left of the *garbha-gṛiha* of the Virūpāksha temple (fig. 181). It is, as already mentioned, of the same school of figure and facial style, and, in fact, the two faces can be seen on close examination to be almost identical, although damage to the mouth in Baladeva's work gives the expression a misleading leer. The crown and arm-bands are identical in form, and the *udara-bandha* is quite similar, but all show a maturity of handling and richness in sculptural plasticity that clearly demonstrate the fact that the south porch figure is more advanced. The design of the *gadā*, with its lozenge-shaped flanges, is an enriched version of the one belonging to the Pāpanātha left *maṇḍapa* figure. Alternative theories might be that the Virūpāksha *garbha-gṛiha* figure and Baladeva's are contemporary examples of the oval-faced school, or that Baladeva was the designer of both. The latter choice seems more likely in view of the highly idiosyncratic nature of the similarities, which, I believe, define a personal style. The south porch figure represents the height of his development as an artist, a time when he had so mastered his form that he was free to improvise on one of the conventional poses to the extent of turning the figure around to face inward, in a pose that is full of natural vitality. In the earlier work, he was still experimenting with combining motifs borrowed from different sources, so that he used two *triśūlas* of different types and arm-bands and necklace of different styles, the bands composed of curved planes and the necklace delicate and linear. But he combines these elements into an integrated blend of the strong and the delicate in his mature style. A fine application of this combination can be seen in the hip area, where broadly treated bands and bows are superimposed on a lacy pattern of cloth which hugs the skin. Baladeva's influence can be seen in the work of the neighbouring artist, who also boldly detached his figure from the supporting pilaster.

In the two *pratīhāras* on the north porch of the Virūpāksha temple, one can see the influence of both of the south porch artists. It seems quite possible, in fact, that the one on the proper right (fig. 187) was executed by the artist of the left figure of the south porch (fig. 184). It is probably in the same pose as was that badly damaged work, and there is the close similarity in the decorative motifs of the necklace and crown, as well as the crisp, sharp quality of the carving of detail, to bear out this supposition. The similarity of the arm-band design to that of the left figure of the Mallikārjuna *garbha-gṛiha* (fig. 183) suggests that the missing arms of the south porch figure may have also been of that type. The hair, hip-drapery and *yajñopavīta*, however, are more like those of the Virūpāksha *garbha-gṛiha* figures. The eyebrows and third eye forms are borrowed from Baladeva. In the absence of any demonstrably personal idiosyncracy, therefore, we cannot, with certainty, identify this very accomplished sculptor with the author of any of our other examples. The style of the guardian on the proper left of the doorway of the Virūpāksha north porch (fig. 188) is closest in a number of respects to that of the right side figure of the Virūpāksha *garbha-gṛiha* (fig. 180). Although somewhat attenuated, its facial type is the same. The hair, too, is an elongated version of that figure's, and the necklace, *yajñopavīta*, and hip drapery are all similar in form. Its

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crown is also composed of the same forms but is more extremely pointed, and the arm-bands are of the same type, with distinctively small lion-faces. The *gadā* seems to be a more elaborate interpretation of the form used by Baladeva, but, as the *gadā* of the *garbha-gṛiha* figure is missing, the question of its immediate inspiration is moot. The carving style of the decorative details on this figure has a different character from any of the other examples, as its simple shapes are massed tightly on one plane to produce the effect of roughness, possibly indicating that the final polish had not yet been given to it when carving was discontinued.

On the Mallikārjuna north porch, the figure on the proper right represents another artist's maturing in the "square-head" style (fig. 189). Its closest stylistic predecessor is the *pratīhāra* on the proper right of the Mallikārjuna *garbha-gṛiha* (fig. 182), and they may very well be works by the same artist. The peculiar form of the eyebrows, which join over the bridge of the nose in a continuous, wavy line, is a feature common to them both. The *mukuṭas* are virtually identical, and the arm-bands and necklace are similar. The ears of the north porch figure are large, like the rather naturalistic ones on the *garbha-gṛiha* figure, but they have been given a squared-off top and have hardened into simple geometric shapes.

At the Virūpāksha temple, on the south side of the western gateway of its enclosure wall, is a *pratīhāra* that possesses a curious echo of the eyebrow form of the above figure, especially since not only do the brows connect over the nose, but there are the same small extra arches at the outer tips. This is the kind of detail that might be taken as a sign of an artist's individual "handwriting", but the figure style is different, and although the pose is similar, a more natural articulation has been achieved by the Mallikārjuna artist. The pose is also the same as that of the Virūpāksha north porch, right-hand guardian's, to whose oval face, taller, more cylindrical crown, and hair style it also shows a resemblance. There is also a repetition of one of the north porch figure's jewelry motifs in the necklace. It seems likely, then, that the west gateway figure may have been executed by a young, eclectic artist whose basic affiliation was with the "oval-head" school.

The final examples of *pratīhāras* at Paṭṭaḍakal that I will consider here are those on the east porch of the Pāpanātha temple. The one on the proper right has been almost totally destroyed, but the fact that it bears an inscription attributing it to Baladeva gives us some idea of what it must have looked like. Also, the position of the arm and the sash that are the only remaining fragments, indicates that it, like Baladeva's south porch figure on the Virūpāksha temple, was probably nearly detached from its pilaster—an almost free-standing piece of sculpture. The guardian on the proper left (fig. 190) has survived in better condition although it, too, pulls away somewhat from its back support. It is closely related to, and was possibly created by the same artist as the figure on the left of the *garbha-gṛiha* entrance in the Mallikārjuna temple (fig. 183). It belongs to the same school, that of the long, "oval-head", and although the intricate *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of the earlier figure is apparently nowhere repeated, in other respects this figure seems to be a simplified version of that one. Its necklace is of the same type, resembling the flattened variation of the design on the Virūpāksha left *garbha-gṛiha* figure, which I attributed to Baladeva. Its arm-bands are of the same design as the Mallikārjuna ones, as is the flower-cluster *yajñopavīta*. Particularly notable are the identical details of the modelling of the knee and the form of decorative leg bands across the shins. It is interesting to note that in both cases where we can identify positively the hand of Baladeva, the only artist identified by name, both *pratīhāras* are of the oval-head school, whereas the usual pattern was that they be from different schools. It would appear that this master sculptor demanded that the other artist be of the same school as himself.

It now remains to be seen in what forms these mature styles of Paṭṭaḍakal, embodying such a complex sum of stylistic cross-currents, were transferred to Ellora.

The stylistic tradition that preceded the Western Chāḷukya at Ellora was the Kalachurī, stemming from the style of the Paśupata Śaivite caves of Elephanta. The *pratīhāras,* with attendants, in Cave 14 are some of the last Hindu sculpture in "pure" Kalachurī style at Ellora; for it was during the excavation of this cave, in the early seventh century, that that dynasty lost control of the area, and the Buddhist phase, under local patronage, began—a phase which Walter Spink describes as "a self-derivative and dessicated period of art".[10] But by the last half of the seventh century a new spirit emerges and is reflected in ambitious projects, such as Caves 11 and 12, whose energy Spink attributes partly to "a sense of urgency generated by the gradual introduction of intrusive Tantric elements from eastern India, and perhaps . . . also to growing cultural connexions with the south. . . ."[11] Judging from a comparison of sculptural styles, the second Hindu phase, to which the

[10] Spink, W., "Ellora's Earliest Phase". *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, vol. I, Nov., 1967, p. 22

[11] *ibid.*, p. 22

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Kailāśa temple belongs, must have begun well before the conversion of Cave 15 from a Buddhist to a Hindu shrine, presumably under Dantidurga (*ca.* 754 A.D.).[12]

This early work is represented by the *pratihāras* on the inside of the screen-wall of Cave 16, as well as by the small caves, called 16A and 16B, all of which are still basically Kalachurī in style. The presence, however, of a Chāḷukya element in the details, such as the *gadā* and the drapery, indicates some contact of the workshop with the South, which, it seems likely, was the beginning of the importation of Chāḷukya workmen to Ellora, early in the building campaign of Vikramāditya II, the predecessor of Kīrtivarman II, whom Dantidurga defeated. This theory is supported by the similarity of the above mentioned details to that phase of the work at Paṭṭaḍakal when the sculpture of the east porch and *garbha-griha* of the Virūpāksha temple was being made.

The Chāḷukya element had become dominant by the time that the *pratihāra* at the south end of the façade verandah of Cave 15 was carved (fig. 191). In some details this figure resembles the right *garbha-griha* figure of the Virūpāksha temple (fig. 180), most noticeably in the style of the ringlets of hair, but a later work of that same "square-head" school, the guardian on the proper right of the door on the north porch of the Mallikārjuna temple (fig. 189) is the one with which it is most closely related. Not only are details, such as the style of the lion-head arm-bands, the twisted rope of the *yajñopavīta*, the pose, and the drape of the hip bands, similar, but, more significantly, the figure and facial style are the same, and the ears are of that large, squared-off type that first appeared at the Mallikārjuna temple. The face is, unfortunately, damaged, and from what we can see, the resemblances are not so clear as to identify this as the work of the same artist, but they are strong enough to place it securely in the school of the "square-head" style of Paṭṭaḍakal. A striking innovation of the artist of the Cave 15 guardians is the added width given to the *mukuṭa*, a characteristic that is consistent in other parts of the cave and is a part of the continuing development of the style.

At the north end of the lower court of Cave 16, Ellora, guarding the shrine of the River Goddess, is a monumental *pratihāra* (12′ 5″ high) which has sustained so much damage that many of the details have been lost (fig. 192). (This damage, like that of the lower part of the screen-wall figures, is marked by horizontal striations, like flood lines, where it, along with the rest of the front court, was buried under sandy earth before modern excavations.) It is nevertheless evident that the figure style and what details remain are basically Chāḷukya in origin. One example of a guardian from Paṭṭaḍakal that can be cited for general similarity is that on the proper left of the door on the north porch at the Mallikārjuna temple. The figure style of the school from which it comes, is the one that stemmed from such early works at the site as the *pratihāra* on the proper left of the *garbha-griha* of the Pāpanātha temple (fig. 173), and the long, flowing, unaccented contour lines employed, from shoulder to ankle, from brow to chin, are those of the "oval-head" school. The tall, tapering cylinder of the crown is also typical of that school. The most precise stylistic correspondence, however, is not with any *pratihāra* figures, but with the male figures of the pillar reliefs depicting *mithunas* at the Virūpāksha temple and with such Śiva figures as one on a pillar of the north porch of the Virūpāksha temple or one which is in the National Museum in New Delhi and identified as being from Paṭṭaḍakal. *Mithuna* figures on the interior of the Cave 16 screen wall, and also the Śiva Tripurāntakamūrti, there are elongated versions of the same style.

Cave 16, which was no longer a cave, but a great court with a free-standing, two-story *maṇḍapa* in the center and cave-shrines in its walls, was being expanded by the workmen that Dantidurga had brought from Paṭṭaḍakal, now that he had defeated the Chāḷukya monarch and declared himself the first Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor. As I have explained in detail elsewhere, I believe that the major excavation programme of this period extended to its full present width, to include the River Goddess shrine, and back to the wall behind the *maṇḍapa* (which was to become the Nandī *maṇḍapa* of the Kailāśa temple). On either side of the Rāvaṇānugraha panel on that wall, which is now the basement façade of the Kailāśa temple *maṇḍapa*, are two *pratihāras*, carved in shallow niches (fig. 193). Although their style is clearly Chāḷukya in general, the wide-spreading, *jaṭābhāra* hair-style has more southern connotations, suggesting the *jaṭā* of Dakshiṇāmūrti Śiva. Another figure with this feature can be found on the interior of the screen wall, next to the Tripurāntaka panel. It can be no more than a borrowed motif in the context in which it is found here, although an interest

[12] Cave 15, itself, although the *maṇḍapa* in its courtyard bears an inscription of the first Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, Dantidurga, is not dated, but since the inscription refers to his having made the Western Chāḷukya king his tributary, an event that apparently occurred shortly before 753-754 A.D., we know that the *maṇḍapa* of Cave 15 was inscribed after that time. Since Dantidurga had issued a copper plate grant from Ellora in 742 A.D., while he was still a feudatory of the Early Western Chāḷukyas, it is possible that his was the patronage responsible for the early work of the second Hindu phase at Ellora. I have discussed this in greater detail elsewhere.

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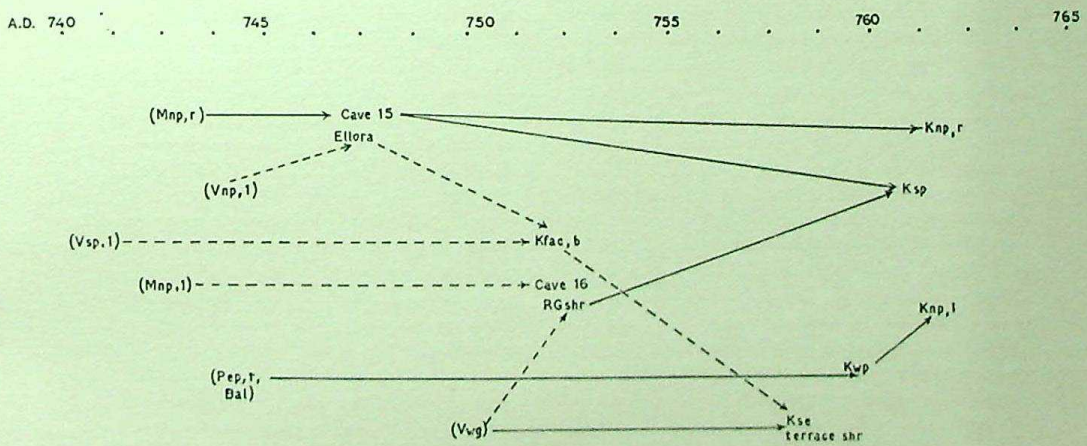
in the yogic aspect of Śiva is borne out by the presence on the same wall (under the bridge to the Nandī *maṇḍapa*) of a large Śiva Mahāyogin, whose *jaṭā* is thoroughly Chāḷukya. The figure style of these guardians is related to that of Cave 15, and it is possible to see here, in the left-hand figure, what the pose of the Cave 15 guardian (fig. 191) was before he lost his right leg. It is an unusual pose, in which he leans heavily on the *gadā* but does not lift his foot off the ground. Details of necklace, clothing, and lion-head arm-bands are also similar. It seems likely, however, that these figures were not carved by *pratīhāra* specialists, but rather by the same team that did the Rāvaṇānugraha relief which they flank. This panel has a close relationship with a pillar panel of the Virūpāksha south porch, which, in turn, has Pallava associations of an iconographic, but not stylistic, nature. Consideration of the character of this relationship makes it seem likely that at Paṭṭaḍakal the connection with the Pallavas was one of admiration, perhaps by the patron, rather than of a migration of workmen, and, therefore, that Pallava influence in this part of the Kailāśa temple, at least, must be relegated to a fairly remote position.

When Kṛishṇa I succeeded his nephew in *ca.* 758 A.D., he began by consolidating the Rāshṭrakūṭa power in military campaigns and legitimizing his own position through temple building. The transformation of Cave 16 into a full scale replica of a constructed temple in the "southern" style of the Virūpāksha temple of the defeated Chāḷukyas was a major accomplishment of his reign.

Since the first stage of creating the Kailāśa temple behind the existing courtyard and Nandī *maṇḍapa* had to be the isolation of the mass of rock, by cutting down from the hill-top, and then its gradual refinement into *maṇḍapa, vimāna,* and subsidiary shrines, by cutting in from the outside, those parts farthest from the center of the interior were, logically, the first parts carved. Door-guardians on the southeast corner shrine, which forms part of the exterior wall of the open *pradakshiṇā* terrace, are representative of the style of that first phase. A team of sculptors to which the creator of the figure on the west gate of the Virūpāksha temple belonged was apparently responsible, as can be seen from the close similarity in figure and facial type and in handling of the detail in clothing, *mukuṭa,* and hair. This team may have included sculptors who had worked on the relief on the façade basement, which had received influence from Cave 15; and the lion-faces of the arm-bands are derived from that source.

The iconography of the south wall of the Kailāśa temple is the same as that of the south wall of the Virūpāksha temple, but the sculptural style is different. The style of the Kailāśa south wall, which is also the style of the *pratīhāras* of the south porch (fig. 194), must be the work of sculptors whom Dantidurga had brought to Ellora, some of whom had been responsible for Cave 15 and some of whom had done the *mithunas* on the

PRATĪHĀRA FIGURE STYLE DEVELOPMENT
Later Phase: Rāshṭrakūṭa Patronage
(Dantidurga and Kṛishṇa I)



Appendix II

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interior of the screen wall of Cave 16 and the *pratīhāra* of the River Goddess shrine. They had developed a new style, combining features of the earlier sources and possessing characteristics of lyric grace and rhythmic movement that is expressive in a somewhat more abstract, or idealized manner than the specific illustrations of the Virūpāksha south wall are. The *pratīhāras,* lacking narrative content, display the same dreamy lyricism and formal detachment as the illustrative panels.

At about the same time, the final subjugation of the Chāḷukya rulers by Kṛishṇa I gave him the opportunity of hiring the greatest masters from Paṭṭaḍakal. The leading one was Baladeva, who was, I believe, given charge of the main entrance, the west porch of the Kailāśa temple. The *pratīhāra* on the proper left (fig. 195) was probably done by an associate, but the one on the right reveals his own hand, not merely in details, such as the form of the brows with the third eye and the choice of jewelry motifs, but in broader ways as well (figs. 196-197). The figure style is the same; its long, rather thick-waisted torso and sturdy limbs are supple and muscular, and the pose sinuously easy. And the carving style has his own special combination of full, sensuous form with crisply delicate detail. A careful study of the handling of small forms in the carving of an area such as that around the ear demonstrates the individual character of the work.

On the north porch of the Kailāśa temple the *pratīhāras* are differentiated from each other by borrowings from both of the other types (figs. 198-199). That on the proper left employs the combination of rounded form and delicate details of pearly drops and swags from the Baladeva school. The shape of the long ear and of the legs is also reminiscent of the west porch right figure. The one on the proper right has many features of the older Ellora tradition, stemming from Cave 15. The arm-bands, belt clasp, hip-swag of bells, *yajñopavīta* and shape of the eyebrow-third eye combination, combined with the pose and tensions of the figure, in fact, suggest that a sculptor from the Cave 15 team, rather than one who worked on the south side of the Kailāśa *maṇḍapa,* actually carved it. An interesting feature of both is that the *gadā* was on the outside, like that of the west porch right figure. All of the examples at Paṭṭaḍakal had the *gadā* on the side toward the doorway. This different arrangement would appear to be a variation introduced here at the Kailāśa temple, since no precedent can be found at any site which can reasonably be said to have relationships with it. (Pallava *pratīhāras* generally have the *gadā* on the inside, and Kalachurī *pratīhāras,* at Ellora and Elephanta, like the Vākāṭaka ones at Ajaṇṭā, rest the left hand on a hip-bow rather than a weapon. Their pose, moreover, is not reversed to flank the doorway symmetrically, as in our Chāḷukya examples, so that one figure has on the inside what the other has on the outside.) Although both of the north porch figures are more tense, or even rigid, than their predecessors, their origins are apparent. One can see both the blending of older styles into a new idiom and the distinction, still, between individual hands, in which that of the more lively right one dominates.

As at Paṭṭaḍakal, different masters led the same basic style in different directions. An understanding of the way that the responsibility for work on parts of the temple was assigned emerges from a comparison of the south and north walls of the *maṇḍapa.* As with the south wall, there is a close relationship between the dominant style of the *pratīhāras* and the wall reliefs on the north side. The expression of the north wall figures is more vigorous and dynamic than the southern ones, with less tendency to transform the action of the myth into a formal, abstract pattern. The compositions are looser, expressing the turmoil as well as the tensions of conflict, and spatially, they are more naturalistic. Inscriptions on the Virūpāksha and Pāpanātha temples refer to a *"teṁkaṇa diśeyā sūtradhāri".*[13] These were formerly taken to refer to an architect of the "southern country", but current suggestions that they are merely designations of the designer of the south side of the temple may gain some support from the observation that stylistic comparisons show such a division of responsibility for the two sides of a temple. This observation also detracts from the logic of attempts to attribute differences in style entirely to chronological factors, as in the case of the Kailāśa temple it is not reasonable to suppose that much time could have elapsed between the carving of the southern and northern porches.

The style of the *pratīhāras* flanking the entrance to the Nandī shrine in the Laṅkeśvara cave, on the other hand, does represent a later phase in the development of the style at Ellora (fig. 200). Features of earlier examples are easily pointed out, the most striking being, perhaps, the long *yajñopavīta* of the left figure with its heavy fringe of bells, like those of the south porch figures, and it is interesting to see that the *gadā* is again on the outside, away from the door, as it was on the north porch. But such a change has come over the figure style, which is now diminutively scaled, doll-like, and flexible, that detailed comparison with the *maṇḍapa* figures seems pointless. At the Laṅkeśvara shrine, the general trend

[13] *IA,* X, p. 170

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toward a "baroque" richness in decoration and in curvilinear movement is shared by these *pratihāras,* but it is clearly not simply an outgrowth of the earlier Paṭṭaḍakal-Ellora tradition. A new element has entered, and this element seems to have come from Āndhra territory. A comparison of figs. 175 and 200 demonstrates the similarity in figure style, pose, proportions, and in some details, such as the flexible toes and twist of the wrist. The mannerism of the sharply pointed facial features indicates a later development of the existing Ellora style, but new workmen have evidently also made contributions. Once before, at the Pāpanātha temple, an Āndhra influence can be noticed, and the possibility that this is simply a continuation of the earlier introduction might be considered, but the Paṭṭaḍakal-Ellora style has evolved too far by this point to make that a likelihood.

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THOMAS DONALDSON

Individual Styles and Workshop Participation in the Early Temples of Bhubaneswar

Although the earliest extant temples at Bhubaneswar date from the Śailodbhava hegemony in Orissa we do not know if any of the Śailodbhava rulers was actually a builder of any of these temples. We do know, according to copper-plate grants from Khurdā and Parikud in the Puri district, that the Śailodbhavas had extended their domain to include Bhubaneswar by the middle of the seventh century.[1] It is most likely, however, that a tradition of temple building was already in progress at this time in that the earliest extant temples at Bhubaneswar, the Lakshmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara, and Śatrughneśvara temples, provide epigraphical evidence which suggests that at least one of them can be dated to the latter half of the sixth century.[2] This is well within the ruling dates of the Śailodbhava hegemony elsewhere in Orissa so that, for this paper, the early temples at Bhubaneswar will be referred to as Śailodbhava structures.

These early temples at Bhubaneswar are all architecturally similar and were obviously built within a relatively short period of time. There are, however, within the overall decorative scheme of the temples, enough dissimilarities, generally of an experimental nature, to enable us to place the temples in a chronological sequence. There are also stylistic variations in the sculptures decorating the exterior walls of the structures in addition to a disparity in quality suggesting workshop participation. Although this uneven quality continues to a certain extent throughout the long history of Orissan temple construction, it is particularly evident on the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar. This suggests that the workshops are just being formed and do not have a long tradition upon which to draw.

The earliest extant temples are grouped in a row enclosed within a loosely constructed wall, composed of fallen sculptures from the three structures. The temples are squat and simple structures of the *rekhā* type in which the sanctum is surmounted by a curvilinear spire. They already evince the basic elements of the later temples in rudimentary form which suggests that there must have been earlier prototypes. The northern-most temple of this group, the Lakshmaṇeśvara (fig. 201) is probably the earliest and provides us with the epigraphical evidence, originally on its southern eaves but now housed in the Orissa State Museum, consisting of inscribed names of the planets, enabling us to place its construction in the latter half of the sixth century. Only the core of the original spire remains, now partially reconstructed, along with slight traces of a rectangular plinth suggesting the existence of a *jagamohana* or porch which once faced west. The most interesting sculptures still adhering to the structure are the rectangular projecting blocks, carved with animals and human figures, forming a *tala-bandhana* or string-course just above the top molding of the *pābhāga* and the portal jambs which are decorated with *dvārapālas* and ornamental scroll motifs.

The middle temple of the group, the Bharateśvara (fig. 202) has even less sculpture remaining on its surface than the Lakshmaṇeśvara. The only sculpture of importance appears on the western portal where the jambs are decorated in a similar manner to the other temples of this group. The lintel above the doorway contains a frieze depicting the capture of a wild elephant, a motif particularly popular on the early temples of Orissa.

The southern-most of the three temples, the Śatrughneśvara (fig. 203) is the most complete and gives us some idea of the original decorative scheme of these early temples; it thus can be used as the model in discussing the characteristics of these temples as a group. The ruinous character of the temples and the fact that many of their fallen sculptures are intermixed in the enclosing wall almost dictate that they be treated as a group rather than as separate temples. As a group they are still earlier than any other temples still extant in Bhubaneswar.[3] With minor exceptions the sculptural works are consistent in style though there is evidence of considerable workshop participation. This is particularly true on works appearing on the sides or back of the

[1] K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 229

[2] K.C. Panigrahi, "Date of the Paraśurāmeśvara Temple at Bhubaneswar", *JRASB*, XV, 1949, pp. 109-118

[3] For a more detailed study of their stylistic evolution I refer the reader to my doctoral dissertation, *Sculptural Decoration on the Hindu Temples of Orissa*, Case-Western Reserve University, 1973

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temple where the carving is rather awkward and crude, suggesting that these are the products of the workshop rather than the master carver.

The three temples, all facing west, are *tri-ratha* in plan with three *pagas* projecting out on each side. The dominating central projection, or *rāhā-paga*, on the north, east, and south sides contains a *niche* which cuts through the *pābhāga* moldings simulating the doorway on the west (fig. 204). Even the jambs of the *niche* are copied after those of the western portal and house *dvārapālas*, *mithunas*, or standing figures (figs. 205, 206). This treatment of the *rāhā-paga niches*, to resemble doorways facing in the four directions, is typical of the early temples at Bhubaneswar and suggests that the temples have evolved from primitive four-door type shrines. On later temples the trend will be to treat the *rāhā-paga niche* more like a window than a doorway and it will not cut through the *pābhāga* moldings.

The quality of the carving of these *niches* is quite uneven and suggests workshop participation as suggested above. This uneven quality is noticed even on the four jambs flanking the *niches* on each side. The jambs of the western portal, or entrance, exhibit bands of crisp and neatly carved scroll work combining both geometric and organic motifs. The *niche* jambs on both the south and west sides (those on the north side are now missing), in contrast, are rather crudely carved, though the motifs are the same. The quality is particularly poor on the outside jamb carved with the *jalapatra* motif of superimposed water plants growing one out of the other.

Evidence of workshop participation is even more apparent in the carving of the *dvārapālas* or figures housed within small *niches* at the base of the jambs. The Śaivite *dvārapālas* on the western portals, representing both terrifying and benevolent aspects of Śiva, though rather squat in body proportions, are very finely carved. Although the figures are rather crowded in their *niches* this has been partly relieved by arching the roof of the *niche* around the top of the head to continue the shape of the halo. Both *dvārapālas* on the Śatrughneśvara temple stand erect with the right foot placed slightly forward. The guardian on the proper right, Mahākāla, represents the benign aspect as is evident by the pleasant countenance of the face (fig. 208). He holds an *akshamālā* in his extended lower right hand and a lotus flower in the upper right hand (now missing). The front left hand holds the lower edge of his garment while the back left hand holds the shaft of a trident. The hair of the *dvārapāla* is matted on the top of his head, held by a skull-medallion, with loose curls spreading over his shoulders. A *kuṇḍala* earring hangs from his right ear and a flower-shaped earring from his left. A snake issues from behind his right shoulder. A *gandharva* fills each of the upper corners.

The *dvārapāla* on the proper left stands in a similar pose except that his front left hand is placed on his left hip (fig. 209). His teeth are bared indicating he is a *Bhairava* or frightening aspect of Śiva, probably the guardian Nandī. Although his face is badly damaged, enough remains to suggest that he has a moustache and a thin beard as do the other terrifying *dvārapālas* on these early temples. His attributes are the same as those of the benevolent guardian and he is flanked above by *gandharvas* and below by diminutive attendants in a similar manner. In both *dvārapālas* the body ornaments are finely chiselled, particularly the necklace, oval-buckled girdle, and waist-belt decorated with rosettes. The figures are rather flat in treatment but the carving is precise and sure. This is the dominating style of the three temples and will be designated as style "A" to differentiate it from later styles appearing on the temples of the Śailodbhava period at Bhubaneswar.

The *dvārapālas* carved on the jambs of the *rāhā-paga niches* of the southern façade, in contrast, are certainly not the work of the master carver responsible for the *dvārapālas* on the front portal but rather the work of junior members of the workshop or apprentices (figs. 210-211). Both figures are extremely squat in proportions, particularly from the knees downward. The *niches* are rounded off at the top in a semicircular shape and only the outside jamb, decorated with a rather crude *jalapatra* motif, extends down alongside the *niche*. The carving of the figures is also rather crude, in contrast to those on the front portal, and perhaps was left unfinished. This is particularly true of the benevolent *dvārapāla* on the proper right, his hands extending almost to the floor so that no room is left in the lower corners to include attendant figures. Although the remains of diminutive attendants are visible flanking the terrifying *dvārapāla* on the proper left, they appear to be more an afterthought and are extremely cramped and awkward in placement. Also awkward is the trident in the background which bends inward along with the general shape of the *niche* itself.

The figures at the base of the jambs on the *rāhā-paga* on the east façade of the temple are also quite crude in conception and are obviously not the work of the master craftsman (fig. 206). The *niche* on the proper right houses a female standing in a half-opened doorway. The figure is likewise very squat in proportions, particularly from the knees downward. In the *niche* on the proper left appears a standing male figure followed by a small attendant. The figures are equally crude in conception as is the *jalapatra* motif on the outside jamb. Both of

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these figure motifs are unusual, not being standard portal decorative motifs, and tend to suggest the experimental nature of these early temples. This experimental aspect is also noticeable on the *niche* jambs of the subsidiary *pagas*. Each *niche* is flanked by a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* pillar on each side. The decoration between the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* motifs, however, is not standardized; it may consist either of geometric floral patterns and *haṁsa* motifs or *dvārapālas* (figs. 207, 220-221).

Unfortunately no jamb figures appear on the *rāhā-paga niches* of the Lakshmaṇeśvara and Bharateśvara temples, except for a single image of a *mithuna* appearing on the back façade of the Lakshmaṇeśvara temple, so that it is impossible to tell whether workshop participation was involved or not. The *dvārapālas* of the eastern portal, however, are *in situ* and those of the Lakshmaṇeśvara are exquisitely carved (figs. 212-213). Both of the figures stand in a slightly flexed *dvibhaṅga* pose in contrast to the more rigid pose of the Śatrughneśvara *dvārapālas*. The guardian on the proper left again represents the terrifying aspect, displaying bared teeth, moustache, and thin beard. His lower left elbow gently rests on the head of the attendant figure while his upper left hand holds an *akshamālā*. In his right hands he holds a *bīja-pūraka* (a ball of meal) and the trident. His matted hair is neatly piled and held in place with a skull-medallion. He is not supplied with a *niche;* the jamb decorations begin just above his head. Particularly interesting is the *jelaba* motif of dwarfs climbing a meandering vine, a motif which will become standardized on later temples.

The guardian on the proper right of the Lakshmaṇeśvara temple is exceptionally fine and assumes a more graceful pose with the lower right arm resting on a personified trident-figure, the hand fondling the end of his girdle. The upper right hand holds a lotus while the two left arms are broken off at the elbows. A snake issues from a *kuṇḍala* on the right ear and the matted hair is neatly tied up on the head with strands branching out onto the beaded halo behind and down onto the shoulders. The countenance of the face is extremely pleasant and all of the body ornamentation, including girdle, waist-band, necklace, and arm-bands are exceptionally fine in workmanship.

The *dvārapālas* of the Bharateśvara temple are not nearly as finely executed as those on the other temples, though they are qualitatively far superior to any of the workshop executions appearing on these structures. The guardian on the proper right, partially covered by a green fungus, has extremely broad shoulders and narrow legs. He is standing with legs crossed with his right hand on his thigh while his left hand holds the trident. The remains of an oval-shaped halo are visible behind his head and vestiges of a snake emerge from a *kuṇḍala* hanging from his right ear. The *dvārapāla* on the proper left, also two armed, is standing in a similar pose with legs crossed but is proportionately better constructed. His left hand is placed on his hip while his right holds the remains of the trident. His girdle is tied in front with the loose ends falling down his thighs. The sacred thread falling from the left shoulder makes a large loop around the right thigh. Although much of the face is damaged, enough remains to indicate that the teeth are bared to emphasize the terrifying aspect. Both of the guardian figures occupy space below only one jamb, rather than two as on the other temples, and neither are housed within a *niche*. Nor are there any attendant figures flanking the guardians. Both figures are two-armed, rather than four-armed as on the other temples, and the treatment of the lower drapery includes diagonal markings suggesting pleats. Though the figures appear more relaxed, the overall handling is not as successful as those carved on the western portal of the Śatrughneśvara and Lakshmaṇeśvara temples (fig. 214).

Evidence of workshop participation is also apparent on the lintel decoration above the *niches* of the subsidiary *pagas*. Again there is a lack of standardization as some of the lintels are decorated with scroll work while others contain figure compositions (figs. 216-218). The same is true for the lintels over the *rāhā-pagas* and portals. The lintel over the western portal of the Bharateśvara, for example, contains an elephant hunt while that on the Śatrughneśvara is carved with a composition of Śiva and Pārvatī (fig. 218). The latter, however, is more important for comparison with examples evincing workshop participation. The lintel itself is divided into five uneven compartments. The two outside compartments, carved as miniature shrines crowned by *āmalakas,* house the *liṅga* of Śiva on the proper right and the face of Śiva on the left. The next two compartments, carved as miniature *toraṇas,* house female figures. On the proper right the female is depicted standing, with legs crossed and right hand on the thigh, looking into a mirror held in her left hand. On the left side the female is represented with her left hand on her hip and her right hand placed over her *yoni*. The dominant central compartment is divided horizontally into two sections, the upper area housing the image of Śiva and Pārvatī flanked by attendant figures. Both Śiva and Pārvatī are seated in such a way that their nearest leg is represented in profile stretched across their frontally depicted body in opposite directions. Although Pārvatī turns her head slightly towards Śiva, the two figures appear more separated than united and this will be typical of this *motif* in Orissan art. Śiva holds a lotus flower in his right hand while a hooded snake

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issues from behind his right shoulder. His hair is piled up in a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and a trident looms up behind the two figures which further stresses their separation. Above the figures, in the corners, appear two garland-bearing *gandharvas*. Immediately above Pārvatī is an open lotus flower approached by a small cupid-like figure holding what looks like arrows. In the compartment below appears Śiva's bull, Nandī, represented in profile while the lion below the goddess is depicted frontally as a mask contained within its own *niche*. Two attendant figures approach the bull with hands clasped in adoration while two other attendant figures fill a small compartment next to the lion. Overall the composition is carefully balanced with an obvious attempt at uniting male and female principles. The carving is neat and crisp though the figure types, particularly the facial features, are different from those of the major images and the *dvārapālas* on the western portal which I have designated as style "A". They are far superior to the work produced by the workshop, however, and are the earliest examples of a second major style evident on the early temples at Bhubaneswar. This I will designate as style "B" and it will be the dominant style on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple.

Although no *rāhā-paga* lintels are *in situ* there is one example among the pile of debris stacked up as a wall surrounding the three temples. This detached lintel also includes an image of Śiva and Pārvatī though it is far inferior in quality than that of the western portal and probably a product of the workshop (fig. 217). In this example, though, Śiva and Pārvatī form a more unified couple as Śiva's leg is not crossed over his body and Pārvatī leans back toward Śiva so that her head almost rests on his shoulder. The flanking figures, however, are dispersed horizontally and appear almost as individual units. The heads of the figures touch the top of the *niche* to give an overall cramped feeling to the composition and the carving is not nearly as crisp and assured as on the western portal.

A similar cramped feeling appears in the group of figures on the lintel over the *niche* housing Śiva Naṭarāja on one of the subsidiary *pagas* on the northern façade of the Śatrughneśvara temple (fig. 220). Here the figures are also crowded horizontally and the body proportions are rather squat. The carving is also quite crude and contrasts greatly with the exquisitely carved image of Naṭarāja housed in the *niche* below. There are two other detached slabs which obviously served as lintels over the *niches* of the subsidiary *pagas*, both of which are carved with *mithuna* images. The last part of the slab is heavily damaged though a squatting figure is recognizable. A fragment of a third slab has only one scene remaining (fig. 219). Other examples of erotic images appear on the projecting blocks of the *tala-bandhana* and on the south flank of the *rāhā-paga* above the western portal of the Śatrughneśvara temple. The overall emotional atmosphere of these figures, though marked by a certain detachment, is one of extreme tenderness. The proportions of the figures, and their execution, is rather crude and again suggests workshop participation.

Among the cult deities still *in situ* the most impressive is that of Śiva Naṭarāja appearing on the northern façade of the Śatrughneśvara (fig. 220). Naṭarāja is represented ten-armed going through the calculated motions of a slow and pacific type of dance. The face is calm and sublime yet the figure is represented with erect *liṅgaṃ*. The two uppermost hands hold a snake over his head and the lowest right hand rests on his thigh. Most of the other arms are broken off but remains of a rosary, trident, and lute are visible. A diminutive image of Kārttikeya in a dance-like pose astride his peacock appears in the lower right corner. The remains of the bull Nandī are visible behind the left leg of Śiva while fragments of a dwarf attendant appear in the proper left corner. Although the figure is badly damaged enough remains to suggest that the work, in both body proportions and craftsmanship, is typical of style "A" and the work of a master sculptor.

The western *niche* of the southern façade houses a six-armed dancing Śiva Ardhanārīśvara (fig. 221). The gait of the dancer is much quicker and the knees are lifted higher. The face is no longer calm but seems somewhat intoxicated with the rhythm of the dance. Two of the right hands hold a trident and rosary while the missing right hand was probably held in *abhaya-mudrā*. The left hands hold a mirror, book, and lotus flower. The central part of the image, containing the female breast and erect *liṅgaṃ*, is completely missing. The hair is piled high on the head while a snake issues from a *kuṇḍala* hanging from the right ear. A diminutive bull and lion, the respective mounts of the god and goddess, occupy the lower corners. The *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* jambs of the *niche* each contain a standing *dvārapāla*. A more solemn and hieratic image of Śiva as Hari-Hara fills the northern *niche* of the western façade (fig. 207). He stands in a rigid pose with a halo behind his head and the remains of a snake above his right shoulder. A trident is held in the upper right hand but the other attributes are too damaged to be identified. The remains of a dwarf and a female attendant occupy the lower corners of the *niche*. On the lintel above appear two confronting *haṁsas* with a string of pearls dripping from their beaks. The final image still *in situ* on the Śatrughneśvara is that of

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Kārttikeya filling the southern *niche* of the eastern façade (fig. 224). The deity is seated on his peacock mount with his legs crossed behind the bird's neck. He wears large *kuṇḍala* earrings, a necklace of tiger claws with a rectangular medallion, a girdle, and scarf. He holds the *śakti* in his left hand with the ribbed head resting on the base of the *niche*. His hair is neatly arranged with two plaits falling outward on either side of a central knot of hair.

There are also numerous fragments of cult deities among the fallen debris piled up around the temples, including a badly damaged image of Durgā Mahishamardinī (fig. 223). Only the head and upper torso of the goddess survive, along with two of her upper right arms holding the sword and trident. We can reconstruct the image visually by comparing the fragment with a similar motif from the later Paraśurāmeśvara temple (fig. 266). In both cases the upper two arms are the same, though in this fragment the sword is lifted up higher above the head while the limited space available in the Paraśurāmeśvara example dictates that the sword be placed behind the head. The *kuṇḍala* earrings, arm-bands and other body ornamentations are also similar. The *kucha-bandhana,* or bust-band, also appears on both images. The facial features are quite different, however, with the Paraśurāmeśvara Durgā appearing fleshier and heavier. The features of the fragmented Durgā from the wall debris, with its calm expression, and the rather flat treatment of sculptural volumes, is very similar to the Naṭarāja on the Śatrughneśvara and no doubt both works were created by the same master sculptor.

In contrast to these superb representations of cult deities, typical of style "A", there are less successful examples which are probably the work of workshop assistants rather than a master carver. The first example is a detached image of Sūrya which is presently resting above the *pābhāga* moldings on the back of the Lakshmaṇeśvara temple (fig. 215). He is depicted standing in a frontal position holding long-stemmed lotus flowers in the typical manner. His body proportions are overly squat, however, and his limbs appear like undifferentiated cylinders: modelling is kept to a minimum. His facial features are very doll-like and his head is overly large for his body. A second example is a rather crudely executed image of Kārttikeya, badly damaged with the head missing, found among the fallen debris surrounding the temples (fig. 222). He holds the *śakti* in his right hand in contrast to the traditional manner of holding it in his left. The peacock occupies the lower proper left corner of the *niche* and a female attendant occupies the lower right. The pose of the deity, with extremely broad shoulders and rather awkward proportions, is similar to an image of Kārttikeya placed in a *niche* of the later Uttareśvara temple.[4] The Uttareśvara example, however, does not contain the peacock and Kārttikeya holds the *śakti* with his left hand in the traditional manner. The left hand is missing from this fragmented example so it is impossible to say what he was holding. The overall treatment of the image is quite flat and there is again a minimal amount of carving. This is particularly evident on the body ornamentation and in the poorly carved toes.

There are remains of *niche* jambs on both the Durgā and Kārttikeya images found among the piled up debris suggesting that these deities were housed in the side *pagas* of the temples rather than in the *rāhā-pagas* as *pārśva-devatās* in the traditional manner.[5] This testifies to the experimental nature of these temples and suggests that the iconography of the temple decoration has not as yet been worked out. This experimental aspect, suggesting an early developmental phase in temple evolution, is also apparent on the block-like projections of the *tala-bandhana* beneath the side *niches*. This is a standard motif on the temples of the Śailodbhava period and probably derives from the dentil cornice appearing on the architraves of early Gupta temples. Similar projecting blocks appear on Chāḷukya temples though there they form part of the *pābhāga*. In contrast to later temples of the Śailodbhava period, the motifs on the projecting blocks of these earliest three temples are more varied. We have animals depicted both frontally and in profile, as masks and as complete animals. We also have monkeys engaged in battle, *mithuna* couples, and humans represented doing menial tasks (figs. 225-226). On the later temples the motifs become standardized and generally exhibit only lion and elephant busts in profile, a rare exception being the two figures entwined in arabesque scroll work on the Paraśurāmeśvara (fig. 228). The number of projecting blocks in each frieze on these earliest temples is also not standardized. On the Lakshmaṇeśvara the number varies between four and six while on the Śatrughneśvara the number is always five. On later temples, such as the Paraśurāmeśvara, the number remains standardized at six and the blocks are placed closer together to form a more unified frieze-like effect. On later temples from the Bhauma period the number increases to nine or ten.

An outstanding characteristic of these early temples

[4] Panigrahi (*Bhubaneswar*, p. 208) dates this image to the second or third century but this is too early.

[5] Another example is the Simhanātha temple where both Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa are housed in the side *niches*.

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is the predilection for story-telling narratives in contrast to later temples where more hieratic-type motifs appear. It is in the recessed *khaṇḍī* of the *baraṇḍa*, separating the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍī*, that narrative scenes appear on these early temples. This is an ideal location in that this is a natural horizontal *niche* which does not partake of the vertical divisions of the *pagas*. The best preserved example appears at the western end of the northern façade of the Śatrughneśvara and illustrates the Marriage Procession of Śiva (fig. 248). The procession is led by two dancing girls, the first of whom is Brahmāṇī, followed by two attendants of Śiva holding tridents and a *vīṇā* player. Agni appears next, surrounded by flames, holding a rosary and water jar. He is followed by Brahmā and Vishṇu. Vishṇu holds a club and *chakra* in his lower hands and a large vase with his upper hands. Next comes Śiva riding a bull. A large parasol is visible over his head but the attendant carrying it and the remaining figures of the frieze are missing. In the same position on the southern façade the Marriage of Śiva was originally depicted but only a few figures have survived. The only identifiable personage is the seated Agni, engulfed by flames, and Śiva holding the hand of Pārvatī at Agni's left (fig. 257). This is a popular *motif* and appears on both the Svarṇajāleśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara temples, though not on the *baraṇḍa*. Other fragmented remains of mythological scenes are visible in the recessed *baraṇḍa* of the western façade. Although the figures in these narrative scenes are slightly squat, with overly large heads, they are remarkably articulate considering the narrow space in which they are confined. Though lacking grace they are animated by a certain vigour and forcefulness typical of the best carving on these early temples. They exude a quaintness and charm unmatched by examples on later temples which are often characterized by mechanical repetition. Thus, though small in size, these figures were created by a master sculptor rather than workshop assistants.

An uneven quality, suggesting workshop participation, is particularly evident, as is to be expected, on the minor decorative *motifs* of these early temples. Workshop participation is also evident on *motifs* and figures placed on the temple in areas not immediately visible. The decorative figures and scroll work appearing high up on the structure, for example, are generally inferior to similar work appearing on the lower part of the temple, such as the *pābhāga*, just as the major images on the back of the temple are inferior to those on the front. Also to be considered is the importance of the motif. The *kīrtimukha* masks crowning the *vajra-mastaka* motifs, for example, are generally exquisitely carved while minor *motifs* such as *chaitya* medallions carved on the *bhūmi-baraṇḍīs* of the *gaṇḍī* are often quite crude in execution. It is thus quite obvious that the workshops have not been in existence for a long time, that there are only a few skilled or master craftsmen at work on these earliest temples. There is a great unevenness in quality ranging from the superb examples typifying style "A" to the rather crude and awkward products of workshop assistants or apprentices.

SVARṆAJĀLEŚVARA AND PARAŚURĀMEŚVARA TEMPLES

The best preserved specimen of the temples dating from the Śailodbhava period, and one of the greatest creations of the Orissan sculptor-architects, is the well-known Paraśurāmeśvara temple.[6] Though small in size, with its *deul* rising only to a height of 42 feet, it is one of the most lavishly decorated temples of Bhubaneswar. In contrast to the wealth of ornamentation appearing on later temples, such as the Muktеśvara, where the dazzling effect is achieved by the constant repetition of a limited number of decorative *motifs*, the decorative scheme of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple is more varied and inventive. From an iconographic standpoint it is the most interesting of all the early temples, including within its decorative programme both *dikpālas* and *saptamātṛikās*, the earliest surviving examples *in situ* on Orissan temples. These *motifs* appear on its *jagamohana* which is also the earliest surviving example of this type of structure in Orissan architecture. Although the date of its construction is conjectural, palaeographical evidence obtained from the inscribed labels above the eight *grahas* on the lintel of the sanctum door closely resembles the copper-plate inscription of Mādhavarāja II, dating from 619 A.D., suggesting that the temple probably dates from the same period, the early part of the seventh century.[7]

As on the Śatrughneśvara temple there is a noticeable difference in the treatment of individual sculptures appearing on the temple. The overall quality of the work, however, is quite consistent and the variations noted are mostly stylistic rather than qualitative, which suggests that the workshop, or workshops, responsible for its construction, have a larger number of competent sculptors. There are, in fact, two major sculptural styles on the temple, one dominating the decoration of the *jagamohana* and the other dominating the decoration

[6] Temple was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works Department in 1903

[7] Panigrahi, "Date of the Paraśurāmeśvara", pp. 109-118

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of the *deul*, particularly the *gaṇḍī* portion. The first style, that of the *jagamohana*, was noticed on several sculptures of the Śatrughneśvara, a good example being the Śiva-Pārvatī composition over the western portal, and has been designated as style "B". This style also appears on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple where it is the dominant style.

The Svarṇajāleśvara temple is situated some fifty yards or so south of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple and just north of the Koṭitīrtha tank. Architecturally, and stylistically, the temple forms an intermediate link between the earlier Śatrughneśvara and the later Paraśurāmeśvara temples. All three temples are *triratha* in plan and have a similar decorative arrangement of *pābhāga, jaṅghā, baraṇḍa,* and *gaṇḍī*. Close scrutiny, however, reveals many subtle differences in both developmental motifs and actual figure and facial types which enable us to place the structures in chronological sequence.[8] The time separation, however, does not exceed two or three generations at the most, which would place the construction of the Svarṇajāleśvara in the first years of the seventh century.

In contrast to the other extant temples of the Śailodbhava period the Svarṇajāleśvara faces east rather than west. Unfortunately the temple is in a badly dilapidated state and covered with dense foliage which makes close inspection of the decorative programme very difficult (figs. 229-230). The lower part of the *bāḍa* is partly covered with fallen rocks and debris from the collapsing temple, hiding the *pārśva-devatās* on the southern and western façades. Also hidden from view, this time by foliage, is the *vajra-mastaka* decorating the *gaṇḍī* on the eastern or front façade. The top medallion, as on the Śatrughneśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara temples, houses a Naṭarāja image though it is badly damaged. The lower, rectangular *niche*, however, contains a Hara-Pārvatī sculpture rather than the *Rāvaṇānugraha-mūrti* motif seen on the other two temples. This image is also badly fragmented though the respective vehicles of the two deities are clearly visible in the lower portion of the medallion along with an image of Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya (figs. 234-235). Next to Gaṇeśa is a large seated ascetic, emaciated in form, looking up towards Hara-Pārvatī. Kārttikeya is seated in a frontal pose on his peacock mount with his legs crossed behind its neck. Within the *niche* a Śaivite attendant appears next to Śiva and a female attendant next to Pārvatī. The projecting wings of the medallion are decorated with a lion pouncing on a warrior and, immediately above, a *makara*. Squatting dwarfs flank the *kīrtimukha* mask surmounting the circular top medallion as on the Paraśurāmeśvara.

Below the *vajra-mastaka* motif, just above the *graha* slab, are two deities seated with legs crossed, the one on the proper right being a three-headed Brahmā (fig. 233). In these two images we can discern the emergence of style "C", the dominating style on the *gaṇḍī* of the *deul* on the Paraśurāmeśvara. In this style the facial features are characterized by a fleshiness in the jowls and a projecting "bee-stung" lower lip. The figures are solemn and monumental. They are more strongly modelled and emphasis is placed on the three-dimensional volumes of the forms. This style, which appears only sporadically on the temple, may be contrasted with style "B", the dominating style, as exemplified in the image of Kārttikeya appearing above these two images (fig. 234). The treatment of Kārttikeya is much flatter and the face is almost doll-like, the overall impression being one of charm and naivéte in contrast to the monumental solemnity of style "C".

This doll-like naivéte of the facial features is even evident on the fragmentary *nāga* figure, holding a foliated *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* in front of its chest, placed next to the entrance along with other fallen debris (fig. 231). In all likelihood, as Debala Mitra has suggested, it was originally fixed on the side of the doorway.[9] Numerous examples of such *nāga* figures are now placed near existing temples and testify to the popularity of the Nāga Cult in Bhubaneswar at a very early date, some of the figures dating back to at least the first century A.D.[10] Many such early finds of both *nāga* and *yaksha* figures, particularly from the area between Śiśupālagarh and Dhauligiri where no extant temples remain, led Panigrahi to suppose that they belonged to a type of temple which is no longer extant.[11] On the proper right jamb of the *rāhā-paga* on the northern façade, however, evidence exists which shows how these *nāga* figures were affixed to the temples (fig. 252). Just below, and to the right, of Sūrya on the lintel, we can see the head and hoods of a *nāga* figure, suggesting that the *nāga* figures functioned as guardian figures attached to either side of the entrance and *rāhā-paga niches* (which on these early temples are decorated similar to the entrance). On later temples, beginning with the twin temples at Gandharadi, these *nāga* guardians are carved as *nāga-stambhas* (snake pillars) which flank the doorway and *gavāksha* windows of the *jagamohana*. The *nāga* figure lying in front of the

[8] For a detailed analysis of these *motifs* I refer the reader to my doctoral dissertation mentioned in footnote 3

[9] Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, Archaeological Survey of India, 1961, p. 30

[10] S.C. De, "Three Naga Images from Bhubaneswar and Naga Cult in Orissa", *OHRJ*, III, 1954, p. 3

[11] Panigrahi, *Bhubaneswar*, pp. 19-21

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Svarṇajāleśvara thus definitely belongs to this temple as the facial characteristics, as I have indicated, are the same as those on the *nāga* attached to the northern façade and are consistent with those of style "B", the dominant style on this temple. The treatment of the hair on the *nāga* figure is also consistent with that of the manes on the lions of this temple, the curls cascading down the shoulders like pine-cones (fig. 227).

The jambs of the portal are decorated similar to those on the earlier Śatrughneśvara group of temples though we have only three pilasters on each side instead of four. Three will be the standard number on later temples at Bhubaneswar until we get to the Sūrya Deul at Konarak. The *jalapatra* motif of superimposed water plants, standard on later temples, is not included here on the Svarṇajāleśvara and testifies to the experimental nature of the decorative motifs in this early phase of temple construction. Particularly ornate is the carving on the inside pilaster where sprays of foliage and lotus buds spread out in all directions from a dominating, meandering vine. Although no figures are represented climbing the vine, *haṁsas* do appear scattered throughout the *motif* (fig. 232). Both of the *dvārapālas* are badly damaged and their facial features obliterated.

The *tala-bandhana* consists of a horizontal frieze-like composition of projecting blocks as on the Śatrughneśvara group of temples. The number of blocks varies between four and five and are placed closer together than those on the earlier temples, though not as close as those on the later Paraśurāmeśvara temple (figs. 225-228). Unique to the Svarṇajāleśvara is the vertical band, with beaded borders, which separates each block from one another. The decoration of the blocks is more unified and generally consists of lion and elephant masks or the *motif* of the lion attacking the elephant. The stylized manes of the lions appear like cascading pine-cones as on the earlier temples while on the Paraśurāmeśvara they are generally depicted as diagonal rows of wavy curls (fig. 228). Though obviously minor, developmental details such as these are extremely helpful in establishing the relative chronology of the temples. The general trend, in regards to decorative details such as these, will be toward a more unified and standardized decorative scheme.

This trend toward standardization can also be noticed on the decoration of the subsidiary *pagas* flanking the *rāhā-paga* on each side of the temples. The *pagas* are carved in the shape of miniature shrines with a *niche* resting on a lotus-leaf still placed just above the *tala-bandhana*. On the Śatrughneśvara temple the pilaster on each side of the *niche* is decorated with a variety of *motifs* between the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* at the base and top, such as *chaurī*-bearing attendants, *haṁsas*, geometric floral designs, and arabesque scroll work (figs. 207, 220-221). On the Svarṇajāleśvara, however, though there are still some pilasters which exhibit only ornamental decorative motifs, the most popular *motif* is the *chaurī*-bearer (figs. 240-241). These *chaurī*-bearers may be either male or female. There is some attempt to make the decoration on each *niche* unified through symmetrically balanced *motifs* though the experimental nature of this attempt is quite evident. In other examples this symmetrical balancing has not been carried out, such as in the panel above the *chaurī*-bearers illustrated here (figs. 236-237). On one panel we have a lion head at one corner and a leaping *jagrata* at the other while in the corresponding panel on the proper right side of the *niche* we have a rather indiscriminate scroll *motif*. In still other examples we have a *chaurī*-bearer on one side of the *niche* and floral *motifs* on the other side. This experimental nature is eliminated on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, where all of the *niche* pilasters are decorated with *chaurī*-bearers and the number of panels on each pilaster is reduced to either three or four in contrast to the five of the Svarṇajāleśvara. The decoration of each panel is also symmetrically balanced on each pilaster so that the overall design is more unified and harmonious (figs. 238-239).

The *chaurī*-bearers on the Paraśurāmeśvara are also larger and play a more dominant role in the decoration of the *niche* pilasters. The sculptural treatment of the figures is also quite different from those on the Svarṇajāleśvara. On the Svarṇajāleśvara the figures are carved in a rather flat manner consistent with the floral decoration and do not as strongly dominate the pilaster decoration. The Paraśurāmeśvara figures are conceived more in the round so that they seem to project outward more from their background (figs. 236-239). The Paraśurāmeśvara figures are also depicted in more animated poses, sometimes twisting into space with a baroque vehemence, whereas the Svarṇajāleśvara figures stand rather flat-footed with one hand resting on a stylized *liṅgaṃ*. The female types are also quite different, further pointing out the contrast between style "B" and style "C" with the Paraśurāmeśvara figures displaying extremely large globular breasts, held together by *kucha-bandhanas*, and more pronounced hips. The drapery treatment is also quite different, the legs on the Paraśurāmeśvara figures represented in a smooth manner as if nude, stressing the volumes of the legs, whereas the surfaces of the lower garments on the Svarṇajāleśvara figures are broken up by diagonal ripples.

We can also see subtle changes on the crowning members of the *pagas* on the three temples (figs. 244-247). The projecting eaves above the *niche* on the Śatrughne-

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śvara and Svarṇajāleśvara temples consists of a single horizontal slab while on the Paraśurāmeśvara there are two thin horizontal moldings joined together by an ornately carved *chaitya*-medallion. The *vajra-mastaka* motif above the eaves, consisting of two keyhole shaped *chaitya* medallions, also shows subtle differences which help to establish the relative chronology of the temples. In addition to the general trend towards standardization there is a corresponding trend toward variety and complexity of design. The medallions on the Śatrughneśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara temples, for example, contain images of single figures or lion heads while on the Paraśurāmeśvara we have more varied and complex compositions, including even an image of Śiva and Pārvatī. These two trends, toward unifying standardization of general *motifs* and toward variety and complexity of design within individual *motifs*, can best be illustrated by comparing the motif of the upper *chaitya* medallions of these *paga vajra-mastakas*. On the Śatrughneśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara the figures on the wings of the *chaitya* may be either *jagrata* motifs (riders on leaping lions) or *chaurī*-bearing female figures. The *chaurī*-bearers, however, all repeat the same pose leaning on one hand on the head of a dwarf or a stylized *liṅgaṃ*. On the Paraśurāmeśvara, in contrast, all of the figures are female so the *motif* is now standardized. The figures are more varied in pose, however, and are not only *chaurī*-bearers; we have such variations as a woman with a parrot, a woman with a baby, or a *śālabhañjikā* motif (figs. 242-243). The figures are also more animated in pose and no longer repeat the same posture of leaning on one hand. The sculptural treatment is again different and points out the contrast between style "B" and style "C". Crowning the *vajra-mastaka* motif is a half-lotus rosette in all examples on the Paraśurāmeśvara whereas on the Svarṇajāleśvara and Śatrughneśvara this is frequently replaced by a dancing figure. Thus, in most of these minor details, the Svarṇajāleśvara temple appears more closely related to the earlier Śatrughneśvara temple than to the later Paraśurāmeśvara.

This relationship is also evident in the decoration of the top stone course of the *jaṅghā*, which is left plain on the Paraśurāmeśvara. On the Śatrughneśvara, this course is decorated with a horizontal band of fantastic arabesque creepers among which may be noted a figure in a swing. On the Svarṇajāleśvara this band is decorated with beaded medallions housing lotus rosettes, *haṁsas*, and fantastic hybrid creatures with arabesque tails (fig. 246). A horizontal composition of arabesque creepers does appear on the Paraśurāmeśvara, with squatting figures, but it is placed in the recessed "*khaṇḍī*" of the *baraṇḍa* on the *rāhā-pagas* (fig. 250). This recessed area of the *baraṇḍa* on the remainder of the *deul* of the Paraśurāmeśvara is decorated with panels of *mithuna* images separated by panels of *jālī* or lattice work (fig. 251). This recessed area of the *baraṇḍa* on the Svarṇajāleśvara, in contrast, is decorated with mythological narrative scenes similar to the Śatrughneśvara temple, again demonstrating the early Orissan sculptor's predilection for story-telling. The scenes depicted on the northern and western sides illustrate episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* while those remaining on the southern side depict an elephant hunt. In the episode illustrated here, Arjuna obtaining *Pāśupata-astra* from Śiva, we see Arjuna and Śiva quarreling over the boar and then fighting with bows (fig. 249); at the far right Arjuna is kneeling before Śiva, obliterated by a crack in the rock, with Pārvatī standing behind.[12]

In other details, however, the Svarṇajāleśvara is more closely related to the Paraśurāmeśvara. This is particularly evident in comparing the similar *motif* of the Marriage of Śiva appearing on the three temples (figs. 252-257). On the Śatrughneśvara this *motif* occupies the recessed area of the *baraṇḍa* on the southern façade. On the Svarṇajāleśvara it is carved on the lintel over the *rāhā-paga niche* on the northern side while on the Paraśurāmeśvara it appears on the lintel over the *rāhā-paga niche* on the eastern façade. The Paraśurāmeśvara panel is a near replica of the composition on the Svarṇajāleśvara whereas the Śatrughneśvara composition is quite different, though obviously it served as the prototype for the Svarṇajāleśvara version. Although the Svarṇajāleśvara panel is badly damaged most of the figures can be identified. Starting on the proper right, corresponding to the second figure in the Paraśurāmeśvara composition, we have a standing two-armed figure holding a rosary and water jar. In the Paraśurāmeśvara work a dancing figure, holding the lower edge of its garment, has been added to counterbalance the dancing figure appearing on the opposite end (fig. 256). The second figure on the Svarṇajāleśvara panel is Sūrya. He stands in the traditional manner holding a long stemmed lotus in each hand. Next we have Brahmā pouring libations into a vase, his feet awkwardly balancing on a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* as he leans forward. The Paraśurāmeśvara sculptor improves this arrangement by removing the vase so that Brahmā bends down in a more natural, less crowded way. The next figure is Agni, badly mutilated in the Svarṇajāleśvara panel, seated on a pedestal and surrounded by a flaming mandorla as on

[12] S.C. De, "Svarṇajāleśvar, One of the Early Temples of Bhubaneswar", *OHRJ*, X, 1962, pp. 21-22

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the earlier example on the Śatrughneśvara (fig. 257). A diminutive Gaṇeśa is visible below Agni's left knee. In the center of the panel are Śiva and Pārvatī. They are represented holding hands with heads slightly bowed. The Paraśurāmeśvara sculptor represents the figures in a more three-quarter view, particularly noticeable in the *kuṇḍala* earrings, an innovation obviously beyond the ability of the Svarṇajāleśvara sculptor. The Svarṇajāleśvara panel is an improvement on the earlier Śatrughneśvara work, however, where Śiva and Pārvatī do not stand as close together, Pārvatī appearing somewhat hesitant in approaching Agni. Next to Pārvatī we have two female attendants, the first leaning on a stylized *liṅgaṃ* and the second holding a sword over her head in a pose reminiscent of a *śālabhañjikā*. We then have a dwarf carrying a platter on his head (almost obliterated on the Svarṇajāleśvara panel) and then a four-armed Vishṇu. Vishṇu holds a large vase with two of his hands and a conch-shell in one of his other front hands. His other left hand holds a mace. The last figure, nearly obliterated on the Svarṇajāleśvara work, appears to be a dancing figure. In the three panels we find the typical facial features associated with the dominant styles of the respective temples. The general trend from the earliest work to the latest is toward more refinement within the overall composition.

All three of the *pārśva-devatās* are still *in situ* on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple, Kārttikeya on the west, Gaṇeśa on the south, and Pārvatī on the north. Unfortunately the fallen debris around the temple makes it impossible to view the images of Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa in the proper perspective. Although very little of the Gaṇeśa on the Svarṇajāleśvara is visible, there is enough to suggest he is seated in a pose similar to his counterpart on the Paraśurāmeśvara with the trunk eating sweets, contained in a cup held in the left hand. More of the Kārttikeya is visible so we can make a better comparison with the same deity on the Paraśurāmeśvara (figs. 258-259). In both examples the deity is seated in the posture of *rāja-līlā* with one leg drawn up under the body while the other leg hangs loosely over the throne. Both figures hold a *bīja-pūraka* in the right hand and are flanked on the jamb corners by attendant figures arranged one on top of the other. The Paraśurāmeśvara Kārttikeya holds the *śakti* in his left hand in the traditional manner. The Svarṇajāleśvara Kārttikeya, in contrast, holds a lotus flower in his left hand suggesting that the iconography of the *pārśva-devatā* has not as yet been worked out completely. The treatment of the throne and peacock is also different. The Paraśurāmeśvara throne seat rests on a jar placed at each corner while the Svarṇajāleśvara seat rests on a lion at each corner. The peacock appears between the two lion supports, looking up at Kārttikeya, on the Svarṇajāleśvara while it is placed on the pedestal below the throne on the Paraśurāmeśvara where it is represented in profile in the act of killing a snake trodden under its feet. In the Paraśurāmeśvara image the hair is neatly piled up on the deity's head in a *śikhaṇḍaka*-coiffure. Unfortunately we cannot see the face on the Svarṇajāleśvara image but the facial features of the Paraśurāmeśvara image appear to be those of style "B", the dominant style of the Svarṇajāleśvara temple. It would appear, then, that the *pārśva-devatās* on both temples were carved by the same master sculptor, though in the Paraśurāmeśvara the iconography of the deity is more completely worked out and the carving more refined.

Numerous writers have commented on the uneven quality of the sculptures appearing on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. It has even been suggested that some of the carvings on the *jagamohana* are so naive as to be classed as folk art, suggesting thereby that the figures on the *jagamohana* are earlier in style than those on the *deul*.[13] This is true only for the minor decorative motifs, generally small figures housed in *chaitya* medallions, however, and is the result of workshop participation. The majority of the sculptures on the *jagamohana* are typical of style "B". Some of the sculptures on the *deul*, including the *pārśva-devatās*, are also typical of style "B", though the majority of the work on the *deul* are typical of style "C". It would appear, then, that the decoration of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple was a joint effort, the *jagamohana* being decorated in the earlier "B" style and the majority of the *deul* in the later "C" style. This does not necessarily mean there is a time lag between the construction of the two structures, however, as the beginning of style "C" were noticed on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple.

The *dvārapālas* on the western entrance of the *jagamohana* again exhibit the benign and terrifying aspects of Śiva. The guardian on the proper right, stressing the benign aspect, holds the rosary, trident, lotus flower, and the lower hem of his garment in his four hands. He is in a slight *dvibhaṅga* pose with both feet planted firmly on the ground. His smiling countenance is typical of style "B" as is the rather flat sculptural treatment of his body. He is rather squat in proportions, particularly from the waist downwards (fig. 261). The *dvārapāla* on the proper left is treated in a slightly different manner as he crosses his left leg behind his right. The *dvārapālas* on the

[13] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, Bombay, 1965, p. 103

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southern entrance are more standardized in treatment, each assuming a *tribhaṅga* pose in mirror-image fashion.

The major deities decorating the lower portion of the *jagamohana* walls are also characteristic of style "B", though the sculptural treatment is more three-dimensional than in the earlier work on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple. This is particularly noticeable in the row of *sapta-matṛikās* appearing on the north side (fig. 260). The breasts, for example, are large and globular in shape, so large that they have to be supported by a *kucha-bandhana* which binds them together. The facial features, however, are still characteristic of style "B". We still have the doll-like expression on the face and the overall treatment is flat and linear. The earrings are represented as perfect circles with no attempt at depicting perspective. We can notice the same treatment on other major figures, such as the three images placed next to each other on the south side, representing Śiva Ardhanārīśvara, Śiva-Pārvatī, and Hari-Hara. In the Hari-Hara image, for example, we can see the typical facial features of style "B" represented on the dwarf personification of the trident in the lower proper right corner (fig. 262). The treatment of the earrings on the female attendant in the opposite corner again shows little evidence of perspective even though the figure is represented in three-quarter view. This contrasts with the treatment in style "C", as exemplified in the Durgā Mahishamardinī appearing on the *deul*, where the sculptor renders the earring in three-quarter view even though the face is depicted frontally. It is obvious that the sculptors working in the earlier style are not capable of handling all of the innovations being introduced in the later style. In that most of the examples of style "C" appear on the *gaṇḍī*, probably the last part of the temple to be decorated, it seems obvious that this newer style becomes more popular with the patrons responsible for the decoration of the temple.

This stylistic change can perhaps be best illustrated by comparing three images of Maheśamūrti which appear on the temple. The first example appears on the northern side of the *jagamohana* (fig. 263). The sculptural treatment, as Jose Pereira has pointed out,[14] is linear rather than three-dimensional. The heads are practically all frontal and there are no hands. The two outside earrings are depicted in frontal position as are the two ears separating the middle face from the two outside faces. The heads are thus all given nearly equal emphasis, except for the dominating coiffure of the middle head. The proper right head has a moustache, thin beard, and open mouth, stressing the wrathful aspect of Aghora. The facial features of the three heads are in the characteristic manner of style "B", very doll-like in expression with the cheeks flattened so that the shape of the head slightly resembles a fig. 208.

Another three-headed image appears on the southern side of the *jagamohana* (fig. 264). It is a small work, however, and rather crudely carved indicating it was probably carved by a workshop assistant. The facial features, however, are typical of style "C" and it is likewise treated more three-dimensionally than the first image. All three faces exhibit the typical fleshy nature of this newer style and the lower lips are in the "bee-stung" manner. The central face is now dominant and the side faces are depicted in three-quarter view. The earrings are also represented in perspective rather than depicted frontally. The right arm is missing and the lower jaw on the face of Aghora is obliterated below the moustache. The left hand is upraised and appears to be holding a lotus flower. Though obviously the product of the workshop, the sculptor here is attempting to solve perspective problems beyond the competence of the sculptors working in style "B". The earlier three-headed image on the Svarṇajāleśvara temple as pointed out, was created by sculptors working in style "C" (fig. 233).

A third Maheśamūrti, more impressive than either of these on the *jagamohana*, appears on the western façade of the *gaṇḍī*. Unfortunately it is located high up and inaccessible for close inspection (fig. 265). The image is conceived in three-dimensional volumes in the typical manner of style "C". The central face of Tatpurusha-Mahādeva more completely dominates the conflicting heads flanking it. The massive, frontally depicted shoulders appear to be his alone and the flanking heads, shown in three-quarter view, seem to issue from this central image as they have no supporting shoulders of their own. There are four arms with those belonging to the central figure cut-off just below the shoulders where they meet the *chaitya* medallion. There is no mistaking the wrathful aspect of Aghora with his twisted mouth and curling moustache. The attributes of the flanking figures, however, appear on the wrong sides: Aghora holds the mirror whereas Umā holds the snake. The facial features, fleshy jowls and projecting lower lip, are typical of style "C", as are those of the bust of Śiva in the *chaitya* medallion above it. The overall effect of this image is more powerful and monumental than the earlier version where all three heads are represented frontally (a treatment similar to the example on the temple of Mṛityuñjaya at Jageshvara in the Almora district, north of Delhi).

[14] Jose Pereira, "A Maheśamūrti at Bhubaneswar", *Artibus Asiae*, XXX, 1968, p. 89

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The stylistic differences between style "C" and style "A" can also be illustrated by contrasting the major *vajra-mastaka* decoration of the Paraśurāmeśvara with those of the earlier Śatrughneśvara, both of which depict the same *motifs*. The Paraśurāmeśvara Naṭarāja, for example, is a much heavier figure with the typical facial features of style "C" and is treated in a more three-dimensional manner. The figures in the medallions flanking the *chaitya* above are carefully balanced against the flanking figures below whereas the *mithuna* images flanking the Śatrughneśvara *chaitya* are much larger in scale than those flanking the Naṭarāja (figs. 267-268). The Paraśurāmeśvara composition is also more complicated as more figures are introduced in the outside medallion above the Naṭarāja, each figure being symmetrically balanced by an identical figure on the opposite side.

A further illustration of the stylistic differences appears in the *Rāvaṇānugraha-mūrti* of the lower *chaitya* of the *vajra-mastaka* (figs. 269-270). Although both images of Rāvaṇa exhibit five heads, the Śatrughneśvara example extends the heads out horizontally, thereby giving equal emphasis to all five heads. The Paraśurāmeśvara sculptor, in contrast, allows the three middle heads to dominate and barely suggests the two outside heads. The Paraśurāmeśvara sculptor again stresses the three-dimensional solution, being more interested in volumes rather than a linear or horizontal treatment typical of the earlier style. Though the Paraśurāmeśvara composition is obviously based on the earlier example, it is more impressive and monumental, even in its mutilated state. There are also more figures included within the composition and the action is more fluid and dynamic. The Paraśurāmeśvara sculptor, obviously, has a longer sculptural tradition on which to draw and feels competent to tackle more demanding problems.

In summary, although the early temples of Bhubaneswar are architecturally similar there are enough dissimilarities in each temple to suggest a developing programme which allows us to place the temples in a chronological sequence. This is particularly noticeable in small details rather than in the overall decorative programme. There are two major trends noticeable in these minor decorative motifs. The first is a unifying trend whereby the basic components of the various motifs are standardized. The second trend is towards refinement within the basic components and this is achieved through variety of pose and complexity of design. Both trends suggest the experimental nature of the decorative programme and reflect a growing maturity and competence on the part of the sculptor. Although the figures decorating the structures are basically similar it is possible to identify three major sculptural styles in addition to less competent works resulting from workshop participation. Each temple shows evidence of an overlapping of styles suggesting that the temples were constructed over a rather limited period of time. The general trend in figure sculpture is from a linear to a more three-dimensional approach and from a limited repertoire of static poses to more dynamic and animated poses. Each of the three sculptural styles also favours a particular facial type which, in itself, is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the three styles. Even the figures produced by workshop assistants exhibit these same facial characteristics. The overall quality of the sculpture on the later temples is more consistent and suggests that the workshop, or workshops, responsible for their construction, have a larger number of competent sculptors and a longer tradition upon which to draw.

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ASOK KUMAR DAS

Calligraphers and Painters in Early Mughal Painting

Calligraphers held an exalted position in the Mughal Court. Following the widely prevalent convention in the Islamic world the calligrapher as writer of the word of God by copying the *Qur'an* was looked upon as an honoured and privileged person.[1] This religious association helped to preserve their sanctity and to prevent the induction of non-muslims in this profession.

The art of calligraphy or fine writing was also associated with a love for knowledge and scholarship.[2] Men of every position and profession were expected to have some proficiency in penmanship to prove their worth. The princes had to take regular lessons in calligraphic writing, sometimes from different teachers specialised in different kinds of script. Babar's proficiency in calligraphic writing is well-known because he not only specialised in writing the different forms of scripts but also devised a new variety of *Naskh* called the *Khatt-i-Baburi*.[3] He took particular care to record in his *memoirs* about his contemporaries who could write in good hand.[4] There is nothing unusual about Babar's interest because many of his predecessors in the Islamic world were good calligraphists, the most notable of whom was Sultan Bayasanghar, patron of the great Persian painter Bihzad and Sultan Nasir-uddin Muhammad Shah of Delhi. Many specimens of excellent calligraphic exercises made by Prince Khurram who later became Emperor Shah Jahan in 1627-8 A.D. have recently come to light.[5] His beautiful autograph is preserved on the fly leaves of many important *manuscripts* preserved in the Mughal Imperial Library. Prince Dara Shikoh and Emperor Aurangzeb copied the *Qur'an* in their own hands for sending to Mecca or Madina.[6]

Babar's interest was imbibed by his son Humayun. Though not a calligraphist himself Humayun recognised the merits of good calligraphers and employed at least two leading calligraphers of his time.[7] 'Abd-us-Samad became celebrated in history as the founder of the Mughal School of painting jointly with Mir Sayyid 'Ali, but Humayun's appreciation for him probably rested more on his calligraphic skill, as he bestowed on him the title *Shirin Qalm*, the Sweet Pen, for his fine hand.[8] Akbar was no less interested in calligraphy and some of the finest calligraphers of the age from Iran, Iraq and Central Asia were given positions in the imperial library. His chronicler Abu'l Fazl writes: "His Majesty shows much regard to the art, and takes a great interest in the different systems of writing; hence the large number of skilful calligraphists. *Nastaliq* has especially received a new impetus."[9] Akbar himself, however, remained virtually unlettered in spite of his early training under no less than 'Abd-us-Samad at Kabul.[10]

Akbar was the first amongst the Mughals to give due recognition to the skill of the painters because his primary interest in a painting lay in its pictorial value and not

[1] T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, reprint, New York, 1965, 1-3

[2] M. Ziauddin, *Moslem Calligraphy*, Calcutta, 1936, 31f. Abu'l Fazl writes in the *A'in:* "pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the letter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means of intellectual progress"—Abu'l Fazl "Allami, *A'in-i-Akbari*", tr. H. Blochmann, I, Calcutta, 1927, 103

[3] A. S. Beveridge, *The Babur-nama in English*, London, 1921, 228, 642; Appendix Q, pp. lxii-lxv

[4] *ibid.*, 21, 111, 278, 291

[5] *Sotheby Sale Catalogues* of 15 June, 1954; 1 December, 1969; 7 December, 1970; and 3 April, 1978; E. J. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century from the Collection of Hans P. Kraus*, New York, n.d., 274

[6] T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 150, Appendix A.

[7] Sukumar Ray, *Humayun in Persia*, Calcutta, 1946, 42; Qadi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, 89, 185

[8] *Ain-i-Akbari*, I 7,114

[9] *ibid.*, 109

[10] The only known example of his handwriting authenticated by an autograph note of Jahangir is found on the title page of a *Zafar-nama ms.* now preserved in John Hopkins University Library, U.S.A.; T.W. Arnold, *Bihzad and His Painting in the Zafar-nama Manuscript*, London, 1930, pl. 2; Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time*, Calcutta, 1978, plate 80

[11] "His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means, both of study and amusement": *Ain-i-Akbari*, 113

Pramod Chandra has given a different and improved translation of this passage:

"Drawing the likeness of anything called painting, since it is an excellent source, both of study and entertainment, His Majesty, from the time he came to an awareness of things, has taken a deep interest in painting and sought its spread and development. Consequently this magical art has gained in beauty". *Tuti-nama*, Graz, 1976, 182

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always in its inherent symbolism.[11] His oft-quoted declaration, as noted by Abu'l Fazl, clearly sets out his opinion:

> "It appears to me as if a painter has quite peculiar means of recognising God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life and will thus increase in knowledge."[12]

This enlightened attitude of the patron-emperor must have helped the painters to gain some prestige. This is especially true of the leading painters, some of whom are singled out by Abu'l Fazl for their skill and competence.[13] The story of Aziz Khan Koka's contemptuous behaviour to Jahangir's Amir-ul-Umara-Muhammad Sharif, the eldest son of Khwaja 'Abd-us-Samad,[14] does not perhaps typify the social position of the painters because Aziz Khan Koka was well-known for his sharp tongue and his jealousy for Sharif's promotion, and 'Abd-us-Samad, in spite of his being a painter, was a noble by birth.[15]

Akbar's encouragement for the preparation of portraits opened up a whole new field to the painters, and Abu'l Fazl reports that an immense album was formed containing portraits of all: "those that have passed away have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality promised them."[16] During Jahangir's time the choice of subjects for portrait studies became even more varied as he wanted to preserve the likeness of all who could impress him by their merit or skill. Thus portraits of poets, astrologers, lawgivers, wrestlers, falconers, musicians, etc. were prepared along with those of princes, nobles and courtiers and many of these found place in the sumptuous *muraqqa's* prepared for Jahangir. As the present author has striven to show elsewhere the marginal drawings of these *muraqqa'* folios present a sort of catalogue of occupations of artists, craftsmen and workers, most of whose names have been lost.[17] J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray have compared this practice with the illustrations of the *Luttrell Psalter*.[18]

II

The first evidence of Jahangir's positive interest in having portraits of calligraphers and painters, either singly or jointly, painted for him is obtained from a brief inscription written in minute characters within cartouches and on the book held by the calligrapher, below the colophon of a *manuscript* of the *Khamsa-i-Nizami* originally owned by Dyson Perrins, now in the British Museum.[19]

The *manuscript* was completed in the Akbari *atelier* at Agra by the end of 1595, but, as the inscription records in unambiguous terms that the double-portrait of the painter, Daulat and the calligrapher, Abul Husain *Anbarin Qalam* were added by the former at the express command of Jahangir in his 4th regnal year *i.e.*, in 1609.[20] This inscription gives us an important clue that Jahangir brought out some interesting *manuscripts* from the imperial library for further embellishment.

Though individual portraits of calligraphers and painters were prepared in the Islamic world[21] such double colophon portraits were never seen before Akbar's time. The earliest *manuscript* where a similar double portrait of the calligrapher and the painter is painted below the colophon is the well-known *Gulistan-i-Sa'di* written by the celebrated calligrapher Muhammad

[12] *Ain-i-Akbari*, 115; Pramod Chandra's revised translation is:
"It seems to me that a painter is better than most in gaining a knowledge of God. Each time he draws a living being he must draw each and every limb of it, but seeing that he cannot bring it to life must perforce give thought to the miracle wrought by the Creator and thus attain a knowledge of Him".—*Tuti-nama*, *op. cit.*, 184

[13] *Ain-i-Akbari*, 114. The names included in the list are Daswant, Basawan, Kesav, La'l, Mukund, Mishkin, Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhav Jagan, Mahes, Khemkaran, Sanwala, Tara, Haribans and Ram, besides Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd-us-Samad.

[14] *ibid.*, 582-3; Beniprasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1962, 122, fn. 12

[15] *ibid.*, 554-5. He was the son of the Wazir to the Governor of Shiraz. Akbar gave him the honorific title *Khwaja*. In 1576/7 he was promoted to the position of the head of Imperial mint. In 1583/4 he was sent to Multan as its *diwan*.

[16] *ibid.*, 115

[17] Asok Kumar Das, *op. cit.*, 124-131

[18] J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum", *Burlington Magazine*, 1935, 173, plate II A-C

[19] The *manuscript* is distributed between the British Museum (No. Or 12208) and the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, U.S.A. (No. W. 613): G. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of C. W. Dyson-Perrins*, Oxford, 1930 and S. C. Welch, "The Emperor Akbar's *Khamsa* of Nizami", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIII, Baltimore, 1960, 87-96. The Colophon is reproduced in colour in S.C. Welch, *Imperial Moghul Painting*, New York 1977, plate 19

[20] The inscription reads:
Allahu Akbar. Behukme Shah Jahangir naqqash-i-in taswir nemud be-man Daulat Shabih-i-khud Sanneh 4 . . . muaffaq . . . sannah 101 (last digit lost) *Kamtarin Khanazadan faqir al-haqir Daulat.* on the book placed near the calligrapher is written:
Shabih-i-'Abdul Husain 'Anbarin Qalm az 'amal-i-banda-i-dargah Daulat.

[21] Qadi Ahmed, *op. cit.*, 35, plates, 2, 3, 4

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Husain al-Kashmiri[22] in 990 Hijra/1581 at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 271).

It shows the aged calligrapher engaged in his work beside a young painter whose name is given as Manohar, son of Basawan, the master painter. There are indications to show that the *manuscript* was reset and rebound at a later date—when sumptuous decorations of brightly coloured birds abounding on its pages and a band of floral design in each folio were added. There is no other miniature in this *manuscript*, and the appearance of this interesting colophon-portrait looks somewhat puzzling. Basil Gray once tried to explain this as a contemporary with the date of the colophon, i.e., 1581, on the basis of Manohar's age, who does not appear to be more than 15/16.[23] As Manohar appears to be in his early forties in the Gulshan album portrait drawn by Daulat in 1608/9, he is likely to be around that age when the *Gulistan manuscript* was written. But the style of Mughal painting in 1581 was very different from the style of this example. The intense personal feeling expressed in the faces of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri and his young attendant, as well as in the self-portrait of the young painter absorbed in his task, point to some Jahangiri association. Gray revised his opinion in *Painting of India* where he associates this interesting colophon decoration with Jahangir.[24]

Thus both the colophon portraits noticed in dated Akbar period *manuscripts* are actually found to be Jahangiri additions. From this fact, and from another colophon portrait noticed in a *manuscript* associated with the Salim studio, along with a number of studies of painters, scribes, paper-makers, polishers, gold-sprinklers, etc. drawn on the *hashiyas* of folios of Jahangiri *muraqqa's* it was assumed that these colophon portraits are the fruits of an innovation made by Jahangir. But Rai Krishnadasaji drew my attention to another colophon portrait painted in yet another dated Akbar period *manuscripts* in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras.[25] This remarkable painting of an aged calligrapher, with his young assistant appended with the colophon of *Anwar-i-Suhaili* fragment dated 1596 (fig. 272) does not appear to be a Jahangir period addition on stylistic consideration. There is no other indication either in the *manuscript* or in the miniatures so as to connect it with Jahangir. The colophon picture shows the famous calligrapher Abdur Rahim al-Heravi at work while a young assistant is calendering the folios for him. Interestingly the name of the painter is not mentioned nor is his portrait added in the manner of the *manuscripts* discussed above.

Recently another Akbar period colophon picture (fig. 273) has been noticed in the *Khamsa-i-Nizami manuscript* acquired by Edmund de Unger from the Ardeshir collection.[26] This occurs at the end of the *Haft-Paikar* episode on folio 230 of the *manuscript* written at Yazd by 'Ali ibn-Mubarak al-Fahraji between 1502 and 1506 A.D. The illustrations were added by the finest masters of Akbar's *atelier* between *ca.* 1585 and 1590. This illustration, designed and executed by Nanha shows the royal bookbinders at work. An old man sits on the verandah of his house with a raw pelt on a small table across his knees and a burnisher in his right hand. With his left hand he gives direction to a man seated tightening a press. On the tiled floor of the courtyard a man kneels and rolls out the wrinkles in a rectangle of red leather on a sloping board. Another holds up a rectangular object and a youth enters the courtyard with a bundle of hides on his head.[27] By vividly illustrating the various stages of bookbinding, Nanha has shown the importance of the bookbinder along with that of the painter and the calligrapher. Similar details of paper-making, polishing, calendering, edge-trimming, book-rest making, have been depicted on the margin of two folios of the Jahangir album preserved in the State Library Berlin (fig. 274)[28] and in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (fig. 275).[29] The former also shows an aged calligrapher and a young painter in the upper left-hand corner. The latter includes a fur-capped calligrapher writing a *manuscript* in the lower right hand corner.

[22] Abu'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, 109: "The artist who, in the shadow of the throne of his Majesty, has become a master of calligraphy, is Muhammad Husayn of Kashmir. He has been honoured with the title of *zarrin qalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Mawlana 'Abdu'l-Aziz; his *maddat* and *dawa'ir* show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mulla Mir 'Ali"; A. Roger and H. Beveridge, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, London, 1909, vol. I, 160

[23] Sir L. Ashton, ed., *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950, 143, plate 121

[24] D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, 1963, 82: "It is just possible that he was one of the artists responsible for the original decoration of this *manuscript* and that he might afterwards have obtained leave or been ordered to add this as a commemorative pictorial colophon."

[25] The folio is being published in Rai Krishnadas's monograph on the Bharat Kala Bhavan folios of the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. I am grateful to Dr. Anand Krishna for supplying me a colour slide of this important miniature.

[26] R. Skelton, "Indian Painting of the Mughal Period" in B.W. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, London, 1976, 238-248

[27] *ibid.*, 244-5

[28] E. Kühnel & H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1926, pl. 20 (folio 180)

[29] I am indebted to Dr. Tom Lawton for allowing me to study the folio and supplying its photograph.

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The most interesting example of colophon portrait is found in the volume of *Diwan* of Amir Najm-ud-din Dihlavi[30] completed in Allahabad on the 27th of Muharram, 1011 Hijra/1602 (fig. 276). The *manuscript* signifies that the Salim Studio was fully at work in the provisional capital of the rebel Prince. The calligrapher Mir 'Abdullah Katib *Mushkin Qalam*, 'the Musky Pen'[31] is shown working on a platform in the shade of a tree. Pens, pencases, ink-pots and bound volumes are strewn all over a sheet spread on the platform, while a young assistant is busy polishing a sheet of paper with a dabber, just below the platform. The scribe is holding a *wasli* on which the date, place and the name of the scribe are given. The painter of the miniature is neither shown nor named. There are 14 illustrations in the *manuscript* of which only one (fig. 48) bears a fragmentary attribution, which can be read as *Ali Imam Quli* or *amal-i-Salim Quli*. It is not possible, therefore, to know the name of the painter, who was asked by Salim to add this picture.

No other example of colophon portrait showing the scribe and the painter or the scribe painted below the colophon of a *manuscript* is known to us. No parallel example from Persia has so far been discovered, but an unexpected parallel is furnished by a Turkish *manuscript*[32] prepared at Istanbul for the library of Sultan Mehmed III between 1600 and 1602, which shows the painter Hassan Pasha, the scribe, and an assistant, under its colophon (fig. 277). Though the Mughals maintained commercial and some diplomatic contact[33] with Turkey and portraits of Turkish Sultan appear in well-known Jahangiri miniatures,[34] it would not perhaps be proper to search for a Turkish model for this vogue.

III

It has already been mentioned that pictures of calligraphers are not rare in Persian Painting or in Mughal Painting. Pictures of Yaqut Musta'Simi, Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi and Nizam ud-din 'Ali Tabrizi, are included in *manuscripts* of Qazi Ahmad's treatise on calligraphers and painters, dated 1606.[35] Riza 'Abbasi's excellent portrait by his disciple Mu'in Musawwir is also to be mentioned here.[36] The remarkable portrait study of Mir Musawwir painted by his son Mir Sayyid 'Ali may be regarded as the earliest Mughal portrait of a painter.[37]

Following Mir Sayyid 'Ali's lead a number of Mughal Painters from the ateliers of Akbar and Jahangir prepared excellent portraits of painters and calligraphers. In most cases their names are not recorded. The most remarkable of these are the self-portraits of Kesavdas and Farrukh Beg. Kesavdas was a celebrated master included in the list of eminent painters given by Abu'l Fazl[38] who specialised in the preparation of copies of European engravings.[39] In the Berlin Album an unusual portrait study of an old man stooped over and holding a scroll containing a Devanagari inscription in salutation to the Emperor Akbar by the painter Kesavdas himself dated 9th Pauṣa 1646 Samvat/1589 A.D. (fig. 278). Another portrait of a man with a drawing board under his arm and offering a coconut signed by Kesav (fig. 279) has been identified as a self-portrait of the same portrait at a younger age.[40] The workmanship of the latter is, however, quite different, though the pose of the painter is strikingly similar in both examples.

The self-portrait of Farrukh Beg (fig. 280) is no less interesting.[41] It shows an old man leaning on a staff in a garden with shrubs of pink blossom, clumps of flowers and patches of green grass. An inscription in Emperor Shah Jahan's hand identifies this as a self-portrait of Farrukh Beg Musawwir. The picture shows the characteristic qualities of the style of this talented painter.

The Berlin Album preserves two more wonderful portraits of painters on folio 21a.[42] One of them is an old painter wearing pince-nez engrossed in his task of

[30] I am indebted to Dr. Dorothy Miner of the Walters Art Gallery for supplying me a complete set of photographs of this *manuscript* along with all relevant information. Prof. Ettinghausen has published a miniature from the *manuscript* (*Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, New Delhi, 1961, plate 8) and its lacquer binding in a delicate strapwork design ("Near Eastern Book Covers", *Ars Orientalis*, III, Ann Arbor, 1959, fig. 23)

[31] Mentioned by Abu'l Fazl as a "renowned calligraphist of the present age": *Ain-i-Akbari*, 109

[32] *Eqtr Fatihnamesh*, 1600 or 1602 A.D. Topkapu Sarayi Library, Istanbul, no. 4323. I am indebted to Dr. G. Fehervari of the S.O.A.S., London, for this important reference and a set of colour slides of the miniatures.

[33] R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", *De Artibus Opuscula*, XL, New York, 1961, 104-5, figs. 1-3 and 7

[34] *idem.*, *Paintings of Sultans and Emperors of India*, colour plate 14. The Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, possesses a fine painting of a Turkish ambassador holding a picture of a foreign lady (No. AG).

[35] Qadi Ahmad, *op. cit.*, plates 2-4 and 8

[36] F. R. Martin, *Miniature Paintings and Painter from Persia, India and Turkey*, London, 1912, vol. I, fig. 32

[37] Ivan Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes de l'epoque des grands Moghols au Musee du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, 11, 12, pl. II a

[38] *Vide* note 12 above.

[39] Milo C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXX, 1976-77, 35-52, fig. 17

[40] *Sotheby Sale Catalogue*, April 12, 1976, lot 68; Beach, *op. cit.*, 49, fig. 18

[41] *ibid.*, March 26, 1973, lot 5

[42] E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *op. cit.*, plate 39

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drawing a copy of the Madonna while the other shows a dark complexioned Hindu painter busy in drawing a hunting scene.[43] Both of them appear to be leading painters of Jahangir in the first part of his reign. It's a pity that their names are not recorded.

The De Unger collection includes another portrait of an old Hindu painter similarly engrossed in delineating a miniature of a blue-draped female bust resembling the Virgin.[44] The painter, like the Berlin Album example is wearing a pair of pince-nez. Both the pictures show small seashell container of colours placed before the painter. The De Unger portrait, however, lacks the fineness and subtlety of the Berlin Museum picture. Obviously the best examples were chosen for embellishing the albums being assembled for the Emperor.

Jahangir's appreciation of good paintings was not limited to the works of a few established masters. He personally directed them and provided encouragement and incentives to make them better artists—a matter in which he took great pride.[45] The painters mentioned in his autobiographical memoirs are Farrukh Beg, Abu'l Hasan, *Nadir-ud-Zaman*, Ustad Mansur *Nadir-ul-'Asr* and Bishandas.[46] We have already noticed the double colophon portrait added by Daulat and Manohar at his express command, now we shall notice the well-known studies of the leading luminaria of the Jahangiri *atelier* made by Daulat in 1608 as *hashiya* embellishment in a royal *muraqqa'*.[47] Names of the painters are fortunately recorded by Daulat in minute inscriptions: Abu'l Hasan, Bishandas, Govardhan, Manohar and Daulat himself. The third figure from the top is that of Abu'l Hasan, son of Aqa Riza (fig. 281). He seems to have attained considerable position by virtue of his skill though he was not more than 21 years old at that time. He is shown here engrossed in painting with his left hand. Manohar, the son of the great Akbari master Basawan, is shown below him engaged in drawing a miniature portrait (fig. 282). In it Manohar is shown as a portly figure in his forties. Though he is not mentioned in the *Tuzuk* by name like Abu'l Hasan or Mansur, who are singled out for special mention and given the titles *Nadir-uz-Zaman* and *Nadir-ul-'Asr* respectively,[48] he enjoyed a good position as the leading portrait painter. The next figure is that of Bishandas (fig. 283) while the joint portraits of Daulat and Govardhan are painted at the bottom of the folio (fig. 284). Daulat is shown here, as in the *Khamsa-i-Nizami* colophon picture, dark-complexioned and bearded holding a sheet of paper giving the details of his name and the command of Emperor Jahangir to add these portraits. Govardhan, the young and handsome son of the famous Akbari master Bhavanidas,[49] is shown as turning his face as if to talk to someone sitting behind, a posture adopted to express liveliness in which Daulat has achieved considerable success. The inscription written on the sheet held by Daulat is virtually identical with the inscription written in the *Khamsa-i-Nizami* picture (fig. 285) emphasising on the command of Jahangir to depict these details.

IV

We have already noticed the portraits of several painters and calligraphers in the form of individual studies or colophon illustrations or *hashiya* decorations.[50] Examples showing craftsmen working in the painting *atelier* or the library have also been found. Before discussing these an interesting miniature datable between 1615/1620 A.D. showing a Mughal picture executing a large painting on the wall of a garden pavilion (fig. 286) deserves notice.[51] Jahangir refers in the *Tuzuk* to the construction and renovations of garden pavilion in different places the walls of which were embellished with paintings.[52] Here a bearded painter is applying finishing touches to a large painting of a young prince painted on the wall above the dado. Small pots containing different colours are placed on the floor near his feet. His young assistant is preparing the colours near the square pool of the garden while an old bearded nobleman with a book in his left hand is directing the painter. A younger companion of the noble, also carrying a book in his hands is standing beside him. A slender *chanar* tree, tall holyhock flowering plants and some unidentified plants along the water-course identify the place as a garden. This may very well be the *Nur-Afza* garden in Kashmir renovated by Mu'tamid Khan, the building of which was adorned with "pictures by masterhands and so

[43] Pramod Chandra, "Mughal Portraits", *Times of India Annual*, 1965, col. A.
[44] R. Skelton, *op. cit.*, 248, plate 117
[45] *Tuzuk*, II, 20-21
[46] *Tuzuk*, I, 159; II, 20, 108, 116-7, 145, 157
[47] Y.A. Godard, "Les marges du Murakka Gulshan". *Athar-i-Iran*, I, Paris, 1936, figs. 1, 2, 9-14
[48] *Tuzuk*, II, 20
[49] E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1926, 9, plate 38
[50] J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *op. cit.*, 109, plates IA, IIA
[51] Reproduced in colour in Bernard Lewis, *The World of Islam*, London, 1976, 319, no. 14
[52] *Tuzuk*, I, 269-70; II, 150-1

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made it the envy of the picture gallery of China".[53]

Percy Brown published a picture of an old calligrapher showing an expression of intense concentration engaged in writing with a reed pen in a book with orange and yellow pages (fig. 287).[54] He is said to be one of the court scribes, painted when he was approaching the end of a long career.[55] Two other folios in the Gulshan Album published by Wilkinson and Gray illustrate the various processes of paper-making, calligraphy and colour-mixing.[56] Abu'l Fazl has referred to the personal interest taken by Akbar in respect of raw materials to achieve the highest quality.[57] This obviously helped the artisans employed in the library *(kutubkhana)* and painting atelier *(suratkhana)* to give their best and at the same time to gain sufficient importance to merit their inclusion in the royal *muraqqa's*. In an interesting miniature recently put up for sale at the Sotheby's the interior of the *kutubkhana* has been vividly illustrated (fig. 288).[58] The chief of the library or its superior *(darogha)* is examining a long sheet of paper and listening to the discussion of the scribes in a verandah. In the courtyard another young calligrapher is busy in his work while his companion examines papers neatly stacked between wooden panels. Books, papers, pencases and ink-pots are to be seen all over the floor. A finely-bound volume is placed on a wooden box. The painting is unusual as such a vivid glimpse of the royal atelier has never been presented. Scenes of Mughal Emperors receiving paintings or *manuscripts* from painters and authors are, however, not uncommon.

[53] *Tuzuk*, II, 151
[54] Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924, plate XLVIII, fig. 2; S.C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, pl. 29
[55] Toby Falk in *Persian and Mughal Art*, published by P&D Colnaghi & Co., Ltd., London, 1976, 144, plate 213
[56] Wilkinson and Gray, *op. cit.*, plate IIA
[57] Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, 182-3
[58] *Sotheby Sale Catalogue*, 14, October, 1977, lot 29

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DORIS SRINIVASAN

Iconological Studies of Recent Mathura Acquisitions in the Bharat Kala Bhavan

The Bharat Kala Bhavan collection of Mathura sculpture, brought together by Rai Krishnadasa, has long been famous for its high quality. This paper considers acquisitions to the Museum over the last ten years. These recent acquisitions contribute importantly to the Museum's collection since each piece in its own right offers noteworthy and atypical elements.[1]

1. Addorsed Heads of Kushan Donors
Mathura; Kushan period (Huvishka's reign),
Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 22082

This is an unusual representation of addorsed heads of the red mottled sandstone characteristic of the Mathura region (fig. 289). The heads measure 23 cms. in height, however, the fracture at the necks indicates that they were originally part of a more complete representation of addorsed figures. The heads are similar in form though not in detail. Both show a male with moustache and small side whiskers wearing a headdress composed of a globular upper segment resting upon a wreath-like band. Both sides exhibit similar facial contours, especially around the eyes; moreover, the eyes of one side (fig. 290) being more defined show, in shape and modelling, the typical Mathura style during the Kushan period. It should be noted that some iconographic and stylistic differences between the heads may be due to the better state of preservation of one side (fig. 290) than the other (fig. 291). On one side (fig. 290) the elaborate headdress rests directly upon the hair and the details are clear. On the other side (fig. 291) the indistinct headdress rests upon a fillet marked by cross hatchings; the

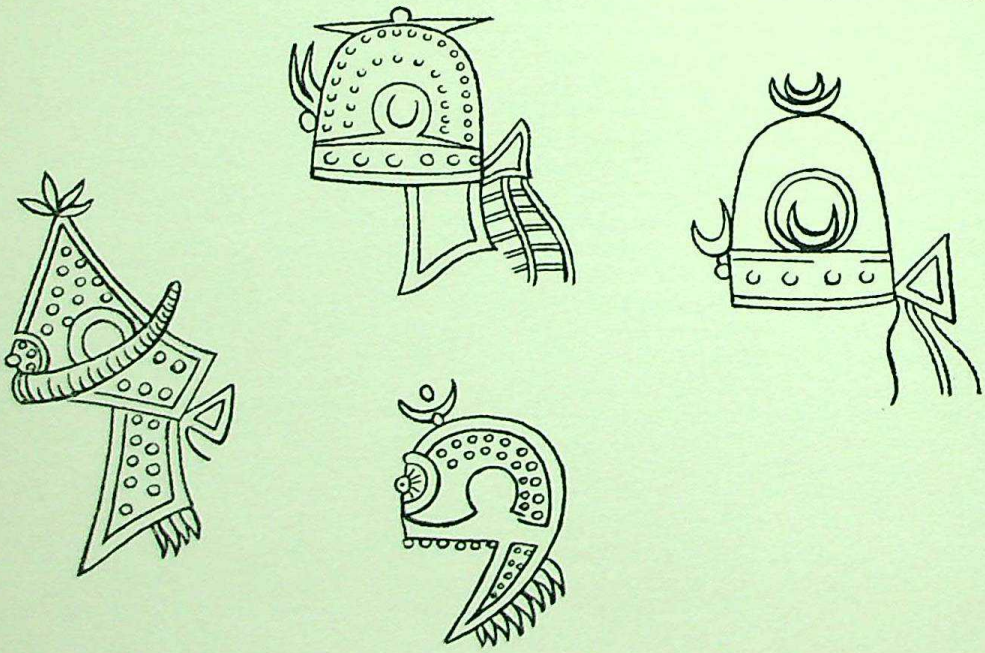

Fig. I. Helmets worn by Kushan princes as shown on their coins.

[1] Some of these were discussed by Dr. Anand Krishna in the Mathura Museum Centenary Seminar in 1974

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fillet together with the facial area give evidence of possible recutting.

A more precise date and identification may be suggested upon closer analysis of the headdress of fig. 290 as well as a comparison between these addorsed heads and a stele of addorsed figures from Mathura.

The headdress of fig. 290 is composed of a broad circling band, decorated as a garland. Above, and directly in the center, is a crescent flanked on either side by a three pronged 'flame' configuration. The circlet is tied around the forehead as the bow and striated ribbon, well preserved on the left, indicate. The bulbous globe is very high, round, and devoid of decoration. It stems directly out of the circlet. This ensemble of elements cannot be related to Śiva's *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, nor does the headdress compare satisfactorily with other known sacred or secular headdresses seen on Mathura sculpture dating to the Kushan period. The elements do, however, compare very well with features on a certain type of helmet found on the coins of Huvishka. To judge from Huvishka's coins, the king exercised considerable regal taste and pomp in favouring several different types of helmets. (fig. 1).[2] The type that compares well with the headdress seen on fig. 290 features the high bulbous top resting on a decorative band tied to the head with a long ribboned bow. Worn by the king on the obverse of his gold coins, this sort of helmet also displays the center crescent[3] and a two-pronged device on the side. The following British Museum examples may be cited as illustrative: BMC 1888-12-8-577;[4] BMC 97;[5] also see the following reproductions in Rosenfield *(Dynastic Arts of the Kushans)*: Pl. III. 47, 49, 52; PL. V. 98, 99; PL. VIII. 146 etc. This headdress seems to be peculiar to Huvishka as it is not found on the coins of the other Kushan princes.

It is quite likely that the Bharat Kala Bhavan heads originally belonged to addorsed figures which represented royal donors.[6] This identification is supported by the close similarity of these heads with those of addorsed Indo-Scythian donor figures from Mathura (No. G. 13 in the Mathura Museum). The heads of G. 13, which Rosenfield suggests dating to the reign of Huvishka,[7] have the following points in common with the Bharat Kala Bhavan heads: the addorsed heads meet at right angle to the central slender ridge; the heads are 20.5 cms. in height; the faces are moustached and also show side whiskers; the headdress consists of a broad band showing evidence of a side bow and several scimitar-shaped forms above (possibly related to the pronged 'flame' motif of Bharat Kala Bhavan 22082).

To conclude, the art historical evidence indicates that the Bharat Kala Bhavan heads probably formed part of a larger sculpture, produced in Mathura during the reign of Huvishka, and represent royal donors or worshippers of one of the *bhakti* cults prevalent in the area at that time.

2. Skanda-Kārttikeya as Mahāsena
prob. Mathura region; post-Kushan period
of the third century A.D.
Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 22125

Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 22125 probably represents a mid-third century A.D. Mathura Skanda-Kārttikeya as 'Mahāsena' (fig. 292). The figure, part of a small sandstone plaque 30.5 cms. in height, stands frontally. The posture, in particular the slight *déhanchement*, remains discernible even though there is a break just below the knees. The face, much worn, still gives evidence of youthfulness: the contours of the face are round and soft, the locks are full and wavy, large *chakrakuṇḍalas* grace the ears. The lithe torso sports an *ekāvalī* close to the neck and cross-belts, worn like *chhannavīra*, across the chest. Bracelets are worn on each wrist. A javelin is carried on the right, in the arm far extended from the torso. The left arm is folded at the elbow and the hand comes to rest on top of what could be a shield or scabbard; its outside portion is decorated with diamond and circular shapes (fig. 293). The figure wears a *dhotī* as well as a sash tied in a graceful knot on the right hip.

The interesting point about this piece is that it features some regular aspects of the Skanda iconography and some unconventional aspects, but omits several iconographic norms of both the Kushan and Gupta representations.

Skanda is characterized by his youthful beauty and martial nature in the majority of icons developed in the Mathura school during the Kushan period. The famous

[2] See J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, p. 67, fig. 6

[3] Rosenfield maintains that all of Huvishka's coins have some kind of crest ornament on top of the helmet; it may, however, not be clear (*ibid.* p. 69). This is the case with the coins next cited.

[4] This coin is illustrated in Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. 166

[5] P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in The British Museum*, London, 1886, p. 147, pl. 28·14 (reverse).

[6] The art of Mathura shows the Kushans as donors or worshippers of Śiva's *liṅga* (e.g. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, fig. 41), of the Buddha (Rosenfield, figs. 35, 36) and the Bodhisattvas (Rosenfield, figs. 31, 32)

[7] Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220

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inscribed Skanda-Kārttikeya (Mathura Museum No. 42.2949) serves as an excellent example which can be dated to the 11th year of the Kushan era. His youth and beauty are symbolized in much the same way as in the Bharat Kala Bhavan piece: firm and gently rounded face, torso and limbs; ornamentation on arms and neck (the typical Mathura pieces usually show additional armlets and a torque); wavy locks, which may (as in No. 42.2949) escape from beneath an elaborate crested turban and fall on either side of the shoulders. Skanda's heroic nature is represented by the javelin *(śakti)* which is of course one of his distinctive emblems. He carries the *śakti* in his left hand; the right hand is held in *abhaya-mudrā*. The representation of Skanda, poised perfectly straight and frontal, as exemplified by Mathura Museum No. 42.2949, typifies the usual Kushan treatment of a standing Skanda-Kārttikeya image.[8]

It is apparent from the foregoing that the Bharat Kala Bhavan standing Skanda differs in several respects from the typical Kushan representation. These are: the position of the *śakti*, the gestures of the hands, the contraposto stance, and the appearance of cross-belts and shield or scabbard.

Some of these features are regularly observed in Skanda icons of the Gupta period onwards. Then, the *śakti* is no longer carried exclusively in one hand. Indeed a brief survey of Skanda-Kārttikeya icons dating from the post-Kushan through the Gupta ages show with amazing regularity that when seated (on his *vāhana* the peacock), Skanda holds the *śakti* in his left hand and when standing he holds it in his right.[9] The shift in the position of the *śakti* occurs in both the Mathura school (e.g. Mathura Museum No. 2332)[10] and the Gandharan school of art (e.g. a Taxila statue of Skanda-Kārttikeya).[11] When the shift occurs, the left hand is often shown holding another special emblem of the god, his toy cock.[12]

The Bharat Kala Bhavan Skanda (No. 22125) exhibits, in addition to the position of the *śakti*, another late feature, namely the posture. Skanda may be depicted in contraposto stance from the late Kushan period onwards. An example comes from the Mathura Museum (No. 73.1); it is a broken relief showing Skanda, in the *tribhaṅga* pose, next to his sister/spouse Shashṭhī.

A shield or scabbard is not seen on other Skanda icons of the Kushan or Gupta periods. Nevertheless, the shield is not foreign to the iconography of the god. Several early medieval icons of Skanda-Kārttikeya from Rajasthan show this attribute,[13] in these instances, however, the shield is small and round and occurs with multi-armed images. Though either a shield and scabbard is unconventional in the early periods, their appearance would not be out of character. For surely, this Bharat Kala Bhavan Skanda is portrayed as a warrior god, as evidenced also by the cross-belts he wears.

The conceptualization of Skanda as war-god (i.e. Mahāsena) seems to have developed gradually. The *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad* (possibly third century. B.C.) identifies *Mahāsena* as *Shaṇmukha* ('the one having six faces', a well-known epithet of Skanda; see verse 75). The *Mahābhārata* also contains pertinent references. For example, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* knows him as chief of army leaders (X. 24: *senānīnāṃ ahaṃ Skandaḥ*). The epithet 'Mahāsena' is probably first used with an image of Skanda on the reverse of some gold coins of Huvishka (successor of Kanishka I, and reigning the years 29-60 of the Kanishka era).[14] The god is clad in coat and chlamys, holding in the right hand a standard surmounted by a bird and the left hand resting on a sword at his side. The legend reads MAACHNO, equivalent to

[8] So also N.P. Joshi, "Early Traditions of Brahmanical Iconography", *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. XXIX, 1973, 15. Other examples include Mathura Museum No. 4236; Lucknow Museum Nos. J921; 57.458; Bharatpur Museum No. 319·70. Skanda-Kārttikeya is similarly represented in conjunction with Shashṭhī and Viśākhā (e.g. Mathura Museum Nos. F3; 16·1244; 40·2884; Lucknow Museum No. J84) and the Mātṛikās (e.g. Mathura Museum No. 250). For a Skanda-type bronze of the second century A.D. having a spear in the right hand, the Sonkh example (Mathura Museum No. SOI-178) must be mentioned. Besides the standing Skanda, the Mathura school also developed the seated Skanda image, (Madras Museum No. 106-7/38; Mathura Museum No. U9)

[9] See A.K. Chatterjee, *The Cult of Skanda—Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1970; P.K. Agrawala, *Skanda—Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1967; J.C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974; N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow*, Lucknow, 1972

[10] A.K. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116 and incorrectly labelled fig. 4 instead of fig. 2

[11] See R.C. Kar, "An Early Image of Kārttikeya from Taxila", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 1954, 81-85

[12] The cock alone as emblem of Skanda is much older. A cock capital found near a broken stone pillar (whose short inscription indicates it was dedicated to Skanda) was discovered at Lālā Bhagat near Kanpur and dates to the early centuries of the Christian era. Note also the 'cock on top of post' Ayodhyā coinage.

[13] R.C. Agrawala, "Skanda—Kārttikeya in Sculpture from Rajasthan", *Lalit Kala* 3-4, 1957, 109-112

[14] See R. Göbl, "Numismatic evidence relating to the date of Kaniṣka" in *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka*, ed. A.L. Basham, Leiden, 1968, pp. 103-113; B.N. Mukherjee, "New Trends in the Study of the History of the Kushāṇa Empire", paper read in a Seminar on Teaching of History, Burdwan Univ., 1977. Therefore the dates for Huvishka depend on the date for Kanishka I; e.g. assuming the date 78 A.D., Huvishka's reign is from 107-138 A.D.

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Sanskrit *Mahāsena*. Nonetheless, it may be surmised that at this time Skanda was still not completely identified with 'Mahāsena' since on some other coins of the same ruler three gods with three names appear together, namely Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and MAACHNO (Mahāsena). It must be concluded that these are different deities in the process of being identified with Skanda. Also the iconography of Skanda as Mahāsena on the Huvishka coins is atypical of the aforementioned Kushan representations, giving further indication that this conceptualization was in the process of developing at that time. By the time of *Amarakośa* (a work of the Gupta age),[15] Mahāsena is one of many epithets belonging to Skanda-Kārttikeya;[16] as intervening guideposts, the following inscriptions may be cited: a terracotta Bhīṭā sealing (third-fourth centuries A.D.) mentioning that the "Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vrishadhvaja... made over his kingdom to the great lord Mahāsena"[17] and the Bilsad Stone Inscription (415-416 A.D.) of Kumāragupta I referring to the addition of a gateway with a flight of steps to the shrine of Kārttikeya who is called Mahāsena.[18]

The Bharat Kala Bhavan image of Skanda (No. 22125) seems to have been made at a time when the representation of the god as leader of the army, or warrior etc. was in the developmental stage. The anomalous cross-belts and tall shield (or scabbard) would suggest this. These elements could be influenced by the concepts of the *āyudha-purusha* and the epic heroes, especially as they came to be portrayed in Gupta art.[19] At the same time, the form of the knotted sash and the far-extended right arm are continuations of the Kushan style, while the position of the *śakti*, the slight *déhanchement*, the appearance of wavy locks and absence of either a crested turban[20] or hair arranged in top-knot[21] signal late and post-Kushan developments. Accordingly, the cumulative evidence indicates that this Skanda could be dated in the post-Kushan period of the third century A.D.

3. Agni
   Mathura region; Kushan period,
   Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 2Ka/23171

4. Agni head
   Mathura region; Kushan period,
   Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 21490

The correlation between Agni icons and the imagery of the Brahmachārin is probably not sufficiently emphasized. A Brahmachārin is a celibate student of the *Vedas* who leads an ascetic life during the period of studentship. In art, the life of a Brahmachārin is probably best illustrated on an Uttar Pradesh stele in the Cleveland Museum (No. 55.51);[22] of note is that the scenes documenting various duties and activities of the Brahmachārin surround the large central figure which is of Agni. A recently acquired Kushan Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (No. 2Ka/23171) likewise connects Agni with the Brahmachārin; it is undoubtedly the earliest and best preserved portrayal of the god as a Brahmachārin or Ṛishi type (fig. 294).

Several Vedic and Epic antecedents could contribute to this association. For example, it may be inferred that Agni embodies the *brahmacharya* quality from the earliest account of Skanda's legend in the *Vanaparvan* (III, 213-221) of the *Mahābhārata*. In this section, Skanda, whose birth is attributed to Agni, is apparently called Brahmachārin and described as being *brahmanya* —(brahminic) and *brahmanyatva*—(of brahminic faith).[23] Agni himself, at the time of the *Ṛig Veda* is known to be a *Ṛishi* (sage, seer, ascetic)[24] and reflections of his priestly

[15] See R.C. Majumdar, gen. ed., *The Classical Age*, vol. III in *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Bombay, 1954, 733

[16] I. 1·40. See *Amarakośa I. With the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries*. Ed. by A.A. Ramanathan, Adyar, Madras, 1971

[17] Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 45

[18] D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* I, 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1965, pp. 285-287

[19] Cf. depictions of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Arjuna in K. Desai, *Iconography of Vishṇu*, New Delhi, 1973, figs. 80, 81, 95; and the āyudhapurushas in the Deogarh Anantaśayana panel; fig. 21

[20] R.C. Agrawala, "Skanda in Early Rajasthani Sculpture", *The Researcher* XII-XIII, 1972-73, 15

[21] N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue of Brahmanical Sculpture*, p. 45

[22] Information kindly supplied by Dr. S. Czuma, Curator of Indian and Southeast Asian Art of the Cleveland Museum. For illustration please see C. Sivaramamurti, *Some Aspects of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 38-39 and fig. 33, where it is incorrectly attributed.

[23] Agni's power to give rise to an offspring which embodies his essence can be traced back to the *Rig Veda* and *Atharva Veda* where he is called *tánūnápāt*—'son of himself'. On the religious significance of this term see J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens* I, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 72; A.B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* vol. I, Cambridge, 1925, p. 166. Cf. D. Srinivasan, "The Religious Significance of Divine Multiple Body Parts in the *Atharva Veda*", forthcoming in *Numen* fasc. III, 1978. Skanda—Kārttikeya is described as *brahmaṇya-* in III. 213.2, 24; 221.25 and *brahmaṇyatva-* in III. 218.34. For some reason not really clear to me, the epithet Brahmachārin, well enough attested to in secondary sources (see S. Sörensen, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, London, 1904, p. 154; A.K. Chatterjee, *The Cult of Skanda—Kārttikeya in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 94) was not found in III. 213-221 of the Poona critical edition of the Mahābhārata, nor in the translation of this section by J.A.B. van Buitenen.

[24] Cf. D. Srinivasan, "God as Brahmanical Ascetic: A Colossal Kushan icon of the Mathura School", forthcoming in *J.I.S.O.A.*

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and ascetic character continue in the *Atharva Veda*[25] and Epic mythology.[26] Moreover, the notions of *Ṛishi* and Brahmachārin appear to be equated in the Vedic tradition with respect to knowledge of the *Vedas*[27] and to devotional fervour (understood as an internal 'fire').[28]

The Bharat Kala Bhavan Agni, of red mottled sandstone (ht. 50.5 cm.), is broken below the knees and around the upper part of the flaming halo. The god stands frontally; his face is beared and his hair is tied *jaṭājūṭa* fashion. The *yajñopavīta*, with a conspicuous knot, is worn over the left shoulder. The raised right hand, though broken, reveals traces of the *akshamālā;* the lowered left hand carried the *kamaṇḍalu*, of which only the left side now remains (fig. 295). Agni wears a *dhotī*, the end of which drapes over his left arm. Except for the bangles on both his arms, the god wears no ornamentation, which is of course appropriate to the Brahmachārin/Ṛishi model.[29] There is no doubt that this is an image of Agni since the halo in front and back is covered with flames (fig. 296). The stylization of the flame motif is very similar to the two altar flames flanking a female (Pārvatī?) in a small Kushan relief from Palikhera, Mathura (Mathura Museum No. 15.879).

There are a few other Mathura representations of Agni belonging to this period. Though less well preserved, they also display elements of the Brahmachārin/Ṛishi model. The Mathura Museum houses an Agni (No. 40.2880) having several of these elements. The flamed halo, *jaṭā* and *yajñopavīta* are in evidence. In this relief he wears a moustache however and not a beard. Also, he is decked with an ornate necklace and earrings. These same elements are found on an Agni from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, now in the State Museum Lucknow (No. J 123); the face is totally chipped off. Another relief from Katra Keshavdeo, Mathura (Mathura Museum No. 40.2883) shows Agni standing beside another deity. He wears moustache, *jaṭā*, torque, and a *kamaṇḍalu* is in his left hand while the right is in *abhaya-mudrā*. Flames radiate from either side of his shoulders and this is distinctive.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan houses another equally interesting Agni (No. 21490; fig. 297). This sculpture, of red mottled sandstone, represents a head of Agni (ht. 20.8 cm.). The facial modelling is characteristic of the Kushan period, although some of the iconographic features are atypical. For example, Agni's flames are here the equivalent of his hair; I know of no other Kushan Agni having this feature. It does call to mind, however, the oft-debated figure of Agni appearing on the Pañchāla coins of Agnimitra; some scholars identify the figure, which is standing on a railed platform between two pillars, as a representation of Agni with flaming hair.[30] Another unusual feature is the depiction of Agni's raised eyes which cause his brow to be furrowed. The expression could be understood in the light of a *Harivaṁśa* passage which states that Agni's eyes resemble the rising sun (*bālārkasadṛiśekshaṇaḥ*).[31]

The back of the head is flat and uncarved; the nose is damaged.

5. *Chaturmukha-liṅga*
Possible provenance Kauśāmbī; or Mathura; third century A.D.
Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 22755

It may be worthwhile to preface the discussion of this *chaturmukha-liṅga* with a well recognized factor, namely that a *chaturmukha-liṅga* and the concepts of Śiva's *pañchavaktra-s* (five faces, also *pañchamukha-s*) refer to the same theological notion. The idea is that the five faces of Śiva stand for his five aspects; these are known by the name of Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and Iśāna, and together they symbolize the Totality that is Śiva. Iśāna, the fifth aspect or 'face', believed to be beyond the comprehension of even the *Yogīs*, may or may not be plastically represented.[32]

Each of the heads of the Bharat Kala Bhavan *chaturmukha-liṅga* face in the four cardinal directions. One head is distinguished by the third eye shown horizontally on the brow and the appearance of the crested turban (fig. 298); the remains of large earrings and a necklace ornament the face. This head represents the *ushṇīshin* form of Śiva. Next to it; on the right, occurs the *vyuptakeśa* form, characterized by the shaven locks; Śiva's ears are unadorned and the lobes are short, no doubt to further emphasize his *yogic* nature (fig. 299). Again to the right, the third head shows Śiva with

[25] See N.J. Shende, *The Foundations of the Atharvanic Religion*, Poona, 1949, pp. 205-206
[26] E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, reprint, Delhi, 1974, p. 178
[27] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* VI. 6.1.4 states that the learned man (i.e. the man versed in the Vedas) is a *Brāhman*, a *Ṛishi* and sprung from *Ṛishis*.
[28] On the devotional heat of the *Ṛishi*, see C.J. Blair, *Heat in the Ṛig Veda and Atharva Veda*, New Haven, 1961, p. 115; for the Brahmachārin, see D. Knipe, *In The Image of Fire*, Delhi, 1975, p. 97
[29] On the delineation of the Brahmachārin/Ṛishi model in Vedic literature see D. Srinivasan, "God as Brahmanical Ascetic..."
[30] See J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, reprint, London, 1967, p. 199 ff; pl. XXVIII. 8. For a survey of the controversy see J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 3rd ed., New Delhi, 1974, pp. 146-147
[31] *Harivaṁśa* (Gita Press ed.) *Parva* 54.7, p. 203
[32] J.N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 460-461, 479

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jaṭāmukuṭa, a horizontal third eye and moustache[33] (fig. 300). The fourth head is now completely demolished.

Even though the *mukhas* are in a partial state of preservation, a variety of distinctive features, serving as dating criteria, may be observed. The faces are all decidedly sweet, pleasant and mild. Each is a male and two possess the third eye. The heads are joined to each other and to the center *liṅga* by a decorative band consisting of two twisted cords. As such, the heads nearly abut, there being little intervening space. However, the band does not act as a 'fastening' element, since the heads appear not as 'tied' to the central shaft but rather as if arising from it. The central *liṅga* itself should be noted. It is broad, stocky and only slightly rounded at the top. There is an absence of realism, unless the circling band were to be symbolically understood as the *Brahmasūtra.*[34] The shaft, possibly broken, is as broad as the nut. The heads are placed high : at the juncture of the shaft and the nut. At present, the piece measures 33 cms. in height.

Many of the above features grow out of Kushan precedents. Iconographic traditions of Kushan *chaturmukha-liṅgas* may be briefly summarized from the few examples (i.e. The National Museum second century *liṅga* No. 65.172; the Mathura Museum late-Kushan third century A.D. *liṅga* No. 15.516; and the Allahabad Museum first-second century A.D. *liṅga* No. AM 636 from Kauśāmbī, which was during that period, under the artistic influence of the Mathura school). These examples show that :[35]

1. The shaft is much greater in height than in thickness, and that the nut is considerably domed.
2. The heads appear towards the top of the shaft.
3. Often a band 'ties' as it were the heads onto the shaft (in Mathura Museum No. 15.516 each head is 'tied' onto a separate *liṅga*).
4. Distances between heads are considerable.
5. The faces themselves give indication of vigorous countenances having greater emphasis on robustness of volumes and hardness of line than softness and sweetness of expression.
6. The third eye is not portrayed.

It is of course apparent from this brief survey that the Bharat Kala Bhavan *chaturmukha-liṅga* is not typical of the Kushan type. Actually several of the characteristics seen in the piece prefigure developments of the Gupta period. For example, in the Gupta period, the heads border on each other[36] and may be rendered as if emerging from the *liṅga;* also the third eye should be shown on three of the four faces.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan *chaturmukha,* however, does not date to the Gupta period. The *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa,* dating to this period, mentions the sets of names, associate elements, directions and iconography relevant to the *pañchamukha* symbolism of Śiva in III, 44; 48; 59.[37] This symbolism is not convincingly apparent in the Bharat Kala Bhavan piece. Indeed the combination of heads it displays has more in common with Śaivite representations of the first through third century A.D. The aforementioned National Museum *chaturmukha* (No. 65. 172) portrays two of the forms of Śiva[38] also seen on the Bharat Kala Bhavan piece (namely the *ushṇīshin* and *vyuptakeśa* forms). Indeed the *ushṇīshin,* or turbaned motif, is a decidedly early iconographic motif which loses currency in the Gupta and post-Gupta eras. However, in the Kushan period it occurs not infrequently on *mukha-liṅgas*[39] as well as complete anthropomorphic forms of Śiva.[40] The *jaṭāmukuṭa* motif, also found on *mukha-liṅgas*[41] and icons of Śiva,[42] is noticed in the *pañchamukha-liṅga,* No. 15.516 in the Mathura Museum. Of even greater relevance is the appearance of both *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the *ushṇīshin* heads in a unique seated figure of Śiva from Mūsānagar (dated *ca.* 50 B.C. to 50 A.D.);[43] the central figure, seated *ūrdhva-meḍhra,* represents the *ushṇīshin* form. From its shoulders and head radiate three other figures, the middle one having *jaṭāmukuṭa.* As such, the Mūsānagar Śiva not only offers analogous headgear and emphasis on the membrum

[33] The moustache is associated with Śiva's *Aghora* aspect from the Śuṅga to the Gupta age. N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue,* p. 101

[34] Cf. N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue,* p. 103, re : No. H. 1 in the State Museum, Lucknow.

[35] See N.P. Joshi, "Early Traditions of Brahmanical Iconography", p. 13

[36] E.g. No. H. 3 in the State Museum, Lucknow.

[37] See P. Shah, *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa.* Third Khaṇḍa, vol. II, Baro a, 1961, pp. 143-145

[38] *Jaṭā* locks are also shown on the third head.

[39] In addition to the National Museum *Chaturmukha,* it appears on No. AM 363 in the Allahabad Museum; the Aghāpura *ekamukha liṅga* in the Bharatpur Museum and the Śiva *liṅga* from Nānd, Rajasthan.

[40] E.g. Standing Śiva against a *liṅga* in the Pennsylvania Univ. Museum; Mathura Museum No. E 12. Of course the turbaned form of Śiva already appears in the pre-Christian era as evidenced by the Bhītā *Pañchamukha liṅga* and the figure of Śiva on the Guḍimallam *liṅga.*

[41] E.g. Mathura Museum No. 462

[42] E.g. Mathura Museum No. 382, central figure.

[43] N.P. Joshi, "A Unique Figure of Śiva from Mūsānagar", *Bull. of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.,* June, 1969, 25-30

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virile, but also it represents the fourfold aspects of the Supreme much as the *chaturmukha-liṅga*. In sum, the style and iconography of the Bharat Kala Bhavan *chaturmukha-liṅga* presupposes some Kushan developments and prefigures others particularly pertinent of Gupta *chaturmukhas*.

The above observations would argue for a transitional date for the Bharat Kala Bhavan piece. Such a date, I believe, can be supported when the heads of the *liṅga*, especially the *jaṭāmukuṭa* form is compared with the image of Śiva of the Kauśāmbī Śiva and Pārvatī relief (No. KM 40 in the Indian Museum). The face of the Kauśāmbī Śiva likewise displays a horizontal third eye within a gentle and sweetly rounded countenance. The facial features show influence of the Mathura school; however, both the Kauśāmbī Śiva and the Bharat Kala Bhavan faces are rather "heart" shaped, and this is not especially characteristic of the Mathura school. The Kauśāmbī relief, inscribed in the year 139, probably dates to the early third century A.D. This date would be equally suitable for Bharat Kala Bhavan No. 22755.

Theological notions symbolized by *pañcha* or *chaturmukha-liṅgas* originate in the pre-Christian eras. The idea that a fivefold nature of a god is emblematic of his universality is already well documented in the *Vedas*.[44] Indeed, the earliest reference to Śiva's five aspects or 'faces' occurs in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad* (book X of the *Taittirīya-Āranyaka*, of uncertain date but possibly going back to the third century B.C.).[45] The five faces, already herein identified by the same five names found in the *Vishṇudharmottara*, are Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and Īśāna.[46] The names form part of a series of invocations to the great Lord, referred to as Rudra (vss. 279; 283), Śiva (vs. 274) and considered the Highest, i.e. the Supreme *Brahman* (vs. 289). It is against this background of beliefs on the nature of God that the development of *chaturmukha-liṅgas* in general, and the Bharat Kala Bhavan *liṅga* in particular, take on their proper iconological significance.

[44] J. Gonda, *Vishnuism and Śivaism*, London, 1970, pp. 44-48
[45] *ibid.*, p. 48
[46] J. Varenne, *La Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* I, Paris, 1960, see vss. 277-286

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SARA SCHASTOK

A Sixth-Century Kubera Image from Mandasor

Embedded in the rear wall of a small Śiva shrine at Khilchipura (Dist. Mandasor, MP) is a previously unpublished image of Kubera which can be added to the sixth-century remains from the well-known Gupta site of Mandasor[1] (fig. 301). This image is of particular interest because of its unusual iconography and for its relationship to both the colossal Mandasor Śiva and the Mansar Kubera (figs. 302, 304).

This Kubera is a four-armed male figure with a full-cheeked squarish face and short neck over an equally full, low-hanging belly and short pudgy legs. His head is covered by a mass of spiral curls held back by a simple pearl diadem. A look of ferocious but controlled energy is achieved by nearly closed, downcast eyes, flaring nostrils and tightly stretched lips parting to reveal small teeth.

He is seated in *pralambapādāsana* on a simple bench which sags under his weight. Under the bench and between his legs stands a small *ghaṭa*. The fat belly together with the jar under the seat enables us to identify him as Kubera, and this identification is supported by a strong resemblance to other Gupta Kuberas as well as by the additional attributes he holds.

Like the four-armed figure from Khilchipura, an image tentatively identified as Kubera from the Gupta temple at Bhumara (fig. 303) is seated in *pralambapādāsana* on a simple bench with an upright *ghaṭa* positioned between his feet. The Bhumara Kubera, like his counterpart at Khilchipura (fig. 304), also holds a lotus in his right hand, but the left hand and all traces of its attributes are unfortunately missing.[2]

Except for the number of arms, it seems correct to summarize the differences between the Bhumara and Khilchipura images as differences in style, in explicitness of detail rather than as iconographic differences affecting the identification of either image as Kubera. Thus the single *ghaṭa* of the Khilchipura Kubera is represented by a group of three vessels at Bhumara, and while rather austere ornaments suffice in the Mandasor area, details of jewelry are more luxuriant at Bhumara and other late Gupta sites as well (figs. 303-306). The sparse ornamental detail of the *yaksha* king from Khilchipura is, however, an exception to the wealth of iconographic detail we find in looking closer at this piece.

The use of *pralambapādāsana* is in itself significant since this so-called "European posture" was closely connected from Kushan times with the iconography of temporal, kingly authority. Its most well-known use was in the portrait statue of the Kushan king, Vima Kadphises,[3] but it is also to be found in small Gandhāran reliefs depicting the father of the young Siddhartha, king Śuddhodana[4] (fig. 307). In these reliefs, his *pralambapādāsana* postures together with the *gadā* or mace are dual emblems of his worldly authority, of his position as king. Then *pralambapādāsana* was also an appropriate choice for Gandhāran representations of Kubera or of *yaksha* couples depicted as sovereign rulers in their own realm. The significance of the second symbol reinforcing this notion of authority, the *śakti*, has been previously discussed by Pratapaditya Pal.[5] However, Hindu iconography in the Gupta period was characterized not only by the perpetuation of Kushan traditions but also by modifications of them. Thus in Gupta art *pralambapādāsana* continued to symbolize authority as the Khilchipura, Bhumara and Norton Simon Kuberas illustrate (figs. 301, 303, 308), but this authority is stated either with or without other ancient emblems of office such as the *gadā*/*śakti* or lion throne.

Returning to the worn and whitewashed attributes of the Khilchipura Kubera, they appear to be as follows:

[1] A pillar from Khilchipura and other Gupta pieces dated to the sixth century from the Mandasor area have been published by J. Williams, "The Sculpture of Mandasor", *Archives of Asian Art*, 26, 1972-73, pp. 50-66. The new image is one of several unpublished images and fragments at a small Śiva temple, of no art historical interest itself, at Khilchipura, just south of Mandasor. I am grateful to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a 1975-76 Junior Fellowship that made this field work possible.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XVI, 1924

[3] J. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley, 1967, fig. 1

[4] Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1957, fig. 20. The figure in *pralambapādāsana* posture in fig. 12 is also identified as King Śuddhodana. Fig. 226, a Buddha in *pralambapādāsana* from Taxila is an exception to the scheme of royal imagery outlined here. For a further discussion of this *āsana*, see Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-188, and also S.L. Weiner, *Ajanta: Its Place in Buddhist Art*, Berkeley, 1977. The significance of *pralambapādāsana* in *mātṛika* iconography must also be considered.

[5] P. Pal, "Dhanada-Kubera of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and Some Images from North-West India", *Lalit-Kala*, 18, 1978, pp. 22-24

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a lotus *(padma)* on a short stem in the upper right hand and a sword *(khaḍga)* in the lower right. In his lower left hand he holds a long-necked purse *(nakulaka)* and in the upper left what appears to be a cobra. Although four-armed representations of the god of wealth were still uncommon in the Gupta period, three of these four attributes, the lotus, sword and purse, are typical of Kubera images. Thus the Khilchipura image is an especially interesting Gupta image in that it combines into one image all of these attributes and in that it adds a fourth attribute not found in other images or texts, the cobra. The appropriate attribute for the upper left hand would seem to be the conch shell *(śaṅkha)* since in various sources, Kubera images are said to hold both *padma* and *śaṅkhanidhis*. In fact, *padma* and *śaṅkhanidhis* are depicted in roughly contemporary Deccan sites.[6] However, the serpentine body wrapped around his wrist precludes this possibility for the Khilchipura Kubera.

Before examining the place of this image within the context of sixth-century works from Mandasor, let us look more closely at the iconographic features and what they reveal about Kubera iconography in the late Gupta period.

The association between *yakshas* and lotuses is an ancient one going back to Bharhut where lotus vines producing jewels and ornaments emanate from the mouths of *yakshas*.[7] Intriguingly, this most ancient and typical symbol of wealth, and consequently of Kubera, was virtually abandoned in the Kushan period where the standard Mathurā Kubera images held a cup and purse,[8] but was renewed again in the Gupta period as we see at Khilchipura, Bhumara and probably in the Mansar Kubera as well[9] (figs. 301, 303, 304). The attribute which we identify as a lotus at Khilchipura is relatively unusual but does correspond to that in another Mandasor image, a female figure from Sondni attributed to the sixth century (fig. 309) and to that held by a later Kashmiri Kubera as well.[10]

Kubera's moneybag held in the lower left hand is the second attribute of this image with a long history. Even though shapes and ways of grasping it may differ, the purse is found as an attribute of Kushan Kuberas both at Mathurā and in Gandhāra.[11] In fact, the standard two-armed Kushan Kubera from Mathurā holds a cup in the right hand and a moneybag in the left (fig. 310). And while we find the cup less often from the Gupta period on, the moneybag exemplifying wealth continued as a trait of Kubera through and well beyond the Gupta period (figs. 306, 308) either as the *nakulaka*-shaped purse or as the mongoose *(nakulaka)* itself.[12]

But with the third attribute of the Khilchipura Kubera, the sword or *khaḍga*,[13] we diverge from the theme of continuity with the ancient and native Indian concepts of Kubera as guardian of wealth and return to the impact of foreign traditions of Gandhāran art discussed above.

As Pal has convincingly demonstrated, the Hindu Kubera in the Kushan period became a fusion of three iconographic traditions—that of the native Indian "corpulent *yaksha* who guards over wealth and is fond of drinking" with those of Vaiśravaṇa, lord of the northern quadrant, and Pharro, symbol of power, law and sovereignty.[14] The latter two traditions actually account for a whole group of northern traits mentioned in the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and depicted in some Kubera images but some of which are not pertinent to this Khilchipura figure.[15] What is important here is the presence of the *śakti* of Vaiśravaṇa-Pharro, demonstrating the absorption of what Pal terms the "exotic" tendencies of Gandhāran iconography into a Gupta image that is otherwise representative of the native Indian conception of Kubera as guardian of wealth. The symbolism of the *śakti* is reinforced by the *pralamba-pādāsana* posture, and both aspects of this image taken together emphasize that Kubera, guardian and even source of material wealth, is also king of the *yakshas*.

[6] G. Tarr (Tartakov), "Dhokeśvara : The Development of the *Nidhi* Image", *Oriental Art*, XV/4, 1969, pp. 269-280. He identifies personified *nidhis* at Ajanta caves 19 and 26, Badami caves 1 and 3, at Dhokeśvara and at Aurangabad.

[7] M. Carter, "Dionysiac Aspects of Kushan Art", *Ars Orientalis*, VII, 1968, p. 129

[8] J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, pp. 86-93

[9] If the broken attribute was not a lotus alone, it might perhaps have been a combined *śaṅkha-padma* like that Barua identified in the hands of a Bharhut *yakshī*. See Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, fig. 47. This continuation of ancient Indian traditions in Gupta art is also seen in the Bhumara doorjamb now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where a *yaksha* grasps a stem from which luxuriant foliage erupts.

[10] Pal, *op. cit.*, fig. 5

[11] For Gandhāran examples see Lyons and Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 344, 345; Pal, *op. cit.*, fig. 1. Kushan examples from Mathurā are described by Vogel, *loc. cit.*, and illustrated by Vogel in *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, *Ars Asiatica*, XV, 1930, pl. XLIV

[12] For examples from later periods see P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, figs. 256 and 319. Further references cited by Sahai in his chapter on Kubera in *Iconography of Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 59-72. For a discussion of the term, *nakuleka*, and its various meanings, see Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 25

[13] This attribute of the Khilchipura Kubera may be in fact a spear *(śakti)*.

[14] Pal, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22-24

[15] *ibid.*, figs. 1, 4, 6

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Turning to textual references to this unusual four-armed form of Kubera, only the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* prescribe the four-armed form for Kubera. In neither of the known four-armed Gupta Kuberas illustrated here (figs. 301, 304) do the attributes correspond precisely to those mentioned in these texts.

According to the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, Kubera holds a club, purse containing money, a citron and a *kamaṇḍalu*.[16] The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* prescribes a mace and spear for the right hands, a jewel and a pot for the left ones. In addition, the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* assigns to Kubera a northerner's dress, a prominent belly with a heavy garland, fangs, a moustache and a discoloured left eye. He should be seated together with Ṛiddhi, and should have a lion banner and *śibika* below his feet. His vehicle is a man *(naravāhana)* and he appears with both *padma* and *śaṅkhanidhis*.[17]

It would certainly be an exception to find such an early image corresponding precisely to a particular text, and indeed the Khilchipura Kubera has relatively little in common with either of these. With the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* type it shares only the heavy belly, sword and bared teeth, a variation of the fangs mentioned in this text, and only the club and purse are found in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* description. Yet this image is clearly a representation of Kubera.

The iconography of the Khilchipura Kubera illustrates clearly the problems that arise in attempting to correlate texts with images from the early periods of Indian art. Although it fails to corroborate the descriptions given in known texts, the Khilchipura image does share numerous stylistic and iconographic features with other images from the Mandasor area, leaving no doubt that it is contemporary with sixth-century sculpture there.[18] And it is to these aspects of the image that we now turn.

While the Kubera is not identical with any extant *gaṇa* figure attending the Mandasor Śiva, it shares with them certain features of style and mood.[19] The closest similarities are with two human-headed *gaṇas* on Śiva's proper left (figs. 311, 312). Note the expanding masses of curls, large hoop earrings, and tiger-claw pendant together with the *udarabandha* tied at the waist in fig. 311. The depiction of the curls on this upper *gaṇa* figure precisely matches the rendering of Kubera's curls. Kubera's hand grasps the cobra in the same way that the *gaṇas'* hands wrap around their attributes on the Mandasor Śiva. The bodies not only share the same obese physique, but also the same sharp line dividing torso from upper thighs. This convention has created the same additive and constructed look in both images. And comparing the lower *gaṇa* illustrated in fig. 312 to the detail of the Kubera in fig. 313, the joined eyebrows above bulging eyes, the flat and flared nostrils and the bared teeth are devices used in both images to convey fierceness of expression.

The simple pearl arm-bands and diadem over a flat row of hairstrands pulled upward from the forehead compare closely to these same details of Śiva's *dvārapālas*. Furthermore, the extremely awkward modelling of the body, the stiff transition from chest to broad shoulder and upper arm is a definable feature of sixth-century sculpture from the Mandasor area, notably of the Sondni *vidyādharas* in the National Museum, the smaller Sondni pieces in the Gwalior Museum, and the Khilchipura pillar *dvārapāla*.[20] Finally, the tendency of these frames at Sondni to encroach upon the figure's space, often flattening and confining the outer parts of the image, is also characteristic of the Kubera.

The stylistic evidence thus points to a sixth-century date. But the reasons for associating the Kubera with the Mandasor Śiva are not exclusively stylistic.

The Kubera also bears a strong iconographic resemblance to the central image in the frieze of the seven figures below the feet of the Mandasor Śiva. The flanking groups of two-armed musicians at each end of the frieze (figs. 314, 316) are remarkable for their variations in gesture and posture which convey a sense of lively music being played. Their attention focuses on the central figure, a pudgy dancing figure with long *jaṭā* and distinguished from the others in the frieze by his hoop earrings, tiger-claw pendant and four arms (fig. 315). The downward-pointing lower right hand holds a stylized lotus on a long stem and the upper right arm is swung across his body, perhaps in *gajahastamudrā*. Unfortunately, one of the left hands cannot be made out, but the upper left hand grasps an uncoiling cobra.

Similarities to the Kubera are clear in physiognomy, details of ornament and, most notable, in the lotus and cobra attributes of both images. The scene at Śiva's feet probably represents Kubera together with his attendant *guhyakas*, but it remains unclear whether this scene could

[16] Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Other textual descriptions of two-armed Kuberas are summarized in pp. 59-62

[17] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 339. Pal has discussed the problem of the *śibika*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25

[18] Williams, *op. cit.* Outline her arguments for dating the major Mandasor sculptures to the second quarter of the sixth century.

[19] The possibilities of connections between various folk deities, including the followers of Kubera and Kārttikeya, has been raised by Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 382

[20] Williams, *op. cit.*, figs. 12, 13, 15, 18

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be identified specifically as Kubera leading an ecstatic worship of Śiva or as the worship of Kubera himself. Although numerous references to *yaksha* worship mention the participation of singers and musicians,[21] Kubera is not said to dance. Here, however, the musicians do not gaze upward toward the great god, Śiva, but upon the central dancing figure himself.

In neither this frieze nor the Khilchipura Kubera could the cobra in the left hand be readily explained within the standard Kubera iconography although its fertility-water symbolism is not out of place for a *yaksha*. However, we are not entirely without an explanation for the inclusion of the cobra in these figures.

The question of the iconographic relationship between the Khilchipura Kubera and the four-armed figure below the Mandasor Śiva brings us back to the unsatisfactory comparison of Gupta Kuberas with the detailed descriptions given in extant iconographic texts. But in contrast a brief reference by the commentator, Patañjali, to the *vyāntara devatās* stands out. The gods characterized as folk deities *(laukika)* are succinctly described in two compounds: *Śiva-Vaiśravaṇau* and *Skanda-Viśākhau*.[22] While Patañjali's passing reference provides no concrete solutions to Gupta iconographic puzzles, his grouping of *Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera* together with Śiva is at least in keeping with the evidence of the Mandasor images before us. (The Khilchipura Kubera is now in a relatively modern Śaivite shrine. Could it have occupied a similar position in one of the Śaivite shrines that flourished in the time of Yaśodharman?)

Another four-armed Gupta figure identifiable as Kubera, a recent discovery from Mansar (Dist. Nagpur, MHR),[23] points in a similar direction (fig. 304). Here the attributes are an *akshamālā* in the upper right hand and a citron or fruit in the lower right. The stem remaining in the upper left hand may have carried a lotus. The lower left hand rests on the left knee.[24] Once again, the image has four arms and the unusual attribute is again Śaivite, the *rudrākshamālā* of Śiva and his followers.

The Mansar Kubera, like its counterpart at Khilchipura, holds an attribute characteristic of Śiva in addition to those standard for the god of wealth. While a typical of Gupta Kuberas as a whole, these two images do express a coherent and purposefully Śaivite interpretation of the god that transcended regional boundaries in the late fifth early sixthcenturies.

[21] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, part 1, pp. 20, 26. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 338 : At both Gaṇapati and Kubera temples instruments are to be played in the assembly of worshippers.

[22] Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-38

[23] J. Harle, "The post-Gupta Style in Indian Temple Architecture and Sculpture", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, CXXV/5253, August 1977, pp. 570-71. W. Spink has suggested that it belongs to the stylistic idiom of the late fifth century and was perhaps created under the patronage of the Vākāṭaka ruler, Harishena. Since this article was submitted, Joanna Williams has called my attention to Sivaramamurti's identification of this dwarfish figure as Śiva himself, referring to the epithets *hrasvāya* and *vāmanāya* in the *Śatarudrīya*. See Sivaramamurti, *Śatarudrīya Vibhūti of Śiva's Iconography*, New Delhi, 1976, frontispiece.

[24] Although this position for the lower left hand is unusual for a single icon of Kubera, it is seen occasionally in images of Kubera seated together with his consort. One such Kushan example is illustrated by Lyons and Ingholt *op. cit.*, fig. 344

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MARTIN LERNER

Early Chola Bronzes at the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena

The Chola Dynasty of south India was one of the grandest participants in the majestic pageant of Indian art history. From the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the fourteenth century, they ruled over an empire of unparalleled prosperity and cultural achievement. Literature and the arts, nourished by extensive imperial patronage, flourished, and the armed forces of the dynasty insured political stability and the peaceful conditions necessary for elaborate artistic programmes. The sheer size of the temples constructed by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, attest to an affluence, religious zeal and political optimism that is remarkable. This surpassing prosperity also supported one of the greatest court-styles the world has ever known—the Chola bronzes.

Any dispassionate appraisal must basically agree with Douglas Barrett, who, in the preface to his brilliant study of early Chola bronzes, writes ". . . the classical moment both in bronze and stone sculpture, the period of most original achievement, lasted little more than a century and a half, from about 850 A.D. to the early decades of the 11th century A.D."[1] We would prefer to extend this period slightly to include most of the eleventh century, conceding a slight decline of originality of inspiration towards the end of the century. Today, one would have great difficulty finding a collection outside of India where these early bronzes can be admired and studied to greater advantage than in the collection at the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena.

Following tradition, this brief introduction to the early bronzes starts with Gaṇeśa (fig. 317). This is the earliest and the simplest of the three fine Chola bronze Gaṇeśas at Pasadena and remarkable among all Chola Gaṇeśas.

Gaṇeśa is popularly accepted as being the first "child" of Śiva and Pārvatī, and also the deity who controls obstacles, inventing them, or removing them. In Chola bronzes he is normally shown with four hands; the upper sinister hand holds a noose *(pāśa)* to ensnare evil and wrongdoers, his upper dexter hand holds an elephant goad *(aṅkuśa)* which in later examples resembles the battle axe of Śiva, his normal dexter hand holds his broken tusk, and the normal sinister hand usually holds a ball of sweets. He is almost always in a contrapuntal position and shown as a squat figure with a bloated stomach. His trunk is normally turned to the sinister hand holding the ball of sweets. The "third-eye" of Śiva is often present and the crown worn is usually the *karaṇḍamukuṭa* type.

It is apparent from the three Gaṇeśas in this collection that in spite of some common basics, representations of the elephant-headed deity vary considerably, and it is often more difficult to assign dates to this charming god than to his parents.

This Gaṇeśa is not so squat and bloated as the later norm, and the sculptor has marshalled more than the usual amount of restraint in keeping him from becoming a caricature. The forms of the head and ears are uncomplicated as is the treatment throughout. The waist-band *(kaṭisūtra)* is quite narrow and the two ribbons falling down the sides of the legs are simple and follow the form of the leg. In later examples this motif and the *kaṭisūtra* itself, becomes more elaborate. The broken elephant goad in the upper dexter hand still preserves a resemblance to that formidable object; the noose is missing from the upper sinister hand. The outlines of the eyes, and the eyebrows, have been reincised.

On the basis of style, this Gaṇeśa would seem to predate both the Konerirajapuram and Shivapuram Gaṇeśas of the sixth and seventh decades of the tenth century,[2] and would therefore be dateable to around the middle of the tenth century—one of the earliest Chola bronze Gaṇeśas known.

Some time, perhaps around 1956, a group of bronzes were discovered at the village of Tandantottam, six miles east of Kumbhakonam.[3] Included was a remarkable early image of a two-armed standing Śiva[4] (fig. 318). Originally identified as the Vīṇādhara form of Śiva,[5]

[1] D. Barrett, *Early Cola Bronzes*, Bombay, 1965, p. VII
[2] *ibid.*, pl. 7; P.R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes of South India*, Madras, 1963, fig. 94
[3] R. Nagaswamy, "Some Adavallan and Other Bronzes of the Early Chola Period", *Lalit Kala*, no. 10, p. 34 (see fn. 3)
[4] *ibid.*, figs. 7, 13
[5] *ibid.*, p. 36

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this was later contested by Srinivasan who suggested that it represents the Tripurāntaka form.[6] The difference between these two forms is indeed subtle and primarily depends upon whether one considers the gesture of the sinister hand to be that of holding a bow or a *vīṇā*. In this case, the sinister hand is particularly high, and I would agree with Srinivasan that it seems more appropriate for holding the bow.

The Tandantottam Tripurāntaka makes the gestures of holding the bow with His sinister hand, and an arrow in His dexter hand. He wears a short skirt with a cord around it rather than the more elaborate *kaṭisūtra*, and the usual Chola period jewelries and decorations; necklaces, *pādasāras* loosely resting on His feet, *udarabandha* around the waist, the jeweled sacred thread *(yajñopavīta)*, shoulder tassels *(skandhamālā)*, bracelets and arm-bands knotted at the side of the arm, and at the dexter shoulder, a jeweled pendant and a cobra with spread hood, the latter quite unusual. All of these are appropriately handled in tenth century style. His matted locks of hair are arranged in a high chignon *(jaṭāmukuṭa)*, having the crescent moon and the *dhatūrā* flower affixed to it.

The proportions of this image are noteworthy, the figure being rather tall with attenuated limbs. The modelling of the body is quite refined, with gentle undulations of volumes from neck to ankles. The contrapuntal stance, a *tribhaṅga* posture, is strongly exaggerated, almost pushing the figure slightly off-balance and one has to mentally restore the long bow to provide visual support for the figure. In spite of this, as the eye wanders across the image, a careful balancing of forms is apparent. The angular gesture of sinister arm balances the prominent thrust of dexter hip, as one example. The posturing of the Tripurāntaka also sets up complex rhythms; some forms smoothly flowing into each other, and some making strong visual contrasts.

The Tandantottam Tripurāntaka has been suggested by Nagaswamy to date to the late ninth century,[7] while a more realistic dating, around the second quarter of the tenth century has been suggested by Srinivasan.[8] Both Barrett and Khandalavala place this image of Śiva at the beginning of the last quarter of the tenth century.[9] I would, however, prefer dating it to around the middle of the tenth century. I would think it earlier than both the Pallaveśvara Vṛishavāhana and the Vellanur Tripurāntaka,[10] as well as the early Konerirajapuram and Shivapuram bronzes, and a close descendent of the famous Nallur Naṭarāja and the Gautam Sarabhai Tripurāntaka.[11]

A brief study of the famous Shivapuram Naṭarāja (fig. 319) has recently been published[12] but it is useful to include another illustration here as comparison to a smaller, slightly later example in the museum's collection.

This Naṭarāja (fig. 320) while not of the exalted attainments of the Shivapuram example is nevertheless an icon of considerable merit. Its basic form closely follows the Shivapuram Naṭarāja. Śiva is shown in the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose, holding the same attributes and making the same gestures, but the overall treatment is less monumental. Forms are more slender and graceful. The *jaṭās* on either side of the heads of these two images show up the dissimilarity of treatment. The *jaṭās* of the Shivapuram dancer are like a dense and lush vegetative growth, undulating and sculpturesque, while those on this second Naṭarāja, seven on each side, are sparse and slender, attenuated, and a bit linear.

This later Naṭarāja, appearing a bit fragile next to the Shivapuram example, is nevertheless very well modelled. The forms of the body and limbs are organic and beautifully modulated, with a gentle rhythmic flow from one part of the figure to the other. There is a softness and delicacy here missing in the earlier example. The hand, in *daṇḍa-hasta* or *gaja-hasta*, and the form of the raised foot clearly show an elegant refinement. Some "freshening-up" incising seems to have taken place around the eyes.

The dating of this image is hard but it seems to be transitional, preserving early features and introducing features that become standard later on. The *prabhāmaṇḍala* is close to the early type, having three-tongued flames and not yet being circular. Its form is rather similar to that of the Naṭarāja from Tiruppalanam (Tanjore district) dated by Barrett to *ca.* 1000 A.D.[13] and the Velankanni Naṭarāja (Tanjore district) of about the same date.[14] Our Naṭarāja also holds the fire in a dish rather than in his palm, this too is an early feature.

[6] Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, p. 116
[7] Nagaswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 37
[8] Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, fig. 65
[9] Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 25; K. Khandalavala, "The Chronology of South Indian Bronzes", *Lalit Kala*, no. 14, p. 37
[10] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. 23, 67
[11] C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, New Delhi, 1963, pls. 8, 9. I would agree with Barrett that both of these bronzes belong to the very beginning of the tenth century.
[12] M. Lerner, "Shiva, Lord of Dance: The Shivapuram Nataraja", *The Connoisseur*, Nov. 1976, pp. 172-175
[13] Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. 57
[14] Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. 27b

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The *uttarīya* twisted around the waist resembles the Shivapuram example, being looped at the dexter side and then having the two long ends at the sinister side flutter over, touch, and then slightly extend beyond the *prabhā*. But here there is no knotting of these ends at the sinister side of the waist, they emanate closer to the loop, and a little more than half their length is twisted before they separate slightly into two distinct units. The serpent is found draped over the *abhayamudrā* forearm and the piece of animal skin is draped over the sinister shoulder. The chignon is far from being so elaborate as that worn by the Shivapuram Naṭarāja and the peacock feather hairdo has been replaced by a crown of five *koṇḍrai* leaves.

It is particularly noteworthy to find the representation of the celestial river goddess Gaṅgā, in the hairdo. Here too, in the manner of her placement, we are confronted with a transitional but early feature. The earliest of the bronze Naṭarājas do not have representations of the river goddess, while later images from about the end of the first quarter of the eleventh century on, normally have Gaṅgā placed in the middle, or towards the tip of one of the horizontal *jaṭās* at the dexter side of the head. The period from around 975 to 1010 seems to have been one of some experimentation in regard to the treatment of Gaṅgā. The Tiruppalanam Naṭarāja (again, dated by Barrett to *ca.* 1000 A.D.) has Gaṅgā placed on the upper dexter side of the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, a position from which she will soon swim to finally locate in the middle of one of the dexter *jaṭās*. On the Simon Naṭarāja, however, Gaṅgā is found in the chignon itself, partially resting on the highest dexter *jaṭā*, a most unusual placement.

The *Apasmāra-purusha* is less spirited than normal and is prostrate on an elliptical base which fits into the pedestal. This oblong multi-tiered pedestal, has small lions affixed to it, as well as having a projected central section—an unusual form for this type of image. Unusual also is the lack of a lotus pedestal, usually encountered on such images, but also missing from some tenth century Naṭarājas.

In terms of dating I should think that this superb Naṭarāja must be placed close to the end of the tenth century, perhaps around the ninth decade of that century. It seems to me a transitional icon, to be placed between the Shivapuram Dancer and the big Naṭarāja of *ca.* 1010 A.D. in the Rajarajeśvara temple in Tanjore. It also in many ways anticipates Dancers such as the Semaṅgalam Naṭarāja (Tanjore district).[15]

The *Somaskanda* from the Shivapuram temple is one of the finest examples surviving (fig. 321). Śiva and Umā are shown seated on an oblong, tiered pedestal *(bhadrāsana)*, Śiva in the *sukhāsana* posture, one leg pendent and the other resting on the top of the pedestal. Umā also sits with one leg pendent and has the other leg raised and bent, with her foot on top of the pedestal in the *utkuṭikāsana* posture. The young Skanda, their second child, stands between them. Skanda, has been noted by P.R. Srinivasan to occupy a slightly crowded position here, but after that, this bronze can hardly be faulted.

The demands made by this iconic type have been very admirably met. Śiva and Umā sit in a relaxed and naturalistic position, each seemingly aware of the other's presence. In that, as well as compositionally, they belong together. They are each beautiful images by themselves, but there can be no doubt that the presence of one reinforces the glory of the other.

Śiva wears the usual garments and jewelries, and also a splendid lion-mask clasp *(siṁhamukha)* on the front of his garments. His hair is arranged in *jaṭāmukuṭa* fashion, and incorporates a crescent moon, serpent, and *dhatūrā* flower. The treatment of the face in terms of shape, and handling of individual features, very closely follows that of the Shivapuram Naṭarāja. He holds a deer in the upper sinister hand and an axe was originally held in the upper dexter hand. The normal dexter hand is in the fear-allaying gesture and Srinivasan explains the gesture of the normal sinister hand as *āhūya varadamudrā*[16] (translated by Sivaramamurti to be suggestive of beckoning to confer a boon).[17]

Śiva has broad shoulders tapering to a narrow waist encircled by a belt *(udarabandha)*. There is a slight bulge of flesh above the top of his garment. His limbs are well modelled and naturalistic; the flesh at thighs and waist responsive to normal compressions.

Umā has her dexter hand in *kaṭakamukha-hasta*, as if holding an object, and her sinister hand in *āhūya varadamudrā*. It should be noted that the difference between these two hand positions are rather minimal. Her chignon is arranged in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and she wears many of the same jewelries found on Śiva, and a skillfully patterned skirt. Her face is youthful and charming and very differently proportioned than the early standing Pārvatī in the Simon collection, (fig. 322).[18]

[15] Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pl. CI
[16] *ibid.*, p. 148
[17] Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 84
[18] M. Lerner, "Treasures of South Asian Sculpture", *The Connoisseur*, Nov. 1976, p. 199

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While still retaining a good deal of elegance, in the company of her family she has become both more naturalistic and maternal.

There is a consistency of quality throughout the treatment of the celestial parents. The feet of Śiva have had as much attention lavished on them as has the torso of Umā. The child, Skanda, is a charming inclusion, but clearly commanded less of the sculptor's attention.

There are enough variations to prevent attributing this *Somaskanda* to the same hand as the Shivapuram Naṭarāja, but they surely come out of the same workshop. As is usual, the figures are cast separately and then peened to the pedestal.

A second, smaller *Somaskanda* (fig. 323) is, in many ways, a clear continuation of the basic type, if not established then at least standardized by the Shivapuram *Somaskanda*. Śiva and Umā sit here on an oblong *bhadrāsana*, in approximately the same positions as the Shivapuram example, making the same hand gestures, and holding the same attributes. The proportions, and the handling of jewelries and garments, are, however, quite dissimilar.

Here, Śiva has very broad shoulders and a wider chest, resulting in both stockier and more powerful proportions. His *jaṭāmukuṭa* is higher, and the face not so rounded. The modelling of this figure, and of Umā, while not so accomplished and subtle as found on the Shivapuram *Somaskanda*, is nevertheless quite refined. The surface of Śiva's chest is more decorated, having a tri-strand sacred thread and a thick *udarabandha* encircling the body slightly above the waist. On the whole, the relationship of decoration to bare flesh is greater and more prominent than on the earlier example, with a considerable degree of attention being paid to the individual forms of the various jewelries. This is particularly noticeable in the arm-bands and necklaces of the two, as well as the treatment of their crowns and hair arrangements, and represents a less sophisticated conception.

Umā, seated with one leg pendent and the other bent, seems more taut in her positioning than her Shivapuram counterpart, as if poised to spring up. Her proportions also, differ markedly from those on the earlier example. Her torso and hips are narrower and the transitions and modulations of form to form are less fluid or graceful. Her face is not so rounded and, again, there is more surface decoration on her body, slightly detracting from more formal sculptural concerns. In contradistinction to the Shivapuram example, Umā wears the *karaṇḍamukuṭa* rather than *jaṭāmukuṭa*, and encircling her full, uptilted breasts, the *suvarṇavaikakshaka* of the type worn by the earlier Simon Museum standing Pārvatī.[19] The child Skanda is missing, the eyes and eyebrows of Śiva and Umā have been reincised, and Śiva's nose seems to have been struck at one time with a heavy object distorting its form.

This *Somaskanda*, in its particulars of proportions and decorations, rather than general type, is quite unusual, clearly showing the hand of an accomplished sculptor. It is also informative to compare this icon with the Sorakkuḍi *Somaskanda* in the Government Museum, Madras, dated by Sivaramamurti to the early tenth century, and by Srinivasan to around the middle of the tenth century,[20] while I prefer dating it about two decades later. It is not really stylistically close to the *Somaskanda* being discussed, but does, nevertheless, share some motifs. I cannot, otherwise, cite any closely corresponding comparisons.

Although I prefer dating this *Somaskanda* group to the first quarter of the eleventh century, I would not discount the possibility of this being too late, by two or three dacades.

These early Chola bronzes in the Norton Simon Museum of Art at Pasadena can serve as a reminder of the scope and quality of that institution's collection of Indian Sculpture.

[19] M. Lerner, "Treasures of South Asian Sculpture", *The Connoisseur*, Nov. 1976, p. 199

[20] Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. 36b; Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pl. LII

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MARY-ANN LUTZKER

A Reinterpretation of the Relief Panel at Māmallapuram

Identification of the large rock-cut relief at Māmallapuram (fig. 324) has caused a considerable amount of controversy over the years. There are two important theories vying for consideration as to the final identification: that which supports the Descent of the Gaṅgā; and that which supports the Penance of Arjuna. Although there has been much discussion about the subject matter of this relief the results thereof have been inconclusive, this is probably because there has been neither new substantial evidence nor theories to support either interpretation.

Māmallapuram or Mahābalipuram, as it is called today, is situated on the East-coast of India on the Bay of Bengal in Tamil Nadu about sixty kilometres South of Madras. In this coastal area the land is flat and sandy and strewn with gigantic granite boulders and cliffs, many of which were carved in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. during the Pallava Dynasty. The large rock face on which the great *bas*-relief is carved faces East and lies about 250 metres due West of the Shore temple. It measures 27 metres long by 9.14 metres high, and is divided at its central point by a natural fissure down which water was poured from a cistern which was hollowed out of the rock behind the cleft.

The Pallavas were master sculptors. They developed the art of rock-carving in ways unknown before. Their creative ingenuity knew no bounds. They were essentially experimenters who seemed to delight constantly in the challenge of producing sculptural works of art out of the rocks and cliffs that surrounded them in the immediate area of Māmallapuram. No piece of stone was too large nor too small for their creative urges to utilize. For here we find the Five Rathas, the five monolithic temples, along with some of the most sensitive and naturalistic studies of animal carvings in Indian art (fig. 325). It is no wonder then that the sculptors would use the great rock panel in a highly original manner. That the Pallava sculptors did not wish to portray the Descent of the Ganges in the conventional form, as it is found, for example, in the Lalitāṅkura Cave at Tiruchirapalli (fig. 326) where Gaṅgā is represented in anthropomorphic form sitting on the locks of Śiva's hair, is understandable when we appreciate the creative impulses that operated behind their chisels for to do so would have been a denial of their natural genius. The central cleft suggested the fall of water. Therefore, water quite naturally would be the source of the main theme of their composition. Water flowing from a great rocky height, furthermore, brings to mind the river Gaṅgā, daughter of the lofty king Himavān, who is considered to be the motionless aspect of Vishṇu. Gaṅgā, the sacred river, has been the source of life and inspiration in India throughout the ages to the present day. Gaṅgā, the celestial stream, was brought down to earth as Vishṇupadī when she was poured by Brahmā over the extended foot of Vishṇu in his *Trivikrama* form, and thence was caught in Śiva's *jaṭās* in order that the tremendous force of her fall would be tempered and the world saved from destruction. Gaṅgā, also known as Bhāgīrathī, flowed down to earth to purify the ashes of Bhagīratha's ancestors, and then led by Bhagīratha, she refilled the oceans that had been swallowed by Agastya. Gaṅgā, as Tripathagā, was the sacred river that purified and sustained the three worlds of heaven, air and earth. And it was Gaṅgā, in the form of her descent, with whom the Pallavas identified themselves. According to the Kasākuḍi copper-plates Gaṅgā's descent resembled their own descent ultimately from Vishṇu as therein it is stated that "From him descended the powerful, spotless race of the Pallavas, which resembled a partial incarnation of Vishṇu, as it displayed unbroken courage in conquering the circle of the world with all its parts, (and) as it enforced the special rules of all castes and orders, and which resembled the descent of the Gaṅgā (on earth), as it purified the whole world".[1] Thus here we have at Māmallapuram a magnificent monument to the river goddess Gaṅgā and to the Pallava Dynasty. That the *bas*-relief was intended as such is further emphasized by the presence of the heraldic lions of the Pallavas (fig. 325) which are carved at the northern and southern limits of the relief, for they too have come to witness the Descent of the Gaṅgā and to reinforce the fact that this relief is an illustration of the illustrious ancestry of the Pallava Dynasty.

[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras, vol. II, part III, p. 347, lines 34-36

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It seems that most noted and respected scholars of Indian art and archaeology have expressed an opinion as to the identification of this famous relief panel at Māmallapuram. From the mid-eighteenth century to the early twentieth century the Vaishṇavite myth of Arjuna's Penance was the accepted interpretation. In 1914 V. Goloubew first suggested the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* theory as being the underlying meaning of the relief panel.[2] Subsequent to Goloubew's re-identification of the relief Jouveau-Dubreuil, Coomaraswamy, Rowland and Zimmer among others have supported his interpretation.[3] Kramrisch has held to the Penance of Arjuna theory as have Sivaramamurti and Ramachandran.[4]

The myth of the Penance of Arjuna concerns the story of the fight between Śiva, disguised as a *kirāta*, and Arjuna, the third Pāṇḍava brother. There are several versions of this myth. It first appears in the *Mahābhārata* in the Kairāta-parvan of the Āraṇyaka-parvan.[5] Around the sixth century A.D. Bhāravi made the theme the subject of his *kāvya*, the *Kirātārjunīyaṁ*.[6] The story according to the *Mahābhārata* is quite straightforward. It starts in the Arjunābhigamana-parvan where the Pāṇḍavas are bemoaning their fate. The sage Vyāsa suddenly appears before them and tells Yudhishṭhira that he knows of the Pāṇḍava's fears and utters a *mantra* to him, which when imparted to Arjuna will enable Arjuna to propitiate Indra and Śiva with religious austerities and thus obtain divine weapons with which to overcome the Kauravas. Thereupon, Arjuna, equipped with the knowledge of the *mantra* sets off for Mount Indrakīla. As soon as he arrives he meets an old Brāhmaṇa, who is in fact Indra in disguise, who tries to dissuade him from practising such ardent *tapas*. When the old Brāhmaṇa realizes that nothing can disturb Arjuna's penance he reveals himself in his true form as Indra and advises him to continue with his *tapas* in order to propitiate Śiva and win the *pāśupatāstra*. After this Arjuna then proceeds to practise even more stringent and severe *tapas*, which fills the *ṛishis* on the mountain with such great fear that they go to Śiva and ask him to make Arjuna cease. Śiva tells the *ṛishis* not to fear because he knows the reason for Arjuna's strict asceticism, and he, Śiva, will take care of the matter that very day. Whereupon, Śiva, disguised as a *kirāta* (hunter), accompanied by Umā and her attendants, goes to the forest where Arjuna is practising his austerities. As Śiva approaches he sees the demon Muka, in the form of a boar, rushing towards Arjuna, Arjuna also sees the boar and instantly strings his bow and shoots an arrow at the ferocious animal. At precisely the same moment the *kirāta's* arrow also pierces the boar, at which point the *rākshasa* assuming his real and terrible form surrenders and dies. There then follows an angry dispute between the *kirāta* and Arjuna as to the rightful claim to the slain boar. Their hostile words soon lead to blows. A terrible fight ensues. But to Arjuna's great dismay, the *kirāta* seems to be invulnerable and when all his weapons are exhausted the *kirāta* snatches away his *gāṇḍīva*. Whereupon Arjuna strikes the *kirāta* on the head with his sword and it breaks into pieces. He tears up trees and stones and showers them over his adversary, and finally, when there is nothing left to hurl at the *kirāta*, he strikes him with his clenched fists with blows that descend like thunderbolts. Arjuna is soon totally overpowered by the strength of the *kirāta* and he falls senseless to the ground. When he regains consciousness he makes a clay image of Śiva and worships it with offerings of floral garlands. Miraculously the garlands appear upon the head of the *kirāta*. Instantly Arjuna recognizes that the *kirāta* is in fact Śiva, and he falls to his knees begging forgiveness for his audacity. Śiva, resuming his true form and being pleased with Arjuna's courage, bestows the *pāśupatāstra* upon him and tells him to visit Indra's heaven. Then all the gods appear before Arjuna and bestow their specific weapons upon him. After this Arjuna is taken to the abode of the gods in Indra's chariot where his stay in the heavens is fully described. He learns the music and dances of the *gandharvas* and the beautiful nymph Urvashī attempts to seduce him. After some time Arjuna returns to his brothers and Draupadī with the celestial weapons.

The most persuasive arguments in support of this legend of Arjuna as representing the meaning of the Māmallapuram relief have been put forward by Ramachandran who has also attempted to associate the panel relief with the Nara-Nārāyaṇa theme.[7] His reason for this association is because Mallinātha, the commentator of Bhāravi's poem, the *Kirātārjunīyaṃ*, stated that Arjuna should not be understood as just an 'ordinary man' for Arjuna and Kṛishṇa were in reality Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Ramachandran then correlates the Māmallapuram relief figures with the texts and in so doing identifies the standing figure in *ūrdhvabāhu*, with arms raised, as the mortal Arjuna, and identifies the standing figure in the shrine below as Kṛishṇa, as both are situated on a vertical line (fig. 327). Furthermore, he states that Śiva, standing to the right of the penitent Arjuna, is shown announcing the secret of Nara and Nārāyaṇa to Arjuna and at the same time is pointing to the scene below. Therefore, this is an attempt to indicate that Arjuna is no less a person than the illustrious Nara of

[2] V. Goloubew, "La Falaise d'Arjuna de Mavalipuram et la Descente de la Gaṅgā sur la Terre, selon le Rāmāyaṇa et la Mahābhārata", *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. II, vol. IV, Paris, 1914, pp. 210-212

[3] G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. I, London, 1916, p. 66; A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 103; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, London, 1956, pp. 171-172;
H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. I, New York, 1964, pp. 88-90;
_____, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, New York, 1963, pp. 112-121

[4] S. Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1965, p. 205;
C. Sivaramamurti, *Gaṅgā*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 79;
_____, *The Art of India*, New York, 1977, pp. 43-44, 515;
T.N. Ramachandran, "The Kirātārjunīyaṁ in Indian Art", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. XVIII, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 58-89

[5] *Mahābhārata*, edited by Pratap Chandra Roy, Calcutta, Second Edition, no date, vol. II, *Vana-Parva*, Sections CVI-CVIX, pp. 232-240

[6] *Kirātārjunīyaṁ*, Varanasi, 1968 (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series).

[7] Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-74

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the Nara-Nārāyaṇa existence, a fact which is further emphasized by the demarcation of the rock below Arjuna's feet in a zig-zag line (no traces of which exist today). Ramachandran sees the representation of Arjuna standing above and Kṛishṇa in the shrine below as not being accidental but intentional, and he suggests that the sculptors were also perhaps aware of the famous Gupta relief on the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (fig. 328) where Nara and Nārāyaṇa are shown seated on *pīṭhas* on a horizontal line. In the Deogarh relief Kṛishṇa, who is Nārāyaṇa, has four arms while Arjuna, who is Nara, has two arms, so also at Māmallapuram, the god in the shrine has four arms because he is Kṛishṇa, and the figure standing above has two arms because he is Arjuna. (However, here at Māmallapuram both figures are standing and they are not shown in the forest environment of the *badarīvana*.) Moreover, because a line can be drawn vertically through the so-called Arjuna and Kṛishṇa figures, this fact more than any texts or explanatory verses serves to justify to Ramachandran the relationship between the two.[8]

The Penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa is described in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[9] An iconographic description of the pair occurs in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* according to which: "... Nara should be represented with two hands, or strong-armed one. Nārāyaṇa with four hands resembles (in colour) the blue-lotus stalk. In their midst should be Vadarī decorated with fruits. Along-side Vadarī they should be shown carrying rosaries and on an eight-wheeled beautiful chariot endowed with grandeur. Self-contained (they should be represented), wearing black-antelope-skins and braided hair forming coils on the top of their heads, with one foot placed on the chariot and with the other touching the knee. Hari should be like Nara and Kṛishṇa resembling Nārāyaṇa."[10] Some of these iconographic details occur in the Deogarh relief. However, all these details appear to be singularly lacking in the Māmallapuram relief. Furthermore, the seated emaciated *yogī* figure (fig. 329) according to Ramachandran is there specifically to compare him with the penitent Arjuna above (fig. 330) and to convince the spectator that the two are one and the same person, that is Nara. He continues that the seated figure represents Arjuna's original Nara stage in the *badarīvana* and the standing penitent figure above represents his subsequent stage as Arjuna in the Indrakīla environment.[11]

This all seems to have little relevance with regard to the narrative concerning Arjuna's Penance as found in either the *Mahābhārata* or the *Kīrātārjunīyaṁ*. The association of this relief with Nara and Nārāyaṇa is tenuous at best. In order for there to be a sure or fairly positive identification of any illustration in any medium of the Penance of Arjuna it is necessary for the conflict between Śiva and Arjuna to be emphasized. The most usual ways of illustrating the altercation is to depict the boar episode, that is when both Śiva and Arjuna simultaneously shoot at the boar, or at least the succeeding fight between the protagonists, and then the adoration of Śiva by Arjuna once he has discovered Śiva's true identity. These episodes can be found in the fragmented *toraṇa* reliefs from Nagarī, Rajasthan (figs. 331, 332), however, none of them appear on the relief panel at Māmallapuram. What is particularly disturbing about the association of the Māmallapuram relief with the Penance of Arjuna is the fact that there is no reference to Gaṅgā either in the legend found in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Kīrātārjunīyaṁ*, and as the presence of falling water forms the central and most important motif of this relief I do not believe that the Penance of Arjuna can in any way be associated with it.

In light of the above problems which surround Ramachandran's theory I am inclined to pursue the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* theory, that is the myth of the Descent of the Ganges. According to the *Mahābhārata* version there was a king named Sagara who had sixty thousand wicked sons.[12] The gods could no longer tolerate the evil ways of Sagara's sons so they asked the *ṛishi* Kapila, who was one of the aspects of Viṣhṇu, about the ultimate fate of these sons. Kapila replied that in a short time they would all perish. Sagara, in the meantime, arranged for a horse-sacrifice, for which purpose he let loose a horse. It was stolen by Indra and hidden in the depths of the earth. Tracing the footprints of the horse, Sagara's evil sons excavated the earth until they reached the *Pātāla-loka* and found the horse in the hermitage of the *ṛishi* Kapila. These wicked sons of Sagara mistaking Kapila for the thief rushed upon him to kill him. But Kapila by the power of his penance reduced them all to ashes. Having waited for ages for his sons to return,

[8] Ramachandran, *Kīrātārjunīyaṁ*, pp. 70-71

[9] *The Śrīmad Devī Bhāgavataṁ*, translated by S. Vijnanananda, Delhi, 1977, pp. 268-272

[10] *The Viṣṇudharmottara (Part III), A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image Making*, translated by Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta, 1928, p. 101 (Chapter 76, vv. 1-5)

[11] Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 77

[12] *Mahābhārata*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 232-240 (*Vana-Parva*, Sections CVI-CVIX). The *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* myth also occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, translated from the original of Vālmīki by M.L. Sen, Calcutta, no date, vol. I, pp. 65-70

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Sagara sent his grandson, Aṁśumat, to search for the horse. Aṁśumat eventually located the horse. However, being unlike his wicked uncles and father, he implored Kapila to permit him to take the horse away. Kapila impressed with the boy allowed him to take the horse, and told him of the fate of his uncles, however, he also conferred a boon upon him, that his ancestors would all go to heaven in the life-time of his grandson. Aṁśumat's grandson was Bhagīratha and the *ṛishi* Kapila had told Aṁśumat that if the waters of the Gaṅgā were sprinkled on the ashes of his uncles their souls would go to heaven. However, in a previous age the *ṛishi* Agastya had swallowed all the waters of the earth. So Bhagīratha performed severe austerities in order to bring down the celestial river, Gaṅgā. Kapila was pleased with Bhagīratha and asked him who could resist the force of Gaṅgā's fall from heaven? If none could, the fall would cause the earth to be pierced in the middle. Bhagīratha replied that Rudra, the powerful, would be able to bear the force of her descent, and so he began to address his penances to Śiva. Śiva, satisfied with Bhagīratha's austerities, went to the Himālayas to receive Gaṅgā upon his head. When Gaṅgā reached the surface of the earth Bhagīratha directed her course to the ashes of Sagara's sons, and then accompanied her to the sea. The episode wherein Gaṅgā became lost in the tangled locks of Śiva's hair does not occur in the *Mahābhārata*. It is, however, found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[13] The depiction of Gaṅgā seated on one of Śiva's *jaṭās* is the usual way in which the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* theme is illustrated indicating that the *Rāmāyaṇa* probably served as the textual source for most such representations (fig. 326). Thus, in as much as this episode neither occurs in the *Mahābhārata* nor is it present at Māmallapuram the textual source for the panel relief was most probably the *Mahābhārata*.

In the relief panel an ascetic figure is seen standing in *ūrdhvabāhu* with his hands in *sūryopasthāna*, the webbed *mudrā*, in order that he could look directly up at the sun (fig. 330). This figure has been identified both as Arjuna and as Bhagīratha, depending upon whether the proponents were in support of the Penance of Arjuna or the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* theory. This emaciated figure is Bhagīratha who is directing his *tapas* to Śiva who is standing to his right (fig. 333). A similar, if somewhat more stylized treatment of Bhagīratha, standing on one leg with arms raised, can be seen in the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* relief in the Ravalphadi cave at Aihole (fig. 334).

The crux of the interpretation of the panel relief at Māmallapuram has invariably hinged upon the identification of the standing figure performing *tapas*. However, I would suggest that the final identification of this work hinges rather upon the identification of the deity within the shrine (fig. 335). Coomaraswamy, whom Ramachandran calls 'the greatest *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* proponent'[14] agrees with Goloubew, *et al.*, that the relief panel is a representation of the Descent of the Ganges. However, he states that, "The small sculptured shrine, the Dravidian temple in its simplest form, contains a standing figure of a four-armed deity that is probably Śiva."[15] This four-armed deity is standing in *samabhaṅga*, the upper right hand holds a *chakra*, the upper left a *śaṅkha*, the lower right hand is in the *abhaya-mudrā* indicating protection, and the lower left rests on his thigh. He wears a *yajñopavīta* of a single thickness cord which is spread over the lower right hand, and an under-garment which hangs down to his ankles. All these details are attributes of Vishṇu. Therefore, there can be no doubt that the deity within the shrine is Vishṇu. There is also no doubt that the large standing figure on Bhagīratha's right is Śiva accompanied by his *gaṇas* (fig. 333). His lower left hand is in the *varada-mudrā*, or gift-bestowing gesture. In his lower right hand he holds what appears to be a trident. The attribute in the upper right hand is missing (it was probably an antelope), and the upper left hand holds an axe. His hair is in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and he wears a *patra-kuṇḍala* in his left ear and the *kuṇḍala* in his right ear. All these attributes belong to Śiva. Bhagīratha is directing his austerities towards Śiva in order that he will aid in bringing the waters of Gaṅgā down from the Himālayas. The *varada-mudrā* of Śiva signifies his acknowledgement of Bhagīratha's request and the fulfilment thereof which is represented by the water pouring symbolically down the large fissure in the rocks. He has bestowed his gift. He has broken the terrible force of Gaṅgā and allowed her to flow gently to earth.[16] The seated ascetic is Bhagīratha praying to Vishṇu in the shrine, thanking him for securing Śiva's aid through the auspices of the *ṛishi* Kapila, the latter in turn being

[13] *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki*, translated by H.P. Shastri, London, 1962, p. 90
[14] Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 65
[15] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 103
[16] Śiva is not pointing to the seated ascetic and the shrine below as Ramachandran has suggested. The *varada-mudrā*, the giving gesture, is not used in such a manner (Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 82)

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an aspect of Vishṇu.[17] Therefore, the correct identification of the deity in the shrine as Vishṇu, which is an indubitable fact upon iconographic grounds, is not out of keeping at all, and explains the apparent inconsistencies that have obscured the recognition of this work.

The identification and purpose of the *nāgas* in the central cleft, and of Sūrya and Chandra and all the *devas, gandharvas, kinnaras, kinnarīs, apsarās* and animals on either side of the fissure (fig. 336) has also been a source of controversy, but these too may be explained by a passage in the *Mahābhārata* wherein it is stated that:

"Śiva said: I shall sustain that most praiseworthy of rivers when she falls down from the third region of the world. Having heard these words uttered by Śiva, the king Bhagīratha became devout in heart, made obeisance and directed his thoughts towards Gaṅgā. Then the delightful river, of pure water, in being so thought of by the king, and seeing that the great lord Śiva was standing to receive her fall, came down all of a sudden from the sky. And seeing that she had taken her leap from the sky, the gods, together with the mighty saints, the *gandharvas*, the *nāgas*, and the *yakshas*, assembled there as spectators. Then came down from the sky Gaṅgā, the daughter of the snowy mountain. And her whirlpools were raging, and she was teeming with fishes and sharks . . ."[18]

In just these few lines we have an explanation for the whole assemblage of figures and animals on the relief. They are all coming to witness and to celebrate the miraculous event—The Descent of the Ganges, and the allegorical representation of the Pallava Dynasty.

APPENDIX

The problem of identification of the reliefs of the rock panel has not rested upon the Descent of the Ganges and the Penance of Arjuna theories alone. There are at least four other theories that have been propounded. However, these cannot be seriously considered as the iconographical details do not support them.

In 1929 Longhurst suggested that the relief represented the scene of Śiva's wanderings in the Himālayas in the form of *Bhikshāṭana*.[19] However, in 1956 he reconsidered this view in favour of the Descent of the Ganges theory.[20]

Ayyangar put forward an interesting theory in 1931 when he identified the rock panel relief as being a representation of the supremacy of Vishṇu.[21]

Coomaraswamy refers to the rock-cut panel as a *tīrthaṃ*,[22] upon which idea Willetts elaborates drawing parallels between it and the *tīrthaṃ* at the Isurumuniya *vihāra* at Anuradhapura.[23] A *tīrthaṃ* signifies a bathing place, or a place of pilgrimage on the banks of a sacred stream. As there was no natural issuance of water from above and behind the rock-face the filling of the tank for this purpose would have been a long, arduous and constant manual task.[24] However, if this theory does explain the function, the association of the waters pouring down the rock-face with the waters from the sacred Gaṅgā is perfectly natural, for here the people of the South could come to bathe and purify themselves in holy waters sprung from the Himālayas, the source of the Gaṅgā and the abode of the gods.

In 1947 M. K. Venkataswami pointed out that literary evidence had led historians to think that the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I, was originally a Jain and that it was Mahendravarman who had commissioned the great *bas*-relief, the subject of which

[17] *Rāmāyaṇa, op. cit.*, p. 67, Bāla Kāṇḍa, Chapter 32
Ramachandran states that Bhagīratha's portrayal in front of Vishṇu is not appropriate because Bhagīratha was not concerned with Vishṇu in his attempt to get Gaṅgā to flow down. However, according to the *Mahābhārata* it was the *ṛishi* Kapila, an *avatār* of Vishṇu, who instructed Bhagīratha to perform *tapas* to Śiva. (Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 79)

[18] *Mahābhārata, op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 239-240 (Section CIX *Vana-Parva*)

[19] A.H. Longhurst, "Pallava Architecture, Part II", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 33, Calcutta, 1928, p. 40

[20] A.H. Longhurst, article in the *Madras Mail*, May 12, 1956

[21] R. Ayyangar, "Vishṇu's Paradevatā Paramārthya Sculptured at Mahābalipuram", *The Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1931, vol. LX pp. 101-104

[22] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 103

[23] W. Willets, *An Illustrated Annotated Annual Bibliography of Mahābalipuram*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, p. 55

[24] Vogel suggests the possibility that there once existed a sacred spring here and that the water gushing forth from the cleft was the real aim and object of all the adoring figures. I feel that there can be no doubt that water pouring down the face of the rock provided the central focal point for the relief. J. Ph. Vogel, "Iconographic Notes on 'The Seven Pagodas'", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1910-11, Calcutta, 1914, p. 60
Percy Brown indicates that there was once at Māmallapuram an extensive water system drawn from the nearby Pālār River and that there are indistinct traces of this installation which was not provided solely for public use but also maintained for ritualistic purposes, as proved by the design of some of the temples in which cisterns and conduits appear to have formed an essential part of the scheme. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay, 1965, p. 78. Thus there is the possibility that water could have been directed by means of canals to the top of the rock face, but no traces of such a system have been found above the rock face.

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represented the Jain legend of Sagara and his sons.[25] According to this legend the sons of Sagara were digging a moat around the Ṛishabhadeva temple on Mount Kailāśa, with the aid of the sacred *daṇḍaratna* tool. The *daṇḍaratna* broke through to the *Pātāla-loka* of the Nāgas. When Gaṅgā was diverted into the temple moat the Nāga world was flooded. According to Venkataswami, the moment depicted in the *bas*-relief shows the Nāga King rising up in fury to consume the sons of Sagara. However, this interpretation does not seem plausible to me as the *nāgas'* attitudes of *añjali* hardly befit a display of fury and rage.

Nāga worship has also been considered as being the possible identification of the relief panel. Fergusson first proposed this theory in 1873.[26] L. Bazou reiterated this interpretation in 1955,[27] and Percy Brown saw it as representing a popular local belief in a *nāga* cult.[28]

[25] M.K. Venkataswami, "A Jain Sculpture at Mahābalipuram", *Notices and Proceedings of the Archaeological Society of South India*, no. 53, Madras, 1947, pp. 2-4

[26] J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873, pp. 73-74

[27] L. Bazou, "A Sculptor's Paradise in South India : Māmallapuram", *Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture*, vol. IV, no. 1, Madras, 1955, pp. 12-39

[28] P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 78

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ROBERT J. DEL BONTA

Brahmaśiraśchhedakamūrti, Brahmahatyā and Ritualistic Suicide in Medieval Karṇāṭaka[1]

The iconography of the temple in medieval India, and specifically among the temples built by the Hoysaḷas and their neighbours, does not always reflect iconographical treatises as they have come down to the present day. Often the iconography reflects elements of the folk traditions in the area, local stories, specific religious practices, and the presence of specific sects in the area. In the case of Hoysaḷa style temples, the most well-known examples of which are found at Belūr, Haḷebīḍ and Somanāthapura, the iconography is extremely complex and no text can clearly state the disposition of the thousands of elements which make up the monument. Due to the massive profusion of details, temples of known sectarian dedication often display features which clearly can be associated with other beliefs and practices. Indeed many features on a temple can be quite unsuitable to the practices of the sect which has built the monument.

Hypothesizing the existence of a specific Tantra cult in the area, a dancing nude female who often accompanies a very specific Bhairava image can be reidentified as *Brahmahatyā*, a personification of the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa, the ultimate sin according to the law books. This image has been previously identified as Mohinī, quite literally "the enchantress" and more specifically an incarnation of the god Vishṇu. This *Brahmahatyā* image and other iconographical elements, primarily suicide stones, can be associated with an esoteric Śaiva cult in the area, most likely the Kāpālikas.

In his study on the temples at Khajuraho, Pramod Chandra suggested that much of the sculpture, principally the erotic images, related directly to the presence of a Śaiva-Tantra sect in the area, possibly the Kāpālikas.[2] A study by David Lorenzon entitled *The Kāpālikas and the Kāḷāmukhas, Two Lost Śaivite Sects* suggests that the *Kāpālikas* originated in the Lower Deccan.[3] Due to the disorganized nature of the sect, the inscriptional evidence is scanty, but the art historical evidence presents a convincing picture of its presence. A number of images clearly do not fall into the iconography of the prevalent sect in the area, the Vaishṇava Śrīvaishṇava sect brought into Karṇāṭaka by the medieval saint Rāmānuja.

The Kāpālikas were very different from the Śrivaishṇavas in many ways. The most obvious distinction is the fact that the Kāpālikas were Śaiva. They were most noted for their worship of the god Śiva in the form of Bhairava and their itinerant ascetic lives. These ascetics would travel about either alone or with a single female companion. They carried the *kapāla*, a begging bowl or cup made from a human skull, and professed the *mahāvrata* or Great Vow. Lorenzon identifies this vow as the taking on of the penance for the ultimate sin, the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa.[4] According to the law books the penance consists of wandering for twelve years, using the skull cup as begging bowl.[5] As will be seen below these elements refer to myths concerning the god Śiva. Lorenzon suggests that the *mahāvrata* is the key to Kāpālika practices. In a similar way I feel that it is the key to Kāpālika iconography. Since literary references were usually written with a decided anti-Tantra bias, there are many practices of the cult which are far from clear, especially with regards to the practices of human sacrifice and suicide. Many references to sacrifice and suicide are found from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards and human flesh sales are mentioned in the *Harshacharita*.[6]

There is a considerable number of sculptures in the Hoysaḷa region which prove the presence of one or more esoteric, i.e. Tantra cults. One temple complex which relates to this type of sect is the Lakshmīdevī at Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, located a few miles from Belūr on the Belūr-Hāssan Road. The temple itself is a combination of four shrines with a small shrine dedicated to

[1] This article is an expansion of a paper read at the College Art Association of America Meetings, 1976, Chicago, entitled "Brahmahatyā, a Seductive Personification of the Ultimate Sin?"

[2] Pramod Chandra, "The Kaula-Kāpālika Cults of Khajuraho", *Lalit Kala*, nos. 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 98-107

[3] David Lorenzon, *The Kāpālikas and the Kāḷāmukhas, Two Lost Saivite Sects*, Berkeley, 1972, pp. 18-19

[4] *ibid.*, p. 74. The Vishṇusmṛiti calls the penance for *brahmahatyā*, the *mahāvrata*.

[5] *Manu*. xi. 73

[6] See note 16 below for a few references.

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Bhairava, the Terrific aspect of Śiva associated with the Kāpālikas, placed to the east of the main group. The main icon is no longer *in situ*, but its attributes are found on numerous images executed in the Hoysaḷa style (fig. 337). Bhairava holds the trident, the drum, the severed head of Brahmā and a sword which has broken away (cf. fig. 340). The figure is nude and wears the wooden sandles of an ascetic. He is often accompanied by a wide range of emaciated demons, as seen at the base. These demon images could be loosely labelled "hungry ghosts" and feed on the dead bodies in cremation grounds, the site of many Tantra rituals. These demons sometimes take on a major role within temple architecture as in the case of the vestibule of the main temple next to the Bhairava shrine at Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi (fig. 338). Here the figure is well over life size and flanks the entrance of a shrine dedicated to a female version of the Bhairava image along with a similar image on the other side of the vestibule. There are a number of other images at the site which further emphasize the esoteric nature of the entire complex. Perhaps textual descriptions of this entire group of images exist, but to this date no scholar has found and published such texts. It is obvious that these images are Śaiva in nature and not related directly to the Śrīvaishṇava sect which caused most of the temples of the period to be built. Although the temple at Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi is quite complex in its iconographical scheme and clearly esoteric in many of its details, the temple was built by a merchant and dedicated to the goddess Lakshmī, the consort of the god Vishṇu.[7]

These images, alongwith the reidentification of some other sculptural forms, fall into what I call the Kāpālika iconography of the region. Two of the images under consideration were identified previously as *Dakshiṇāmūrti* and Mohinī (figs. 339, 341, 342, 343). The identification of Mohinī was probably suggested by the ascetic figure in the hat and coat who often accompanies her in the iconographical schemes of the temples. The ascetic holds a club and what has been described as a discus, but seems to be an empty skull cup held by the rim (fig. 343). Since these images are often found on Śrīvaishṇava temples in prominent positions as in the case of fig. 339, the combination of the nude seductress with the ascetic figure suggested Mohinī's seduction of Śiva in the Pine Forest. Mohinī is an incarnation of Vishṇu and therefore appropriate on a Vaishṇava temple. The great majority of the temples on which these images are found are Śrīvaishṇava, but the club or stick of the ascetic could suggest a Śaiva sect (both the Kāpālikas and the Kāḷāmukhas carried sticks of some sort) and the snakes and the skull cup in the hands of the nude woman definitely suggest a terrifying aspect that has no place in Mohinī iconography.

The nude dancing woman is even more often associated with the image of Bhairava (figs. 340 & 341). This aspect of Śiva is certainly not the benign wanderer whom Mohinī seduces in the forest. He is fierce and terrifying and is often surrounded by ghoulish figures. He is the image of Śiva as murderer and according to treatises on iconography, his more specific title could be *Brahmaśiraśchhedakamūrti*, the remover of the head of Brahmā.[8]

This very common image (figs. 337, 340) holds the weapons of his crimes and the skull cup is placed along with the severed head in his left hand. For the Kāpālika this is the archetype sinner, the committer of the ultimate sin for which the Kāpālika does penance. He is found on every architectural element of the temples of the Hoysaḷa area, on Vaishṇava as well as Śaiva temples. He is found as major icon as seen in the shrine at Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi,[9] flanking niches, on friezes (fig. 340), as large images on the walls of the temples, and on the tower as well. The popularity of this image, a type which is rarely found outside of Karṇāṭaka and northern Āndhra, could very well reflect the presence of a Tantra cult in the area, most likely the Kāpālikas, as suggested by the *kapāla* or skull cup, the attribute from which the Kāpālikas derive their name.

A similar image is found at Khajuraho, a site for which Pramod Chandra has already suggested a Kāpālika connection. Although he does not mention it, this image is consistently found on the southwest corner of the temples and further reinforces his arguments based on the erotic sculptures at the site. Indeed, the figure of Śiva as ultimate sinner is so important at Khajuraho that it is even found on the Jaina temples at the site.

[7] *Epigraphia Carnatica* (*EC*) v. Hn. 149

[8] B.N. Puri in "The Bhairava Worship in India and Indonesia", *Journal of Indian History*, 47, pp. 89-94 ,claims that no images of this form are found in India.
An emaciated version of this image has been published from an eleventh century bronze bell. See: N. Ramesan, "Three Western Chāḷukya Bronze Bells", *Lalit Kala*, no. 10, 1961, pp. 25-30, fig. 10. He is identified as Atiriktāṅga Bhairava. No emaciated version is found on the Hoysaḷa temples to my knowledge.
For Tamil versions of Bhairava: Marguerite Adiceam, "Les images de Śiva dans l'inde du sud, II: Bhairava", *Arts Asiatique*, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 23-44. The Tamil Bhairava is very different from the Karṇāṭaka variety.

[9] Other examples of Bhairava temples are found at Bhairavanguḍḍ (near Haḷebīḍ) and the Mallikārjuna at Basrāl.

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Most likely the closest parallels between the Hoysaḷa Bhairava type can be drawn with the Tamil image of *Bhikshāṭanamūrti*. In both cases the figure is nude and intentionally made beautiful. In both cases he carries the skull cup and wears sandles suggesting the penance for the crime, but it must be noted that where the Hoysaḷa Bhairava represents the beginning of the story, the fierce crime itself, the Tamil *Bhikshāṭanamūrti* represents the ascetic period, essentially the end of the story.

But what of the nude female so often associated with this image representing the beginning of the story? Who is she? The snakes and the association with the crime rule out the identification of Mohinī for this figure. According to both the *Kūrmapurāṇa* and the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, in particular, Brahmā curses Śiva after his crime.[10] As in other versions of the myth Brahmā curses him with the everpresent skull (which actually sticks to his left hand), but these two *purāṇas* add a second curse, a personification of the sin itself—*Brahmahatyā*. Śiva's nemesis is described as a young girl with large teeth and red hair. It is interesting that these two texts do not describe her body, although the Sanskrit word *kanyā*, a young girl or virgin, allows for the voluptuous contours of these sculptures (fig.339).[11] Perhaps a less beautiful form of the ultimate sin would be expected; but, just as the ultimate sinner, Śiva as Bhairava, can be depicted of beautiful limb, *Brahmahatyā*, the sin itself, can be treated in a like manner.

A series of relationships can be established which will further explain this seductive form. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* states that along with *Brahmahatyā* a number of women followed Śiva on his wanderings.[12] Although *Brahmahatyā* was repellent to him, the other women were definitely a temptation. Perhaps all of these women have been incorporated into a single image. Another explanation involves the environment of medieval Karṇāṭaka which produced these images, the practices of the Kāpālika sect itself. The Kāpālika often travelled in the company of a girl devotee. Whether this female was a sexual partner of the ascetic is a matter for speculation, but judging from the references made to this practice by the uninitiated contemporary observer, they certainly felt that she was. At the same time the single female companion could symbolically have served as a personification of *Brahmahatyā*, therefore a living symbol of the great vow of the Kāpālikas, a restatement of the sin itself: essentially equivalent to the Bhairava image that the Kāpālikas worshipped. This would also explain *Brahmahatyā's* association with the robed ascetic mentioned earlier (figs. 342 & 343). He becomes Śiva as wanderer accompanied by the everpresent personification of his sin.

An example of *Brahmahatyā* from the Hoysaḷeśvara at Haḷebīḍ suggests the validity of this suggestion (fig. 341). In this instance the figure of *Brahmahatyā* is found on a frieze. The right hand has broken away. She most likely would have been carrying a snake on that side and on her left she carries the usual skull cup along with a stick placed under her arm. This stick could signify the Śaiva sect which gave rise to the image. Many of the robed ascetics which accompany her carry such a club.

I could point out numerous examples to illustrate identical iconography throughout what I call the Lower Deccan, Karṇāṭaka and northern Āndhra, on temples built by the late Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī and the host of their feudatories, as well as at Kākātiya sites. Many such images are found at the Rāmappa (originally the Rudreśvara) at Pālempet in Āndhra Pradesh built by a Kākātiya general in 1213 A.D. (fig. 346), as well as on other Kākātiya temples of the period. In these cases the temples are predominately Śaiva and the images can be viewed as a bit more appropriate for the monuments. At Pālempet *Brahmahatyā* is also found independently as a large bracket figure at one of the entrances of the temple.

As mentioned briefly above there are a few other iconographic features associated with these images. One large group are depictions of people committing suicide. At the Bhairava shrine at Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, the usual Śaiva door-guardians are replaced by two devotees, the one on the left disembowelling himself (fig.342) and the one on the right decapitating himself (fig. 343). There is also a large number of such figures found in the Kākātiya region. A large group is now housed in the Archaeological Museum in Hyderabad (fig. 345).[13] There are many such depictions of both men and women as they either disembowell or behead themselves. At Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi the two figures are accompanied by a *Brahmahatyā* and an image of Śiva as penitent ascetic, reinforcing a Kāpālika association.

[10] *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 2.19-3.51 and *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.30.24-31.111. For other versions and the related story of Indra slaying Vṛitra, see: Wendy O'Flaherty, *Hindu Myths*, Middlesex (Eng.), 1975, p. 321

[11] Sri Ahibhushan Bhattacharya, *et al.*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, Varanasi, 1972, 2.31.69, for instance.

[12] *ibid.*, 2.31.77-78

[13] P. Sreenivasachar, "A note on Medieval Sculpture in Hyderabad Museum Depicting Self-immolation", *Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series, no. 15, The Archaeological Bulletin, no. II*, Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 26-32, pls. IV-IX

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There are also a number of stones of Hoysaḷa date which depict suicide in another manner. A few are found at a small Bhairava temple at Bhairavanguḍḍ, a small hillside overlooking the ancient Hoysaḷa capital of Haḷebīḍ (fig. 344). They depict the wooden sandles of Bhairava surrounded by snakes and figures who offer their heads to the deity while another is in the process of beheading himself.

Most sources state that suicide was only performed to images of the goddess.[14] The most well-known examples are found at Mahābalipuram, for example at the seventh century Pallava Draupadī Ratha. At this small shrine both the female door-guardians and the image of the goddess at the back of the shrine show that the dedication was to the goddess. One of the devotees who accompanies the goddess is in the process of decapitating himself from the back of his neck.

In the cases of the Hoysaḷa examples found, they clearly relate to the male god Bhairava, both by their location at Bhairava shrines and the use of his sandles at the center of the stones. To my knowledge there are no inscriptions associated with these stones. There are certainly none on them themselves, but other inscriptions in the area shed some light on the practice. An early inscription at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa (an important Jaina center near Haḷebīḍ) refers to Gaṅga Marasiṁha III (r. 960-74) who fasted to death.[15] Self-starvation was an accepted Jaina practice, but what is interesting about the inscription is that it compares Gaṅga Marasiṁha to the lord of the Kāpālikas. Many other inscriptions dating from the reign of the Hoysaḷas, from the mid-eleventh century onwards, refer to active suicides. Many Hoysaḷa dignitaries committed suicide upon the deaths of kings and queens due to personal vows.[16]

Interestingly enough the law books are hazy on the point of actively committing suicide to expiate the sin of Brāhmaṇicide, while the sin of sleeping with a *guru*'s wife always merits death.[17] Some of the law books prescribe the offering of oblations of parts of the body. It has been suggested that the offering of blood from the neck may serve the symbolic function of the full decapitation.[18] Perhaps that is what is depicted at the Draupadī Ratha at Mahābalipuram.

Although the Hoysaḷa depictions of suicide are related to Bhairava shrines and images, some of the suicide inscriptions are not clearly connected with the Kāpālikas or some such esoteric group. Even at the Śrīvaishṇava Chennakeśava at Belūr of 1117 A.D. an oblique reference is made by one of the artists to ritualistic suicide. In inscribing his image the artist Padari Mallōja uses the term *gaṇḍa gattarī*, which were apparently a pair of large scissors used for self-decapitation.[19] Rather than record a suicide Padari Mallōja praises himself by calling himself a pair of scissors to the necks of other titled artists. Apparently his work is so much better that they might as well commit suicide!

In summary, although the inscriptional evidence is almost non-existent, many monuments found in Karṇāṭaka and northern Āndhra reflect the widespread impact of a Śaiva-Tantra cult in the area. There is at present no available iconographical treatise which explains the attributes of many of the images which seem to relate to such a group. At the same time many of the images reflect aspects of the story of Śiva as committer of the ultimate sin, so very important to the ascetic practices of the Kāpālika sect in the area. Since the law books prescribe the offering of parts of the body as expiation of sin, by extension the ultimate sacrifice may indeed have been a Kāpālika practice, as it was to become so in some of the later sects in the area, particularly in Āndhra Pradesh.

[14] J. Ph. Vogel, "The Head Offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV, pt. 2, 1931, pp. 539-44

[15] *EC.* ii. no. 59

[16] For examples see: *EC.*v.Bl. 112; iv.Kr. 10; v.Ag. 5 and 27 (Gaṅga examples); viii.sk. 249

[17] *Manu.* xi. 103-104

[18] Jean Filliozat, "L'Abandon de la vie par le sage et les suicides du criminel et du héros dans la tradition indienne", *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 15, 1967, p. 77
For another example see: P.R. Srinivasan, "Two Noteworthy Sculptures in the Madras Museum", *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol. XVI, 1958-60, p. 13

[19] *EC.*v.Bl. 43 and Robert J. Del Bontā, *The Hoysaḷa Style: Architectural Development and Artists, 12th and 13th Centuries, A.D.*, Ph.D. Dissertation (unpublished), p. 251 for translation.
Sreenivasachar, *op. cit.*, p. 29, coins the translation "sheers of destiny" for this implement.

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ROBERT SKELTON

Shaykh Phūl and the Origins of Bundi Painting

One of the most famous works of art in the Bharat Kala Bhavan and one which attracted attention to this great collection in its early days at the Bharat Kala Parishad is the outstanding painting by Bishandās of "the House of Shaykh Phūl" (fig. 347). Perhaps no other Mughal painting draws us more effectively into the life of a Mughal city than this street scene painted during the reign of Jahāngīr, whose handwritten inscription informs us that it represents "the desolate Shaykh Phūl, who lives in Agra".[1]

Another well-known picture in the same collection is an illustration of *Rāga Dīpaka* (fig. 348) which is very different from the Mughal masterpiece both in style and subject. Until a decade ago no one would have supposed that there could be any connection between the two—and indeed there is not. Yet, for reasons which are now well-known, they must inevitably be discussed together. When this *Rāgamālā* illustration was exhibited (as was the portrait of Shaykh Phūl) at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in the winter of 1947-8, it was attributed to Western Rajasthan and dated to about 1600 A.D.[2] Subsequently, when he published the picture in the Commemorative Catalogue of the exhibition, Basil Gray retained the date suggested earlier but re-attributed the picture to the Deccan; commenting that "The costume of both figures is Deccani rather than Western Indian, and the Muhammedan influence is stronger than in the Central Indian Rāgmālā paintings of this period."[3]

In due course, this Deccani attribution was challenged by Pramod Chandra, who published a *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī* from the same series and assigned them to the school of Bundi, of which they were "the earliest known examples" with a suggested date of about 1625 A.D. Like Gray he also discerned Muslim influences but saw the paintings as "a vigorous offshoot of the early Mewar school, though inspired to a much greater extent by the refined virtuosities of Mughal art."[4] Chandra effectively showed in his monograph on Bundi painting that the two *Rāgamālā* paintings were closely related to subsequent works accepted as examples of the Bundi school. In consequence, his attribution has not been contested despite some curious evidence that emerged later.

When S.C. Kala published the *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī* in colour in 1961, he retained the Bundi attribution but put the date of execution five years later.[5] Douglas Barrett in 1963 reverted to Chandra's date[6] but then, in the same year, S.C. Welch appended an after-thought to his review of Chandra's monograph in which he made a radical new suggestion: "Since writing the above, we have seen material which invites a reappraisal of the earliest phase of painting at Bundi. A Mughal *Tūtināmā* of *ca.* 1585 in the library of Sir Chester Beatty contains many miniatures which are astonishingly similar in style to the *Rāgamālā* series from which Mr. Chandra has reproduced *Rāgiṇī Bhairavī (sic)*, fig. 2. Another painting from the same set, in an Indian private collection, is dated the equivalent of 1590 A.D., confirming the existence of painting at Bundi during the Akbar period."[7] In 1964, the *Khambhāvatī Rāgiṇī* from the series appeared in an exhibition in San Francisco and a year later, in their catalogue of an Asia Society exhibition of Indian paintings, Welch and Milo C. Beach published a fourth example, depicting *Mālaśrī Rāgiṇī*.[8] They attributed it to

[1] N.C. Mehta, "New picture by Bishandas", *Rupam*, no. 24, 1925, pp. 99-101 and *idem*, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, pl. 37, pp. 89-92. The inscription reads: *shabth-i shaykh phūl-i makhrūb kih dar āgrah mibāshad 'amal-i bishandās*. Mehta read the name of the subject as *Sheikh Ful Majjhoob*, which he translated as "Sheikh Ful—a mad devotee". The word *makhrūb*—"ruined, destroyed, desolated", should perhaps be translated in the sense of "spiritually intoxicated" on the analogy of *kharāb* as it appears in the verses of poets such as Hāfiz, with whose works Jahāngīr was familiar. Alternatively, the Emperor may have intended to write *majzūb*, i.e. "one whom God has drawn to Himself, a madman, or an ascetic given to divine meditation".

[2] Catalogue of an *Exhibition of Art chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan*, London, 1947, p. 46, no. 479

[3] B. Gray, "Painting" in Sir Leigh Ashton (ed.), *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950, pl. 146, p. 174, no. 807

[4] Pramod Chandra, *Bundi Painting*, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 1-2 and fig. 1

[5] Satish Chandra Kala, *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum*, Allahabad, 1961, frontispiece and p. 7

[6] Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India*, Skira, 1963, pp. 140, 143

[7] S.C. Welch, Review of *Bundi Painting* by P. Chandra, *Ars Orientalis*, V, 1963, pp. 293-5

[8] *Indian Miniature Paintings from West Coast Private Collections*, Society of Asian Art, San Francisco, 1964, catalogue no. 39, pl. 16; Stuart Cary Welch and Milo Cleveland Beach, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, Asia Society, New York, 1965, p. 58, fig. 5 and p. 116

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the "Bundi area, *ca.* 1590" and referred to the review for documentation.

This information about the existence of a dated inscription on the reverse of the last miniature of the set *(Kedārā Rāgiṇī)* had been made available by James Ivory, by whose courtesy and the kindness of the painting's owner, it was photographed by the writer in 1967 (fig. 349). Soon afterwards, at Beach's request, an authoritative reading was made by Simon Digby and it appears here with two alternative readings preferred by the present writer, i.e., *ḥusayn* for *ḥasan* and *wuld* "sons" for *walad* "son":

He is God—May He be exalted!

The book of *Rāgamālā* was ready on the day of Wednesday at the time of the mid-day prayer in the place, Chunār, the work of the pupils of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, Nādir al-Mulk Humāyūnshāhī, and Khwājeh 'Abd al-Ṣamad, Shīrīn Qalam, the slave(s) Shaykh Husain and Shaykh 'Alī and Shaykh Hāṭim, sons of Shaykh Phūl Chishtī written on the date of the 29th of the month Rabī' al-Ākhir, year 999 (25 February 1591) written by the slave Dāūd son of Sayyid Jīv.[9]

Having read the inscription Mr. Digby felt some disquiet regarding its authenticity and in conversation with the writer he laid emphasis upon the fact that it is written in blue rather than black ink and that the mention of the two distinguished founders of the Mughal royal *atelier* might well have been a deliberate attempt by someone familiar with the remarks on paintings in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* to provide circumstantial detail. A similar view was expressed by W. G. Archer in his note on Bundi painting published in the following year in the catalogue of *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*: "Until the lifetime of Rao Chattar Sal (reigned 1631-59) there is no evidence that any painting was practised in Bundi—perhaps the earliest precursor of a local style being a *Rāgamālā* series with Jahāngīrī feature illustrated by Pramod Chandra (1959), Barrett (1963) and Welch and Beach (1965). This series has been dated 1590 on the strength of a Persian inscription which, besides giving this date, further claims that it was produced by two *(sic)* Muslim painters associated with Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus Samad. These latter artists were the Persian masters who founded the early Akbar school of Mughal painting. It is possible, however, that so flamboyant an inscription is spurious. Pending further investigation, therefore, it seems wiser to take a more sober view and to date the series about 1625."[10]

Undeterred by these doubts, the protagonists of the inscription found arguments in its favour. In 1973, with acknowledgements to Digby as well as to Beach's forthcoming monograph on *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, Welch published a full translation of the inscription for the first time and illustrated two other paintings from the *Rāgamālā (Khambhāvatī* and *Pañcham)* commenting: "Stylistically this *Rāgamālā* series is identifiable as within the Bundi tradition. It must have been commissioned by Rao Bhoj Singh (1588-1607), a bold Rajput warrior who served the Mughal Emperor Akbar so loyally that he was given such special favours as being allowed—alone among the Rajputs—to keep his moustache. In all likelihood, his idealized portrait appears as the lover of *Pañcham* in our picture. According to the inscription, the series was painted at Chunar, which Milo C. Beach has identified as Banaras, where Rao Bhoj and his father, Rao Surjan Singh (1554-1585) maintained a palace. The three artists must have been trained at Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's capital from 1569-1584, whence they went to the court of Bundi when the Emperor moved to Lahore."[11] In the same year, Klaus Ebeling listed all ten of the known miniatures to have survived from the series and again referred to doubts raised about the date.[12]

Finally (1974), Beach's long-awaited monograph appeared with a full discussion of the series and the following comment on its inscription: "The inscription, which will be much debated, in no way changes our interpretation of the set; in fact, it confirms the general source of the style, this particular work's provincial provenance, and its date. The artists are listed as being

[9]

Hū Allāh ta'ālā
kitāb-i rāgamālā taiyār shud rūz-i chahār-shambeh
bevaqt-i pīshīn dar maqām-i chunār kār-i shāgirdān-i
mīr sayyid 'alī nādir al-mulk humāyūnshāhī wa khwājeh 'abd al-samad shīrīn qalam bandeh shaykh ḥusayn wa shaykh 'alī wa shaykh hāṭim (sic) wuld-i shaykh
phūl chishtī taḥrīr fī al-tārikh 29 māh rabī' al-ākhir saneh 999
kutibahu
bandeh
dāūd walad-i
sayyid-jīv

The inscription is written in a respectable chancellory hand of the period. A feature found in other inscriptions of the same date is the use of a single dot beneath the letters *pe* and *chīn* in the words *phūl, chahār, chunār* and *chishtī*. The scribe has made a spelling mistake in the name *hāṭim*.

[10] W.G. Archer, *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, Portland, Oregon, 1968, p. 25

[11] Stuart Cary Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow*, Asia Society, New York, 1973, pp. 40-41, no. 17 a and b.

[12] Klaus Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, Basel, 1973, p. 155

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pupils of the two most famous Akbari masters, a 'flamboyance' condemned by one critic, but probably simply implying that they were at one time in the imperial studios. Both their manner of painting and the quality of their work make this perfectly feasible. The title used for Mīr Sayyid 'Alī was unknown in this form until recently, when it came to light on a portrait unquestionably by the artist and now in the collection of Edwin Binney III, Brookline, Massachusetts. One of the painters, Shaykh Hāṭim, is given as the son of Shaykh Phūl, presumably the Chishtī saint known to us through a painting of his house at Agra by the Jahāngīrī artist Bishendās. We may speculate that Agra was Shaykh Hāṭim's home as well, and this would be consistent with our knowledge of Agra as a leading centre for sub-imperial art. Finally that Chunar was given to Rao Surjan as *jagir* by Akbar in 1576 has been mentioned. Surjan died in 1585, however, and was succeeded by his son Bhoj, whose relation to Chunar is unclear, although he definitely retained the family residence at nearby Banaras."[13]

Apart from the valuable evidence which Beach brings forward to connect the Bundi rulers with Chunar and Banaras, his principal argument in support of the inscription is the fact that it corroborates Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's title, Nādir al-Mulk Humāyūnshāhī, which he says "was unknown in this form until recently." In actual fact, however, this title is mentioned by the late sixteenth century author Amīn b. Aḥmad Rāzī in his geographical work, the *Haft Iqlīm*, and was quoted as long ago as 1903 by Hermann Ethé in his catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library.[14] If this weakens the argument as presented above, it in no way undermines the inscription itself. Nevertheless, if doubts are to be removed, additional evidence is clearly desirable and the obvious direction in which to look for this is to the life of Shaykh Phūl, who, in this writer's view, was the father of all three artists mentioned in the inscription.

At first sight this line of investigation might not appear very fruitful. The name is not easily found in contemporary sources and it is only when we realise that Phūl is a variant of the well-known saint's name Bahlol, that a solution to the problem becomes apparent. The evidence for this variant form of the name Bahlol is provided by the translator of al-Badāōnī's *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, who remarks that "Bahlol" appears as "Phūl" in two manuscripts of the work in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[15] Badāōnī mentions two *shaykhs* of this name among the biographical notices in his history but there is no question that the one who figures in our inscription is the older brother of the celebrated Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwalior. Bahlol is a more shadowy figure than his younger brother and certain details of his life can only be reconstructed by reference to the career of Muḥammad Ghaus. From his age at death as quoted by Badāōnī it has been inferred that Muḥammad Ghaus was born in 890 A.H. (1485 A.D.)[16] but according to his own statement given in his book the *Jawāhir-i Khamseh* or "Five Jewels," he was born in 906 A.H. (1500-1 A.D.).[17] Shaykh Bahlol was thus born at some time prior to this date. Their father according to the same source was Khaṭīr al-Dīn ibn Laṭīf ibn Mu'īn al-Dīn Qattāl, a descendant of the great Persian Ṣūfī poet Khwājeh Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. It is said that their great grandfather, Mu'īn al-Dīn came to India and was buried at Jaunpur, while their father, according to Beale, was buried at Ghazipur on the Ganges some fifty miles north-east of Banaras.[18] According to the details of his early life given by Shaykh Muḥammad in the *Jawāhir-i Khamseh* he learned in a dream when he was a little over seven years old that he would gain instruction from Hājī Hamīd Huzūr of the Shattārī order of Ṣūfīs.[19] It appears that Hājī Hamīd gave spiritual guidance to both brothers over a period of two years (*ca.* 1507-8 A.D.) and then when Hājī Hamīd travelled to Bihar he left Shaykh Muḥammad behind at Chunar, where he spent the next thirteen—or according to Badāōnī, twelve—years residing in a cave on the lower slopes of the hill, where he practised meditation and austerities. It is not clear where Bahlol spent these years (*ca.* 1509-20 A.D.) but the existence of an embankment named after him at Jaunpur[20] indicates that like his brother, he also spent some time living in the general vicinity of Banaras and probably in the city where his great grand-father lived.

[13] Milo Cleveland Beach, *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, Ascona, 1974, p. 9

[14] Herman Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1903, col. 420, no. 575

[15] Al-Badāōnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, vol. 3, translated by T. Wolseley Haig, Calcutta, 1925, p. 7, note 5. Badāonī has been followed by M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, p. 301

[16] *ibid.*, pp. 9-10

[17] Ethé, *op. cit.*, col. 1042, no. 1875, also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1913, pp. 687-8

[18] T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1894, p. 265. Following his normal practice of contriving at least one error per entry, Beale gives their father's name as 'Kiyam uddīn', who he states lies buried in Zahūrābād commonly called Kunbra in Ghazipur.

[19] Mujeeb, *loc. cit.*

[20] Abū'l Fazl, The *Akbar-nāmā*, translated by H. Beveridge, vol. II, Calcutta, 1912, p. 215, note 1

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Some contact between the brothers during this period is also indicated by the fact that Muḥammad Ghaus, who went to Chunar at the age of nine, obtained leave to study exorcism from his older brother, whose subsequent reputation was that of an expert in the occult sciences.[21]

Whether or not with Bahlol's help, the young Muḥammad Ghaus was sufficiently adept at the end of his stay at Chunar to include a chapter on exorcism as one of the "five jewels" of his treatise, which he wrote at the age of twenty-two on terminating his thirteen years as a hermit. During these years spent in the vicinity of Banaras, with its facilities as a great centre of Hindu learning, Shaykh Muḥammad appears to have studied Sanskrit and as a result made a translation of the *Amṛita-kuṇḍa*, entitled *Baḥr al-Hayāt*.[22]

By the age of twenty-seven Muḥammad Ghaus was back in Gwalior and, from the evidence of the Emperor Bābur, had already acquired a considerable following. When Bābur sent Raḥīm Dād to take over Gwalior fort towards the end of 1526 A.D., Tātār Khān, the Afghan officer-in-charge, showed indecision about admitting Bābur's men. Bābur relates in his diary that 'Meantime Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghaus* (Helper), a darwish-like man, not only very learned but with a large following of students and disciples, sent from inside the fort to say to Raḥīm Dād, "Get yourselves into the fort somehow, for the views of this person (Tātār Khān) have changed, and he has evil in his mind" '.[23] Subsequently, when Raḥīm Dād himself became seditious in the autumn of 1529, Shaykh Muḥammad visited Agra and successfully interceded on his behalf.[24]

Meanwhile, it appears that Shaykh Bahlol was gaining the favour of Humāyūn, for when the eminent physician Khwājeh Nūr al-Dīn visited Agra in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D.) to express his condolences on the death of Bābur, he found, as Mīrzā Muḥammad Haydar reports, that "At that period there had arisen in Hindustān a man named Shaikh Pul. Humāyūn was anxious to become his disciple, for he had a great passion for the occult sciences—for magic and conjuration. Shaikh Pul having assumed the garb of a Shaikh, came to the Emperor and taught him that incantations and sorcery were the surest means to the attainment of an object. Since doctrines such as these suited his disposition, he became at once the Shaikh's disciple. Besides this person, there was Maulānā Muhammad Parghari who, though a Mulla, was a very (irreligious) and unprincipled man, and who always worked hard to gain his ends, even when they were of an evil nature. The Shaikh asked the aid of Mulla Muhammad and, in common, by means of flattery, they wrought upon the Emperor for their own purposes, and gained his favour.

Not long after this I went to visit the Emperor, as shall be presently related, but I could never gather that he had learned anything from his *Pīr*, Shaikh Pul, except magic and incantations. But God knows best. The influence of Shaikh Pul being that confirmed, Maulānā Muhammad, or rather the Emperor and all his following, neglected and slighted Khwāja Nurā, who had an hereditary claim to their veneration. This naturally caused the Khwāja great inward vexation."[25] Clearly, Khwājeh Nūr al-Dīn's vexation had somewhat coloured Mīrzā Haydar's report but we can probably gain some impression of the quality of Bahlol's influence upon Humāyūn from the description which Gulbadan Begum gives of the mystic feast held by the Emperor in 938 A.H. (1531-2 A.D.) in an octagonal pavilion on the banks of the Jamuna which was called the House *(khāneh)* of Tilism.[26]

Bahlol's younger brother similarly attempted to gain influence over the young Akbar and although Abū'l Fazl tries to give the impression that Akbar merely tolerated the Shaykh's advances "in the abundance of his courteousness,"[27] Badāonī, who was attached to the Shaykh, says that when Muḥammad Ghaus came to Agra in 966 A.H. (1558-9 A.D.), the Shaykh "with much exhortation and persuasion, availing himself of the influence of those about the Court, enrolled the Emperor Akbar, then a youth, among his disciples, but the Emperor rejected his teaching."[28] This rejection was brought about by the enmity of Shaykh Gadāī, who influenced Bairam Khān against Muḥammad Ghaus.[29] Nevertheless, judging from the fact that a splendid illustrated work on the science of *Tilism* was one of the earliest productions of Akbar's

[21] Badāonī, *op. cit.*, p. 7

[22] Ethé, *op. cit.*, col. 1113, no. 2002. It is generally agreed that Muḥammad Ghaus was the translator of this work but Ethé simply gives his name as Muhammad of Gwalior and states that it was done at the request of his master, husayn of Gwalior b. Muḥammad Śārinī Husaynī.

[23] *The Bābur-nāmā in English*, translated by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1922, pp. 539-540

[24] *op. cit.*, p. 688

[25] Mīrzā Muḥammad Haidar Dughlāt, *Tārikh-i-Rashidī*, translated by E. Denison Ross, ed. by N. Elias, London, 1895, pp. 398-9

[26] Gul badan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāmā*, translated by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1902, p. 118, ff.

[27] Abū'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-5

[28] Badāonī, *op. cit.*, p. 8

[29] Abū'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 135

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painting studio[30] it would appear that the teachings of Bahlol and his younger brother were still bearing fruit even a decade or more after Humāyūn's death.

Apart from their influence as experts on the occult arts, the two brothers possessed other skills of value to the court: for despite their pretence of unworldliness it is clear that they were highly aware of political developments and more than ready to offer their services in matters of diplomacy. We have already observed Muḥammad Ghaus in this role in negotiating the handover of Gwalior fort to Bābur's men and also in his intercession with the Emperor on the behalf of Rahīm Dād. Even in the last year of his life at the age of sixty-three he was called upon to revisit Chunar on a similar mission, when the Afghān, Fattū, only agreed to surrender the fort to Akbar on condition that the Shaykh would accompany him to the court.[31] This diplomatic skill was shared by Shaykh Muḥammad's older brother but unfortunately the only recorded instance of his employment in this role resulted in his murder.

The tragic death of Shaykh Bahlol is recounted in all the main sources for the period but since Abū'l Fazl was in other respects prejudiced against the Shaykh, his somewhat sympathetic account of the event is doubtless to be trusted. It was in 945 A.H. (1539 A.D.) when Humāyūn was suffering setbacks from the rising power of Sher Khān Sūr that the Emperor's younger brother Hindāl was tempted to make his own bid for power. "When the alienation of Banaras and Jaunpur was reported to his Majesty Jahānbānī and the deceitful designs of M. Hindāl became known to him, he despatched Shaikh Buhlūl who was one of the great Shaikhs of India and the recipient of royal favours, from Bengal that he might proceed quickly to the capital, and by sage advice restrain the Mīrzā from evil thoughts and induce him to act with one accord in extirpating the Afghāns. The Shaikh arrived posthaste, just when the officers were propounding their wicked schemes and were drawing M. Hindāl away from the straight path. M. Hindāl went out to welcome him and brought him with honour and respect to his own house. The Shaikh's weighty words strengthened M. Hindāl in the intention of serving with which he had gone forth. Next day Muḥammad Bakhshī was brought in order that all the preparations for the army—gold, camels, horses, accoutrements—might be made. Muḥammad Bakhshī represented that there was no money for the soldiers, but that there was abundance of materials and stores, and that he would carry out everything as was desired. Four or five days had not passed since this conversation when M. Nūru-d-dīn came in haste from Qanauj. And apparently all that the officers had plotted together was strengthened by his coming. Muḥammad Ghāzī Tūghbāī was sent a second time to the officers and they reiterated what they had said before, and made this condition, that, as an indication that their proposals had been accepted, Shaikh Buhlūl, who was the king's envoy and was confounding their schemes, should be publicly put to death, so that everyone might be assured that M. Hindāl had separated himself from the king, and that they (the officers) might serve him with minds at ease. The Shaikh was engaged in arranging for the march of the army, and was looking after the ordering of the accoutrements, when the messenger returned. In accord with M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad the unbecoming proposal was ratified and M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad seized the Shaikh, by M. Hindāl's orders, in his house and taking him across the river, ordered him to be beheaded in a sandy spot near the Royal Garden. The abandoned officers came and did homage to the Mīrzā, and in an inauspicious hour and in a time of confusion the *khuṭba* was read in M. Hindāl's name."[32]

Jahāngīr, who visited the scene of the tragedy in the winter of 1618-19 A.D. gives a similar account of the matter and adds that "As Muḥammad Bakhshī was a disciple of the Shaikh, he carried the body into the fort of Bayānā, and buried it there."[33] Subsequently a tomb was erected which still exists and in Jahāngīr's time was "not wanting in excellence."[34]

Gulbadan, in extenuation of her brother Hindāl's complicity, repeats an accusation that Bahlol was treacherously concealing military stores for the use of Sher Khān. However, the weight of evidence makes this unlikely and even from her own account it is clear that Humāyūn entertained no suspicions regarding the Shaykh's reliability. Indeed the Emperor was much affected by the murder of his favourite while undertaking a difficult mission on Humāyūn's behalf.[35]

Once these facts are taken into account, the apparently incredible inscription of the Chunar *Rāga-mālā* becomes easily understood. For, given his indebtedness to his favourite preceptor, the least that the grief-

[30] Karl Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal, 'An Early Akbari Illustrated Manuscript of Tilism and Zodiac', *Lalit Kala*, no. 14, New Delhi, 1969, p. 9 ff.

[31] Abū'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 232 & Badāonī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, tr. W. H. Lowe, 1898, p. 62

[32] Abū'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 1907, pp. 337-8

[33] *The Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, ed. by H. Beveridge, vol. II, London, 1914, pp. 63-4

[34] *loc. cit.*

[35] Gulbadan Begam, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 and 137-140

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stricken monarch could do would be to ensure the provision of security to the victim's bereaved family. At the time of his death, Bahlol would appear to have been in his early forties[36] but his children were evidently quite young. If we assume that they were born shortly before 845 A.H. (1539 A.D.), they would have been in their early 'teens when Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and Khwājeh 'Abd al-Ṣamad entered Humāyūn's service at Kabul in 956 A.H. (1549-50). They clearly needed to be given a source of livelihood and at this age they would have been receptive pupils of the two Persian masters. On the same assumption they would have been in their late fifties when working on the Chunar *Rāgamālā* in 1590 A.D.

Although S.C. Welch has stressed parallels between the style of the Chunar paintings and the undated *Tūtī nāmā* manuscript of the Chester Beatty Library[37] it is rather in the earlier manuscript of the same work in the Cleveland Museum[38] that one detects the formative elements in their style. Pramod Chandra has attributed this manuscript to the period 1560-65 A.D. when on the above assumption the painters would have been in their twenties. It was during these early years of the Mughal school that landscape elements attain the lush richness that we see in one of the Bharat Kala Bhavan's paintings (fig. 350)[39] where, for example, the highlights on the tree trunks clearly imitate Basāwan's contributions to the Cleveland manuscript.[40] It also seems not unlikely that the three brothers may have worked on the Rampur *Tilism* manuscript, which Karl Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal attribute to the years 1567-70 A.D. This also has features consistent with the style of the *Rāgamālā* miniatures[41] and if they had acquired any of the family expertise in this subject the brothers would have been uniquely fitted for the task of illustrating this work. It hardly seems likely that they would have failed to make contact with their uncle when his appearance in Agra in 966 A.H. (1558-9 A.D.) caused a great stir in the city[42] and he might well have initiated them in the esoteric sciences which their father had given him leave to study in his own youth.

While we have no firm evidence of close relations between Shaykh Muḥammad and his orphan nephews it hardly seems coincidental that we should find them eventually working in the place where he had spent so many years. It could, of course, be argued that the family no longer had any connection with Chunar but this is clearly not true. As was mentioned earlier, even at the end of his life Shaykh Muḥammad still had influence there and was thus induced to pay a visit to the fort in 969 A.H. (1561-2 A.D.). Four years earlier, when Badāonī passed by Chunar, the saint's abode there was still being pointed out to visitors, for he relates that "One of his followers met me and showed me a cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years as a hermit, subsisting on the leaves and fruit of the desert trees."[43] Judging from this there was still some establishment there which thrived on the sanctity of the spot and the legend of the Shaykh's piety. In view of the fact that their father's memory was still commemorated at Jaunpur and their grand father buried at Ghazipur, there seems ample reason for supposing that by moving to the Banaras area the three *shaykhs* were following the normal custom in such families of living partly off the saintly reputation of their forebears. The succession at Gwalior was clearly in the hands of their cousins[44] but Chunar doubtless provided them with a parallel opportunity to exploit their family's renown.

It is clearly for this reason that they are so proud to state their lineage in the *Rāgamālā's* colophon, although here one mystery still remains. We know from the autobiographical remarks of his younger brother, that Shaykh Bahlol also received instruction for two years from a shaykh of the Shattārī order and that Muḥammad Ghaus was accepted into this *tā'ifah*. However, the inscription specifically claims Bahlol as a follower of the Chishtī order and as none of the other contemporary sources either denies or confirms this we can only suppose that he did indeed receive initiation from a Chishtī *pīr*.

One fact which is quite certain, is that the venerable *shaykh* of the painting by Bishandās has nothing whatever to do with the artists of the *Rāgamālā*. If we seek to clothe him with an identity we must again turn to Badāonī, who provides a plausible candidate in his

[36] His younger brother was 39 when Bahlol died. If we accept Badāonī's version of the age of Muḥammad Ghaus then Bahlol would have been in his late fifties at the time of the murder.

[37] Pramod Chandra, *The Tūṭī-nāmā of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting*, Graz, 1976, pls. 47-61

[38] *op. cit.*, facsimile volume.

[39] Previously published by Beach, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, where he identifies it as *Rāgiṇī Todī*. It has otherwise been identified as *Kāmod* (*Chhavi*, Banaras, 1971, pl. D) but the iconography would appear to be appropriate to *Gaurī*.

[40] Chandra, *Tūṭī-nāmā* facsimile, ff. 33v, 35r, 207r

[41] Khandalavala and Mittal, *loc. cit.*

[42] Badāonī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 28 and vol. III, p. 8

[43] *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 28

[44] See *The Ā'īn-i Akbarī* by Abūl Fazl 'Allāmī, translated by H. Blochmann, vol. I, Calcutta, 1873, pp. 457-8

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biography of Shaykh Bahlol of Delhi. "He is very learned in the traditional sayings of the prophet. Having associated much with men who are devoted to a life of poverty and self-effacement he has now, for some time past, recognized the delights of such a life, and, the grace of God helping him, has set himself to follow it for good, and has no longer any dealings with the worldly, but is busied in teaching and instructing his pupils."[45] Badāonī's remarks hint that the old man had not always lived such a retired life and we may, therefore, be justified in equating him, as Beveridge does, with the Shaykh Bahlol, "who claimed to be descended from the Turkī Shaikhs"[46] and was a "good servant" of Humāyūn during his exile. If, as Ashok Das asserts,[47] "the portrait of this aged man was made early in Jahāngīr's reign, he could have been born in about 1520 A.D. and would thus have served Humāyūn while in his early manhood." That, a venerable *shaykh* should once have served in a military capacity, is by no means unusual as we know, for example, from the case of Shaykh 'Abdullāh, the son of Muḥammad Ghaus, as well as numerous others. Certainly if the old man had faithfully served under his grandfather, Jahāngīr would be likely to have known about it and would thus have had good cause for showing a personal interest in this venerable supporter of his family in its darkest hour.

The Iconography of Kedārā Rāgiṇī in Bundi Painting

As Klaus Ebeling has correctly noticed in his work on *Rāgamālā Painting*,[48] a particular variant of the iconography of *Kedārā Rāgiṇī* is found only in Bundi. The variant appears first in the Chunar *Rāgamālā* and was copied in subsequent Bundi *Rāgamālās*. In order to meet the requirements of most Sanskrit and Hindi *Rāgamālā* texts, *Kedārā* should be represented as a *yogī* in meditation but in pictorial versions other figures are often introduced, such as acolytes and princely or female visitors. The unique feature of the Chunar *Rāgamālā* and its dependent sets is that the visitor is clearly shown as a Muslim *darvīsh*, seated wearing a tunic and pointed cap, holding a rosary and sitting with the aid of a *yoga-paṭṭa* and a *faqīr's* crutch (fig. 351).[49]

The significance of this figure is clear when we recall that Shaykh Muḥammad Ghaus, the uncle of the painters, not only studied Sanskrit but also translated a famous work on the subject of *yoga*. Such intercourse between Muslim and Hindu ascetics as is depicted in this version of *Kedārā* was by no means uncommon and is well-documented in literary sources. In the case of Muḥammad Ghaus, it is easily explained by the fact that he chose to live near Banaras, where *yogīs* abound, and would have needed their assistance in mastering the obscurities of the *Amṛita kuṇḍa* while making his translation of this work.

However, it would be wrong to assume that the *darvīsh* shown here is necessarily a portrait of Muḥammad Ghaus. It could equally well represent Shaykh Phūl (Bahlol), who would similarly have sought information from Hindu adepts in his study of the occult sciences. If indeed this figure was intended as a portrait of Shaykh Bahlol we certainly cannot regard it as a likeness, since his orphaned sons could have had little or no recollection of his physical appearance. Nevertheless, it is on the reverse of this *Kedārā Rāgiṇī* that the scribe Dāūd proclaims their paternal ancestry. So whether or not the two painters intended a reference to either their uncle or their father we are surely entitled to suspect that the inclusion of the *darvīsh* in company with the *yogī* is a visual clue to their family background. Not only does it help to corroborate the inscription overleaf but it also perhaps served as testimony to a Hindu patron of the painters' credentials to bridge the gap culturally between their faith and his. At Chunar in the late sixteenth century where one, if not both, of the two saints was still venerated, this implication should have been well understood.

[45] Badāonī, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 167
[46] Abū'l Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 450, also pp. 492, 549 and 558
[47] Asok Kumar Das, 'Bishndās,' *Chhavi*, Banaras, 1971, p. 188
[48] *op. cit.*, p. 270, no. 294
[49] For a later version of the *Kedārā Rāgiṇī* see fig. 352

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A. N. LAHIRI

Saucer-like Coins and the Trend of Evolution of Early Silver Punch-marked Issues

Our present paper is mainly a brief critical study of the Cup-shaped or Saucer-like series of coins, which look like 'shallow cups' or 'saucers' and constitute one of the earliest but well-organised archaic silver coinages produced by the punch-marking technique.[1] We have also incidentally tried here to find out to which stage of evolution the Saucer coins belonged and their possible relation with certain other important series of earlier, contemporary and succeeding silver issues of the same punch-marking process.

My esteemed friend Mr. Carlo Valdettaro, who created in me a great interest for the archaic coins of India, was the first to draw my attention to the Saucer coins, six specimens of which were published by Shri Sri Nath Shah in 1941.[2] I had all the facilities of closely studying forty specimens of Mr. Valdettaro's collection, and soon realised that the Saucer coinage had, besides the normal 4-symbol 'full' specimens as published by Shri Sri Nath Shah, pieces of two more lower denominations, *viz.* 2-symbol one-sixth and 1-symbol one-twelfth ones. Thus, the three-denominational Saucer currency had 'full' 48-*rattī*, 'one-sixth' 8-*rattī* and 'one-twelfth' 4-*rattī* specimens, *i.e. Adhyardha* (one-and-a-half), *Pāda* (quarter) and *Pādārdha* (half-quarter or one-eighth) *kārshāpaṇas*. After some time in 1969 I had the privilege of closely studying and photographing all the Saucer coins of the rich collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (see fig. 353) through the kindness and co-operation of Dr. Anand Krishna.

The Saucer coins have a unique position among the earliest series of silver punch-marked issues because of the peculiar fabric and remarkable forms and combination-pattern of their 'primary' symbols, *i.e.* the symbols which were impressed on their blanks by the issuers themselves.[3] Interestingly enough, 'full' Saucer coins bear 4 'primary' symbols like some other distinctly different series of silver coins not only of different weight-standards but also of widely distant localities, *viz.* the Lucknow region of Uttar Pradesh,[4] the Sonpur region of Orissa[5] and the Singavaram region of Andhra Pradesh.[6] But it must be noted that the symbols of the Saucer coins are distinctly different in design from those of the other series of 4-symbol numismatic issues coming from Northern and South-Eastern India.

The blanks of the normal 'full' Saucer coins were *individually* prepared by beating thin molten silver globules of the specific weight of 48 *rattīs*.[7] Thus processed *blanks*, generally *oval* in shape, would receive in quick succession 'four' symbol-stamps by 'three' punches[8] when in a highly heated and pliable state, so that the side that had the impressions of the symbols became somewhat *concave* in the process of stamping; and the finished *coins* had the appearance of shallow cups or saucers. But the Bharat Kala Bhavan has in its collection a few crude, dumpy and irregularly-shaped specimens of the Saucer series of coins which were evidently manufactured not by the process of impressing symbols on globule-beaten ovalish 'blanks', but apparently by the 'Droplet technique', according to which a quantity of molten silver would be dropped down on a hard surface and stamped with symbols in quick succession.

Anyway, Saucer coins of the 'Droplet process' apart, all the rest of Saucer specimens are not of the same fabric and general appearance. While some are small in size, somewhat irregular in shape, and unusually dumpy and somewhat flat in fabric, others are oval or round in shape, and more or less, broad, thin and saucer-like in appearance (nos. 3-6). All this is due to the slight difference in processing the blanks. Thicker and/or

[1] For a comprehensive study of the silver coins of the punch-marking technique see the Author's paper "Complexities of the Silver Punch-marked Coins", *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 1-34 (specially, pp. 4-6)

[2] *ibid.*, III, pp. 51-52 : "Adhyardha Punch-marked Coins"; V. pp. 13-16

[3] For 'primary' symbols see *ibid.*, XXXVIII p. 22 ff.

[4] For the three classes of 4-symbol coins of the Lucknow region see Durga Prasad, *Num. Suppl.* (*NS*), XLV, pls. I-III(Class I), pl. XXXI (Class II), and pl. VI (Class III)

[5] See *JNSI*, XIX, pl. I. 1-6 for the Sonpur coins.

[6] See P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, pl. I. 13 for a specimen of the Singavaram coin.

[7] Probably a sort of calibrated spoon was used for dropping down molten silver of exactly 48 *rattis*.

[8] Only three punches were used : two for the two bigger symbols and a third for the two 'identical' ones.

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dumpier blanks, which were generally of irregularly roundish shape, could well-resist the hard striking of the punches and seldom took the pronounced appearance of a saucer. But carefully processed thinner blanks, generally of the oval shape, could not withstand the hard striking of the punches and became 'concave' on the side that had the punch-impressions. As we see, Saucer coinage had three clear stages of evolution and constituted as many classes.

Saucer coins of Class I are represented by the initial specimens of the 'Droplet type' as well as by subsequent but primitive issues of flattish, crude, dumpy and irregularly shaped fabric (nos. 3-4). These coins are known from the Bhabua area of the Rohtas district of Bihar.

Somewhat rarer Class II Saucer coins represent the second stage of evolution, when specimens of thick but comparatively fine and of invariably round shape came into being. Their blanks were prepared by the usual globule-beaten process but in a more careful manner so as to give them a round appearance. Sides of irregular blanks were probably filed or clipped in order to make them pronouncedly round in shape. But, as is evident, the comparatively thick, small and round blanks of the coins of Class II were subjected to intense heating just before stamping, so that they were soft and pliable enough to become pronouncedly 'concave' on the side that received the punch-impression. The Class II Saucer coins seem to come from the Jaunpur area of Uttar Pradesh.[9]

Saucer coins of Class III, also known from the Bhabua area, are the most sophisticated ones and apparently belonged to the latest stage of evolution (nos. 5-6). The silver that went into the making of these coins was meticulously refined under the condition then prevailed; and as a result the molten globules made out of them could be beaten enough to make very thin and big blanks of usually ovalish shape, which when duly heated and stamped hard with the punches would make fine saucer-like coins in the process. This appears also to be the technique of preparing the very thin coins of the two lower denominations, *viz.* one-sixth and one-twelfth. The blanks of the one-sixth pieces were given enough elongated shape to bear the impressions of two big symbols of like dimensions, while those of the one-twelfth coins were beaten to a round shape in order that they could have just space enough to accommodate the impression of one of the two big symbols seen on the one-sixth specimens (no. 7).

However, the most remarkable feature of the symbol-combination of the 'full' Saucer coins is that it always conforms to the *A-X-B-X* formula, *i.e.* of the four symbols seen on each specimen, one (Symbol *X*) occurs *twice*, which means that only three punches with three symbols, *viz. A, B* and *X*, are used for impressing the symbols on each specimen of the Saucer coins irrespective of the class and variety to which it belongs. Again, the twice-occurring 'Symbol *X*' often widely differs in design from variety to variety and is *always smaller in dimension* than the other two (nos. 3-6). Then, so far as the *'other two'* somewhat constant bigger symbols (*A* and *B*) are concerned, we generally see that they are: (i) round in shape, (ii) of the *same* uniform size, (iii) somewhat similarly ornamental but complicated in design, and (iv) bigger in dimension than the twice-occurring 'Symbol *X*', and also that one of the two, *viz.* (v) 'Symbol A', has a minute circle, with or without a dot, at the centre (nos. 3-6). But one finds, on a comparative study, that the respective designs of the two bigger highly ornamental and complicated symbols *'A'* and *'B'* also often differ in minute details from class to class as well as from one variety to another, however much they may respectively appear to be similar, if not the same, in design to the general and not-so-critical observer (nos. 3-6). It is, however, curious that the design of one of the two bigger symbols which has the minute circle at the centre (*i.e.* 'Symbol *A*') as seen on some specimens of the Saucer coins of Class I, is virtually the same as that on certain one-symbol silver coins of a rare series of small, round and dumpy fabric. Specimens of the one-sixth denomination, which are of very thin, elongated and oblong fabric, always bear the two unchanging bigger symbols *'A'* and *'B'*. Coins of the one-twelfth denomination, also very thin but round in fabric, have just space enough to bear only one symbol, which is *invariably* the 'Symbol *A*', *i.e.* one of the two constant and bigger symbols, which has a minute circle at the centre, often duly dotted (no. 7).

Shri Sri Nath Shah, who was the first to publish six specimens of the 'full' Saucer coins, believed that they were *Adhyardha kārshāpaṇas*[10] *i.e.* one-and-a-half *kārshāpaṇas*, each weighing 48 *rattīs* or 86.4 grains (5.4802 grams). After a critical study of a large number of these

[9] In a letter dated 8-7-78 written to Mr. C. Valdettaro, Dr. P. L. Gupta expresses his view that the Saucer coins as discovered from the Jaunpur district belonged to a distinctly different series and had nothing to do with those known from the Bhabua area ϕ (*i.e.* Classes I and III). In fact, he believes that the Jaunpur and the Bhabua coins were issued by different (local?) authorities, whose dominions were divided by the Ganges. According to him, the *common* weight-standard is of no consequence. But we strongly feel that all three classes of Saucer coins were intimately connected not only by the 48-*ratti* weight-standard, but also by the characteristic 'concave' fabric, as well as by the form, number and combination-pattern of their symbols.

[10] See *JNSI*, III, p. 51

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coins known since the days of Shri Sri Nath Shah publication (1941), we have come to the conclusion that he was right about the weight-standard of these remarkable archaic issues: *the Saucer coins in reality belonged to the 48-rattī coinage-system*. We may incidentally note here that another distinctly different series of 'squarish' 4-symbol silver coins with symbols of different forms and combinations have recently come to light,[11] and, like the Saucer pieces, they too appear to belong to the same 48-*rattī* denomination (no. 8). The dealer who brought the latter squarish issues, apparently forming a sizeable hoard, indicated as their provenance the region from which the Saucer coins come. This means that the 48-*rattī* weight-system was actually current in the region concerned. But it is anybody's guess as to why both the Saucer and Squarish series of coins *always* bore 'four' symbols.

It will not be out of place to note that besides the earlier known 'Droplet' coins of irregular weights we have now come across a good number of coins of the 'Droplet technique'[12] which evidently belonged to one of the very early and distinct series of silver punch-marked coins and which conformed to what clearly appears to be the 48-*rattī* weight-system; but we may state that these subsequent 'Droplet' coins of 48 *rattīs* have not only symbols of different designs but also of different combinations (no. 2). Incidentally, these 48-*rattī* 'Droplet' coins are said to have been found mainly in the region wherefrom both the 48-*rattī* 4-symbol Saucer coins and the 48-*rattī* 4-symbol Squarish punch-marked pieces also come.

Now, there is an unfortunate feature about the 'full' Saucer coins, and that relates to the weights of the individual extant specimens; *they often widely differ in weight*. While the theoretical weight of 48 *rattīs* should be 86.4 grains (5.6 grams)—calculated at the rate of 1.8 grains per *rattī* as fixed by James Prinsep in 1834[13]—coins of Class I generally record weights much above 86.4 grains and those of Classes II and III maintain weights well within the reasonable limit of 86.4 grains (48 *rattīs*).

Of the seventy known coins of Class I, for which we have the weights, (i) four range between 60.0 and 70.0 grains (average weight 65.9 grains), (ii) fourteen between 77.3 and 87.6 grains (average weight 77.7 grains), (iii) forty-nine between 88.0 and 97.0 grains (average weight 90.5 grains) and (iv) three between 100.3 and 100.9 grains (average weight 100.5 grains).

While ten of the eleven known specimens of Class II range between 72.5 and 77 grains (average weight 74 grains), one records the weight of 67 grains only.

Then, of the fifty-one known coins of Class III, we have the weights of forty-one: (i) eight range between 64 and 74 grains (average weight 71 grains), and (ii) thirty-three between 75 and 82.6 grains (average weight 78.2 grains).

On a comparative study of the above weights one is tempted to question as to why the issuers of the Class I coins should allow them to be almost persistently of overweight. Was this because of the primitive method of manufacturing the coins that the weights of their 'Droplet' globules or crudely processed blanks could not be controlled? This does not appear to be likely, for the issuers who manufactured the 48-*rattī* 'Droplet' pieces (no. 2) *just prior* to these coins never over-weighed their equally crudely processed issues. It is likely that, because of the natural or wilfully admixtured alloys, the issuers of the Class III coins tried to make good the deficiency of silver by overweighing them. Such things happened in other cases too. Of the highly alloyed metal of the 1912 Taxila hoard of silver punch-marked coins, at least 45 individual specimens, out of some 160, recorded weights more than what the theoretical standard normally permit.[14] It may incidentally be noted that these alloyed silver Saucer coins of Class I show very little sign of any active circulation, for they neither look worn nor bear any remarkable number of 'secondary' *testing marks* or 'countermarks', as against the unusually great number of them seen on coins of Class III with very high percentage of silver-content. Coins of Class I were evidently not so popular because of their debasement and did not consequently pass through many hands.

The Saucer coins, as far as our knowledge goes, are not known to have come from any excavation; and we are not at all sure of the exact find-spots. Ramnagar in Jaunpur district of Uttar Pradesh alone is known to have yielded a hoard of some one hundred specimens of Saucer coins, of which about 'fourteen' pieces were procured by the Lucknow Museum.[15] But for the provenance of the remaining great majority of the known and extant specimens we have to rely on

[11] A Calcutta collector and the present Author bought 52 and 4 pieces respectively from a Bhabua dealer who brought some 100 coins of this series, apparently forming part of one hoard. Mr. C. Valdettaro has three and the Bharat Kala Bhavan has at least two of them.

[12] See the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 34-35 and *ibid.*, XXXVIII, p. 12 for Droplet coins.

[13] See the Author, *Jour. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, I, p. 87, no. 20 and *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 7, no. 5

[14] Cf. E. H. C. Walsh, "*Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila*", p. 32

[15] See *JNSI*, III, pp. 104-41. A Jaunpur dealer gave me some 10 years back a contact-print photograph of 20 Saucer coins, and I purchased from him a few of those coins for Mr. C. Valdettaro and myself.

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what the Bhabua, Jaunpur and Lucknow dealers spell out. The localities of their procurement are said to be mainly the Bhabua area in the Rohtas district of Bihar and the Jaunpur area, which are respectively to the south-east and north-west of, and somewhat equidistant from, Varanasi. We may, therefore, tentatively hold with some amount of certainty that the Saucer coins were mainly issued *in and around* the Bhabua and the Jaunpur areas, and that they were apparently current in the region lying between these two localities, which appear to have been included in what was once known as the Kāśī and Magadha *Mahājanapadas*.

Now, the accounts of the various Kāśī monarchs mentioned in early Indian texts like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jātakas* clearly show that Kāśī was once perhaps the most powerful of the Sixteen *Mahājanapadas* as detailed in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. And, chronologically speaking, Kāśī rose to power earlier than Kośala; for, as the *Mahāvagga* informs us, Kośala was a poor and tiny state when the earlier Brahmadattas were ruling in Kāśī with prosperity. Naturally, as the *Bhojajaniya Jātaka* puts it, it was not for nothing that "all kings round covetted the kingdom of Banaras".[16] The remarkable prosperity and grandeur of the Kāśī region must have been due to its flourishing trade and commerce, for which metallic currency was brought into being and somewhat widely used. The Kāśī coins were made of silver and they conformed to a rather uncommon denomination of 48 *rattīs*. Incidentally, there appears to have been a sporadic attempt at introducing a series of one-symbol, round and dumpy coins of 24 *rattīs*, which are otherwise extremely rare and obscure and bear the 'Symbol A' of the Saucer coins, *i.e.* one of the two bigger symbols with minute circle at the centre.[17]

On the other hand, the region once known as the Kośala *Mahājanapada* very soon achieved considerable power and prestige, and by the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. contended with great zeal first with Kāśī and then with Magadha for the supremacy over Northern India. Kośala too, must have flourishing trade and commerce, and, consequently, introduced (after some experiments with sporadic series of silver issues) certain metallic currency, which, for reasons unknown, consisted of only 4-symbol *Tripāda-kārshāpaṇas*, which had half the weight and value of the Kāśī coins of the denomination of *Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇas*.[18] The 24-*rattī* coins were duly dealt with and first published by Shri Durga Prasad in the *Numismatic Supplements XLV* to *JASB*, 1934, pp. 9-12. Coins of the first two very rare series are of the broadest and thinnest known fabric and roundish in shape; and their blanks were apparently individually processed by the globule-beating method. Specimens of the third series, since mainly known from the famous Paila hoard, were evidently mass-produced (no. 9). But remarkably enough, specimens of these three 24-*rattī* series bear 'four' distinctly different symbols and are all connected with what we call the *Tripāda* symbol.[19]

Anyway, our critical examination of the archaic Saucer coins involves us into a comparative study of some other outstanding series of silver punch-marked coins, which were somewhat of an earlier, contemporary or later mintage. What to speak of their minting techniques, fabrics, forms and symbol-combinations, a close study of their metrology helps us to visualise with reasonable clarity their respective sequence in relation to the Saucer coins.

In the initial or the most primitive stage of minting silver punch-marked coins, various metrological experiments of sporadic nature were made by moneyers of different regions. And so far as the different experimental series of silver punch-marked coins are concerned, we come across extant specimens of various series recording numerous weight-ranges.[20] Quite often we get specimens of a particular rare series, which fail to conform to any conceivable standard, because of marked difference of weights of individual pieces.[21] But in course of time such metrological anomalies were overcome and various series of coins were issued in various localities according to different standards of weights.

Early moneyers of the Kāśī region started with the 'Droplet' coins of irregular weights (no. 1), but *before long* they hit upon the 48-*rattī* weight-system. Their subsequent 'Droplet' coins clearly conformed to the *Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇa* standard (no. 2), which were successively followed by two other distinctive series of silver punch-marked coins, *viz.* the prolific 4-symbol Saucer coins (nos. 3-6), and the experimental rare pieces of 1-symbol dumpy 24-*rattī* issues. Thereafter came the 4-symbol squarish pieces *invariably* having the later well-

[16] Cf. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *"Political History of Ancient India"*, Sixth Edn., pp. 96-98

[17] Both the Valdettaro and the Bharat Kala Bhavan collections have quite a few of these one-symbol 24-*rattī* coins. Cf. the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pl. I. 14

[18] See note 4 above for references.

[19] Cf. Durga Prasad, *NS XLV*, pl. I. Symbol 1, pl. XXXI. Symbol 1 and pl. VI. Symbol 1

[20] For these experimental issues see the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 34-38

[21] As are the specimens of the initial Droplet coins.

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known 'Sun' and the 'Six-armed' symbol[22] (no. 8). Then somewhat simultaneously with one or the other series of the 48-*rattī* coinage system, or probably at some later date, a few 4-symbol coin-series of the 24-*rattī* standard were also issued and more or less widely current in the Kośala region, all bearing the constant *Tripāda* symbol (no. 9).

Thereafter happened the most far-reaching numismatic revolution in the way of a great reform. And the authority that brought about it found it necessary to *standardise the weight of coins* and *introduce a uniform and universally acceptable weight system*. The most obvious choice was the 'full' *kārshāpaṇa* standard of 32 *rattīs*. The pioneer of this numismatic reform was evidently an early Magadhan monarch, who appears to have issued a remarkable series of silver punch-marked coins represented by the unusually broad-flan pieces of the Golakpur hoard (no. 10),[23] stamping on them a constant group of 'five' symbols.[24] It is needless to say that the introduction of this 'full' *kārshāpaṇa* coinage-system completely changed the course of the numismatic history of ancient India. The 32-*rattī* 5-symbol *kārshāpaṇas* that Magadha introduced primarily as 'local' coinage[25] firmly held the ground and, with the growth and spread of the Magadhan supremacy not only over northern regions but also towards the south, became quite 'universal' in use,[26] steadily suppressing innumerable series of heterogeneous 'local' issues of various standards of weight, including the 48-*rattī Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇas* of the Kāśī region and the 24-*rattī Tripāda-kārshāpaṇas* of the Kośala country. But, significantly enough, the 32-*rattī* 'full' silver *kārshāpaṇa* of Magadhan origin imbibed two outstanding aspects of the latest issues of both the 48-*rattī* and the 24-*rattī* coinage-systems. They included among their 'five' primary symbols the two conspicuously constant ones of the 4-symbol squarish *Adhyardha-kārshāpaṇas, viz.* the 'Sun' and the 'Six-armed symbol', and were mass-produced in the 'sheet-cutting-and-bit-chopping' process like the specimens of the *Tripāda-kārshāpaṇas* of the Paila hoard (no. 9).

[22] The 'Sun' and the 'Six-armed symbol' almost invariably occur on the 5-symbol 32-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins, *i.e. Kārshāpaṇas:* cf. the Author, *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 17 and *ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 26-27

[23] See E. H. C. Walsh, *JBORS*, V, p. 16 ff.

[24] It was perhaps D. B. Spooner, who in 1905 noticed for the first time that the 32-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins, now universally identified with the *Kārshāpaṇas* of ancient texts, *always* bore a group of 'five' primary symbols; and the Golakpur hoard coins were perhaps the earliest of 32-*ratti* 5-symbol coins.

[25] Coins like the Golakpur specimens are a *class* by themselves, and their rarity and find-spot suggest that they were meant for circulation only in a restricted locality.

[26] Numerous 'Treasures' and great Hoards of these coins discovered in both Northern and Southern India prove their 'universal' circulation and use.

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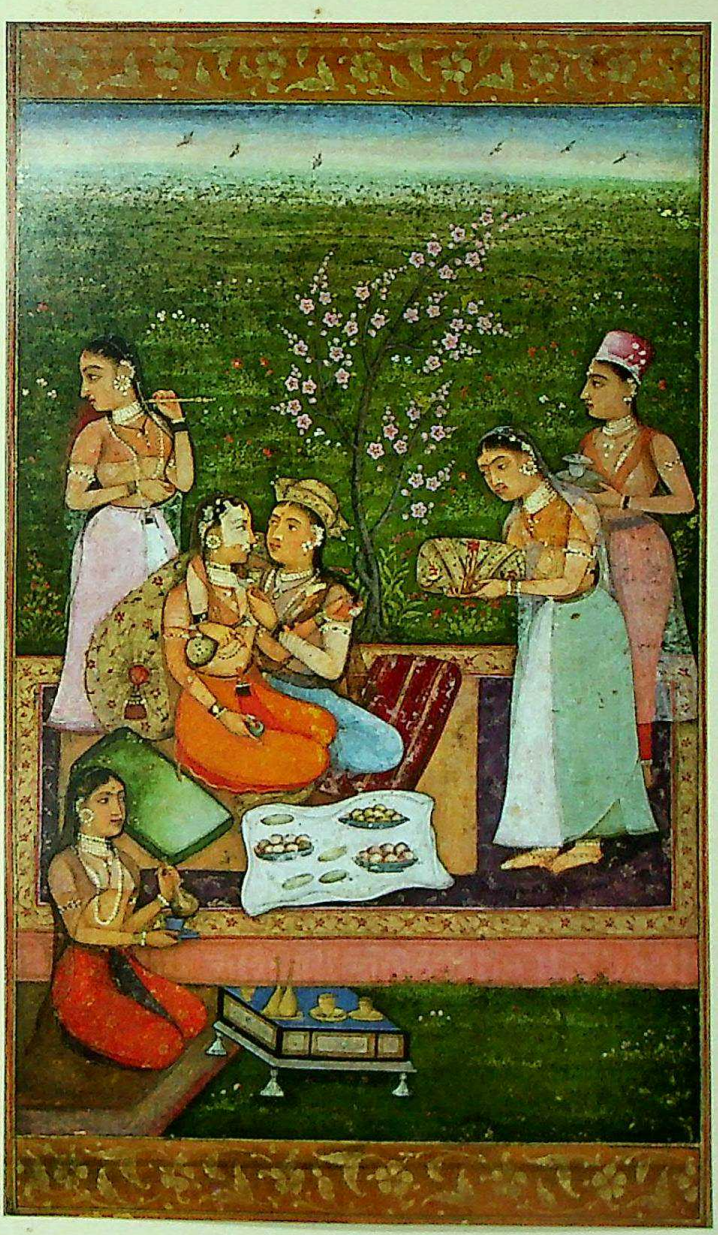

Pl. 11. A drinking scene, Mughal, *ca.* 1615

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Pl. 12. Kṛishṇa with *Gopīs*, South West Rajasthan, *ca.* 1625

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Pl. 13. Shahjahan, Mughal, *ca.* 1628

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Pl. 14. A garden scene, Persian, *ca.* 1630-40

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Pl. 15. A Mughal damsel, Shahjahan period, *ca.* 1640

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Pl. 16. *Rāginī* Kakubha, Malwa, *ca.* 1660

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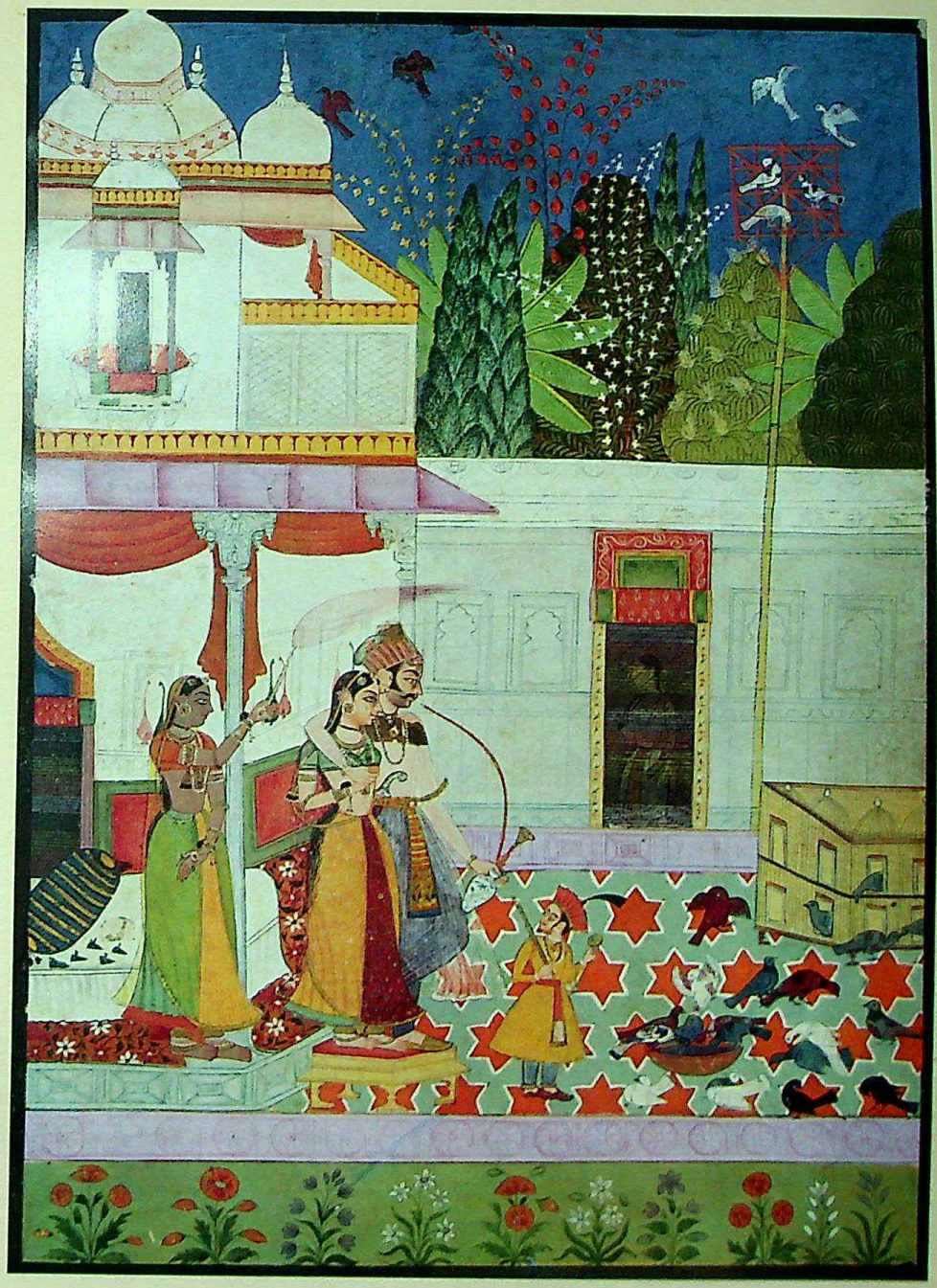

Pl. 17. Couple watching pigeons, Bundi, dated 1662

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Pl. 18. A scene from *Rasikapriyā*, Bundi, *ca.* 1690

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Pl. 19. A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa:* Kṛishṇa lifting mount Govardhan, Malwa, *ca.* 1690

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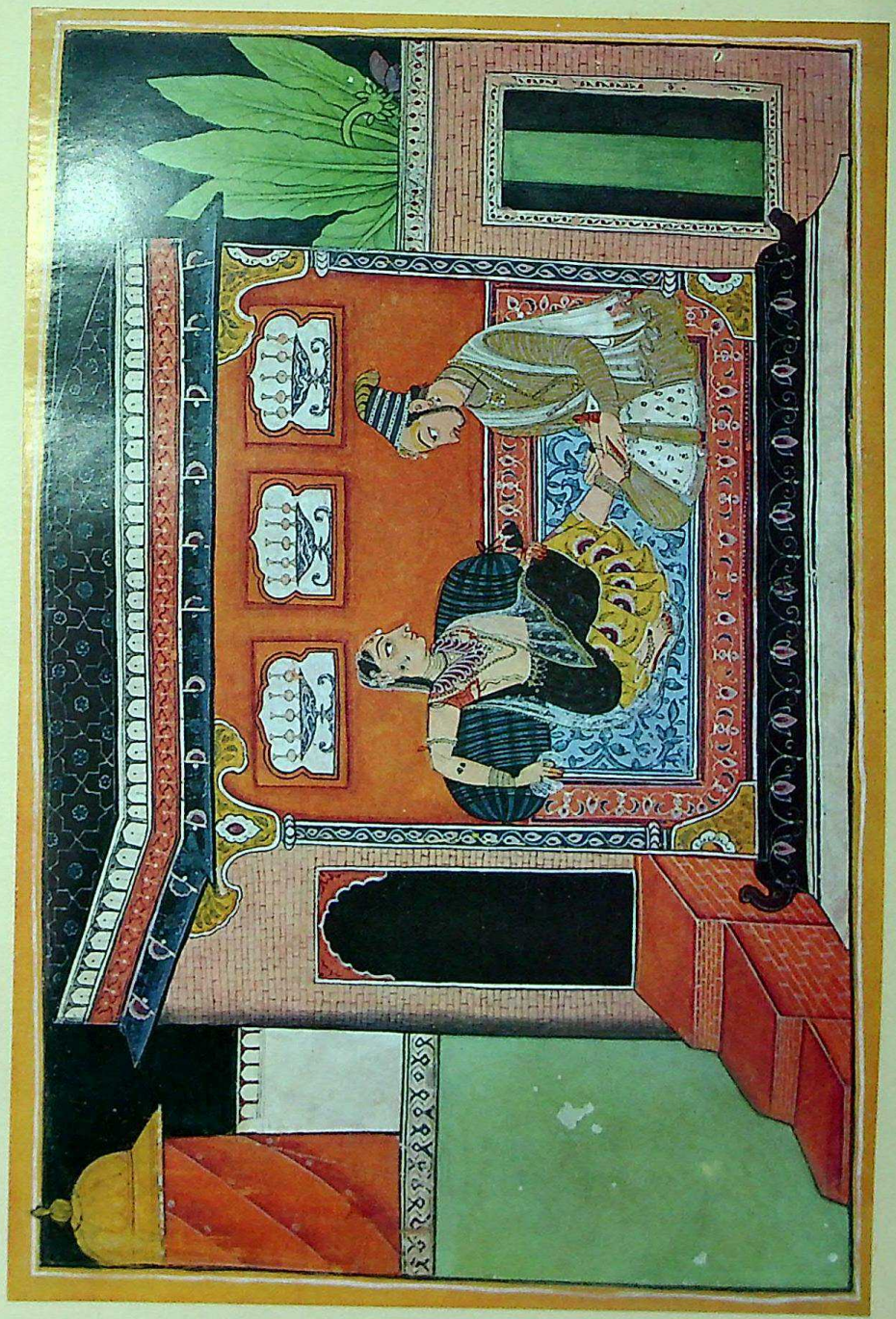

Pl. 20. *Svādhīna-patikā Nāyikā* (*Nāyikā* with full command over her lover), Basohli, *ca.* 1690

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FREDERICK M. ASHER

The Sultānganj Buddha

A single sculpture may appear an overly narrow topic for a paper, especially in a volume honouring a scholar whose breadth of knowledge seems boundless. Nevertheless, the importance of the famous bronze Buddha from Sultānganj (figs. 354-355) is enormous, since the proper determination of its date has great consequences for understanding the history of Eastern Indian metal sculpture.

The sculpture's discovery in the course of amateur excavations in 1862-63 is well reported.[1] However, not documented is the disposition of the image immediately after its discovery, although it must have been quickly exported to England as it was acquired in 1864 by the Birmingham Museum, then under construction.[2] Today it remains one of the most important works in the museum.

Standing 2.9 metres tall, this is the largest surviving metal image in South Asia.[3] The figure is posed in a gentle sway characteristic of the later fifth century images from Sārnāth and their successors in Eastern India. The right hand is raised in *abhaya mudrā*, while the left hand, at waist level, holds the end of the outer garment. Across the body, this garment is marked with a series of symmetrical ridges to indicate garment folds in a manner more closely paralleled by images dating to the Pāla period[4] than by any of Gupta times.

Nevertheless, until quite recently scholarly opinion was unanimous in assigning the Sultānganj Buddha to the Gupta age. This was the view of the scholars who first wrote about the piece, its excavator, E.B. Harris, and the famous Indologist, Rajendralala Mitra. Harris based his dating on Cunningham's interpretation of inscriptions higher level in the Sultānganj excavations.[5] Seeing only a copy of the inscriptions, Cunningham determined that they dated to the second or third century—then assumed to be the dates of the Gupta age—and so concluded that this should be the date of the bronze image as well; he later reinforced this opinion with evidence gleaned during the course of further excavations at the site. Rajendralala Mitra did not comment explicitly on the image's probable date, but he too observed the inscriptions in Gupta style characters and seems to imply that the great bronze sculpture also should be assigned to the Gupta age.[6]

In the course of further excavations conducted by Cunningham and Beglar in 1879,[7] two discoveries were made that appeared to confirm the sculpture's Gupta date. First was a pair of coins found in a clay vessel deposited in a small brick *stūpa* apparently enveloped within the larger *stūpa*. These coins were first believed to be from the reigns of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta I and the Kshatrapa king Rudrasena

[1] E.B. Harris, *Description of Buddhist Remains Discovered at Sooltangunge, on the River Ganges*, 1862-3, London, 1864. The excavations are reported second-hand by Rajendralala Mitra, "On the Buddhist Remains of Sultānganj", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII, 1864, pp. 360-72

[2] The bronze Buddha was offered in October, 1864 by Samuel Thornton to the mayor of Birmingham for placement in the museum. Thornton is not identified in the correspondence and does not indicate how he had gained possession of the figure except to say that he had very recently received it together with other Buddhist "remains" from Sultānganj. At the same time, he offered a large stone figure from Sultānganj, presumably the splendid Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara now displayed in the same room as the bronze Buddha. I am indebted to the Birmingham Museum staff for sharing with me correspondence regarding the acquisition of this image. Thornton apparently did not keep the other material from Sultānganj. See the pertinent letter quoted by John C. Irwin, "Some Unknown Gupta Sculptures from Sultānganj", *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1, 1954, pp. 34-38

[3] There are ample literary references to enormous metal sculptures in India. Perhaps the best known is the colossal bronze Buddha image which Lalitāditya of Kashmir erected at Parihāspura (see Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarangiṇī*, IV. 203); this statue was reputedly melted in the tenth century by Kshemagupta (Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarangiṇī*, VI, 171-73). Monumental bronze images much closer to Sultānganj are cited by Hsuan Tsang, for example, at Bodhgayā and Nālandā; see S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, vol. II, pp. 119 and 174. An important lifesize bronze Buddha, probably not much later in date than the Sultānganj image, is preserved on Saṅkhu Hill in the Kathmandu Valley; see Balram Srivastava, "Saṅkhu Buddha", *Purātattva*, 1, 1967-68, pp. 85-86

[4] For example see the figures illustrated in R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, Delhi, 1933, pls. XIII (b), XXVIII(c), and XXIX(a) among many comparable examples.

[5] Harris, p. 8

[6] Mitra, p. 367

[7] Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XV, pp. 24-31

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but later corrected to Chandragupta II and Rudrasiṁha.[8] In either case, the coins were accepted as evidence of a Gupta period foundation for the *stūpa* and thus, by extension, a Gupta date for the bronze image. This date, Cunningham believed, was further confirmed by a second discovery in these excavations, a stucco Buddha head that he viewed as a close copy of the Gupta style imagery from Sārnāth.[9]

In spite of problems inherent in Cunningham's argument as well as notable stylistic discrepancies, the Gupta date has stood unchallenged until relatively recently. In fact, most have reported the date of the bronze image as *ca.* 400,[10] soon after the conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II. That date, supported by the two coins found in the *stūpa's* centre, may refer to the foundation of the *stūpa,* but Cunningham's own report shows that it underwent at least one enlargement, and in any event the foundation of the *stūpa* in no way provides the date of the bronze Buddha. An argument corroborated by the stucco head is equally weak. Cunningham believed, very possibly correctly, that the exterior of the Sultānganj *stūpa* was adorned with stucco niches containing stucco images,[11] much like the great *stūpa* of Nālandā Site No. 3, not yet revealed at the time he wrote. But the date of this stucco embellishment, presumably on the outermost integument of the *stūpa,* would not coincide with the foundation of the monument and certainly has no direct bearing on the date of the metal Buddha image. The figure could have been installed earlier or later than this stage of the *stūpa's* evolution.

Thus a stylistic analysis of the sculpture itself provides the most meaningful insights into its likely date. The image does indeed bear a great deal in common with the Gupta sculpture of Sārnāth as the early writers properly recognized, but the impact of the Sārnāth style on the art of Eastern India persisted for several centuries. It was probably transmitted by artists from Sārnāth itself who came to work on major undertakings that were commenced near the beginning of the sixth century, the very period that work at Sārnāth began to decline. From Nālandā, which first must have attracted these artists, many of them and their descendants moved out to other sites in Eastern India, thus preserving and disseminating the style.

By contrast to the Gupta imagery of Sārnāth, the bent pose of the Sultānganj Buddha's body retains little of the graceful relaxation. The deep depression between the upper and lower torso is strictly horizontal, whereas on the Sārnāth figures it droops beneath the navel. The head of the Sultānganj image is proportionally larger, and generally line is given considerably greater importance in defining features: Lines mark stylized garment folds, and on the face, lines demarcate the eyebrows and pupils of the eyes. Also the *ūrṇā* is indicated by an incized line, while on Gupta images of Sārnāth it must have been painted as it is not indicated sculpturally.

Douglas Barrett apparently was first to recognize this discrepancy with the Sārnāth style, when, in passing, he assigned the image to the ninth century, specifically to the time of Devapāla (*ca.* 821-58).[12] Others recently have followed his suggestion.[13] But that view, too, is not without problems. We have no Buddha image of Devapāla's time with which the Sultānganj image might be compared, but it can be examined in light of two bronze images of Balarāma which date to his reign.[14] However, these images show no significant similarity to the Sultānganj Buddha. Neither in pose, facial features, nor treatment of the surface do the bronze Balarāma images resemble the Sultānganj figure. Also considerably different from the Sultānganj bronze figure are two Buddha images dating to the reign of Śūrapāla,[15] the monarch who succeeded Devapāla. They are stiffer and more tensely modelled and show no trace of the graceful attenuation in form.

Further confirmation that the Sultānganj Buddha does not date to the Pāla period comes from a small standing Buddha image (fig. 356) carved in black stone. That figure remains at Sultānganj, placed at the entrance of a modern shrine on Jahāngīrā Rock. It probably dates to the reign of Dharmapāla, though in any event

[8] For the correction, see *ibid.*, vol. XXIV (Index), p. 176. More specifically, the coin belongs to Rudrasiṁha III, whose lineage appears to coincide with the coin's legend; moreover, Rudrasiṁha III, not his predecessor Rudrasena III, was defeated by Chandragupta II, so the coins are essentially contemporary issues.

[9] *ibid.*, vol. XV, pl. X(A)

[10] See, for example, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* London, 1927, pp. 85, 240

[11] Cunningham, vol. XV, p. 30

[12] Douglas Barrett, "Gandhāra Bronzes", *The Burlington Magazine,* CII, August, 1960, p. 361

[13] Among them, Stanislaw Czuma, "A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha", *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* LVII, 2, February, 1970, p. 55. He assigns the figure to the eighth century.

[14] One, from Kurkihār, is dated to the year 9 of Devapāla's reign; it is illustrated in K.P. Jayaswal, "Metal images of Kurkihār Monastery", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* II, 2, December, 1934, pl. XXVIII, 1. The other, from Nālandā, was inscribed in Devapāla's reign but bears no regnal year; it is illustrated in Banerji, pl. I(b).

[15] *ibid.*, pls. II(a) and II(c)

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no later than the reign of Devapāla and well indicates how the bronze Buddha would appear if it were a Pāla product. Its exaggerated pose, sharply delineated facial features, and firm roll of flesh beneath the navel correspond more closely with these features of the Balarāma from Nālandā dating to Devapāla's reign.

A second stone Buddha from Sultānganj (fig. 357), carved on Jahāngīrā Rock itself, is visible only from such an oblique angle that stylistic comparisons are tenuous. But it, too, indicates that the bronze Buddha from Sultānganj dates before Pāla times. Although the sculptures of Jahāngīrā Rock are not dated by inscription, almost all of them may be assigned to the eighth century, probably close to Dharmapāla's time.[16] This rock-cut Buddha figure's heavy-set proportions and high, narrow waist contrasting with broad, rounded hips and thighs anticipate the style of the stone Buddha images from Śūrapāla's time. The bronze Buddha image, however, certainly dates earlier, at a time when the Gupta style of Sārnāth was still preserved in the art of Eastern India.

If the Sultānganj bronze Buddha is neither Gupta as first thought nor early Pāla as more recently believed, then to what date may the image be assigned? The solution, a date between Gupta and Pāla times, is implied by the quandry itself. That solution is further supported by stylistic analogy and confirmed by the tentative results of recent radiocarbon dating of material from the image's core.[17] The problem with advocating the date between Gupta and Pāla times, roughly the seventh century, is the absence of any dated image with which the Sultānganj Buddha may be compared. The only surviving image dated by inscription to this time is a Sarvāṇī inscribed by Devakhaḍga's queen.[18] Its slender elongation and stiff pose are features also of the Sultānganj Buddha, but both the fundamental iconographic difference and the considerable distance between the findspot of that image and Sultānganj diminish the value of more detailed comparisons. Perhaps, then, the Sultānganj Buddha may be more fruitfully compared to the stucco images of the great *stūpa* at Nālandā Site No. 3, not dated by inscription but generally assigned to the seventh century on archaeological grounds as well as stylistic evidence.[19] Although the Sultānganj bronze Buddha is posed more gracefully than a stucco Buddha on the Nālandā *stūpa*,[20] its stance shows something of the stiffness apparent also on the Nālandā image. In addition, both images have a rather large head with pudgy cheeks. Also on the two figures, a deep horizontal depression is rendered at the waist, apparently where the lower garment is secured, and crescents mark the knees. Garment folds, though not indicated on this stucco Buddha are seen on other images adorning the Nālandā *stūpa*, for example, a seated figure of the Buddha.[21] There are differences between the Nālandā images and the Sultānganj Buddha, but they are much more subtle than the differences between the Sultānganj Buddha and its Gupta prototypes or Pāla successors.[22]

The date of the bronze Buddha is but one of the problems that the piece presents. Among the remaining questions, the most perplexing concerns the place of its manufacture: Could it have been made locally, at Sultānganj, or was it imported from a better-known centre, perhaps one with a long-standing tradition of bronze art. If the image were small, we might assume that it had been carried in by a pilgrim. But the image's huge size precludes the possibility that it was brought as a memento to Sultānganj. Hence, it seems likely that the figure was commissioned for the Sultānganj monastery. We know little about the practice of bronze sculptors in ancient India, that is whether they were itinerant or worked at established centres, exporting their images. At both Nālandā and Kurkihār, hordes of bronzes rendered in styles essentially unique to the site indicate workshops of artists attached to each monastery

[16] They are often identified as Gupta in date, for example by Sachchidanand Sahai, "Some Brahmanical Rock-Sculptures from Sultānganj", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLIX, 1963, pp. 137-146. But Gupta dates are all too often assigned to images which retain vestiges of the Gupta style. In Eastern India, such vestiges persist into early Pāla times. In any event, only a few sculptures on Jahāngīrā Rock, stylistically distinct from the rest, can be assigned to Gupta times.

[17] With the kind permission of G.S. Learmonth, Keeper, Department of Conservation at the City Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham, I quote the following results of radiocarbon dating of material from the image's core:

671 A.D. ± 81 years (uncorrected)

633 A.D. ± 83 years (corrected using revised half life)

Mr. Learmonth stresses his view that the results must be considered tentative as the concentration of carbon in the core material is very small. The image was also cleaned when the tests were conducted at the British Museum.

[18] N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, pp. 203-05, pl. LXX

[19] J. A. Page, "Nālandā," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1925-26, p. 103

[20] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1960, pl. 377

[21] *ibid.*, pl. 376.

[22] Apparently only one other writer has not felt compelled to assign the image either to Gupta or Pāla times but has given appropriate consideration to the period between these two dynasties. A. B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture", *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 1963, p. 118

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from the eighth century onward. But neither is there evidence that images were exported from these sites, nor is there any indication of established workshops during the seventh century anywhere in Eastern India. Moreover, at no time in India's history were there more than a few places with adequate work for long-term residence by a workshop of artists. The possibility remains that artists exported their images from an urban centre, but that seems unlikely as indicated by the practice that must have been followed when a temple was constructed. Artists and masons as well as architects and priests must have come to the site as work commenced and then moved on to the next commission when work on the temple was completed. But was that the case with bronze casters? I think so, for the raw materials with which they worked were no less portable than the huge blocks of stone that the sculptors had to carve. In addition, the risk of transporting a finished work on the scale of the Sultānganj Buddha makes its import to the site most unlikely. Even today bronze casters in Bihar, perhaps descendants of the ancient metal sculptors, are essentially itinerant, probably continuing a practice many centuries old.[23]

Finally, we must wonder how the monastery at Sultānganj escaped the attention of Hsuan Tsang if it flourished during the seventh century. The coins dating to the late fourth or early fifth century found within the Sultānganj *stūpa* point to the date of the monastery's establishment, and the likely seventh century date of the Sultānganj bronze Buddha shows that the monastery still was active at the time Hsuan Tsang must have passed by the site on his way along the Ganga from Hiraṇya Parvata to Champā. Yet he fails to mention any monastery that can be associated with the one excavated at Sultānganj, although he did not necessarily overlook it. Sultānganj is located just twelve miles west of Bhāgalpur, the ancient city of Champā, and so must have fallen within the country of Champā, many times larger than the capital city. Hence the monastery at Sultānganj would have been taken into the count when Hsuan Tsang reports that in Champā he found "several tens" of *saṅghārāmas* with about 200 priests.[24] The bronze Buddha makes Sultānganj distinctive today, but the image was not so unusual in Hsuan Tsang's time that either it or the monastery which housed it would be worthy of special comment by the Chinese pilgrim

[23] Ruth Reeves, *Cire Perdue Casting in India*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 58, comments on the Melar bronze casters of Bihar. She notes that they set up "...simple foundries on the edges of villages and towns. There they remain until they exhaust the small agriculturist and tribal consumer and move on, a custom which has earned them the reputation of being wandering tribes. Actually they are nothing more nor less than itinerant producers-cum-merchants of metalware."

[24] S. Beal, vol. II, pp. 191-92

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R. N. MISHRA

Sculptures in Dakshina Kosala

(A Brief Survey of Stylistic Transformations, Chronology and Artisans)

A study of sculptures and reliefs following the dissolution of the Guptas in the north and the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan is necessarily involved with the diversification of a classical style and its provincial ramifications. Since sculptural art developed within a "feudal" system and patronage was an important factor in its growth, the provincialisation of art-idioms has been investigated until now within a framework of regional dynasties. However, there is a growing awareness now to examine sculptures within their autonomous framework.[1] This paper makes an attempt to examine the art of South Kosala with a view to plot the stages of the denouement of a primarily 'classical' style into 'medieval'.

I

In the South Kosala region, the progressive denouement of 'classical' tradition in sculpture becomes apparent after the eighth and ninth centuries. Finally, in the eleventh century, sculpture seems to have assumed a fundamentally different form owing to the stress of distortion and its standardisation. Thus, through 'classical' to 'medieval' phases, the sculpture of the region exhibits two major and diametrically opposed stylistic idioms; the earlier one, as represented at Sirpur, Rajim, and Dhamatari etc. has sophisticated, sensitive modelling, and elegantly proportioned figures. The later one (which is coeval with the Kalachuri rule) exhibits a stylized, schematic mannerism that is distinctly provincial. In this later style which spread widely in the whole of South Kosala and even beyond, the standard figure has elongated limbs, a swollen face, and a broad, plump chest that suddenly constricts to an almost triangular waist; a central lump appears near the pelvic region below which the legs hang like stiff appendages. The exuberant or languorous variations of this later idiom are fairly recurrent in the art of South Kosala from the tenth century to about the fourteenth century. One wonders how in a region, distinguished for its highly sophisticated and elegant classical art, figures with such distortions could appear.

The story of the stylistic transformation and standardisation of a 'classical' South Kosala idiom into a 'medieval' one is one of progressive developments. Fortunately, the inscriptions from such specific centres such as Mallar, Arang, Rajim, Kharod and Sirpur coupled with careful stylistic analysis enable us to establish the chronology and stylistic development of this region. The progressive evolution of styles of sculptures and reliefs in the region shows a more or less linear stylistic evolution, an offshoot which travelled to the Utkal region while the other finally got submerged in the mainstream of the Kalachuri phase in the eleventh century. Rajim, Sirpur, Kharod, and Mallar among other places, stand out as type sites in such a study.

Historically, South Kosala came under the rule, immediately after the Gupta-Vākāṭakas of two dynasties in quick succession the Śarabhapurīyas[2] and the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs,[3] besides having a few individual rulers such as Bhīmasena.[4] Their inscriptions[5] reveal that the monuments, during their time, were built and maintained by the munificent grants of the ruling class and the nobility. The notable personalities of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī dynasty that emerge in this regard are Bharatabala, Īśānadeva, Tīvaradeva and Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, and his mother Vasatā. Besides these Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rulers, the Kala King Vilāsatuṅga also built a temple at Rajim (the whereabouts of this temple is not now definitely known). Among other patrons mention may be made of Sūryaghosha (in Chāndā region in Maharashtra) and Durgarakshita (at Senakapat). Authenticity of information changes from patron to patron. Regarding some patrons we have some information; about others it is scanty. Taking them individually we may specify first the building projects that were undertaken during the

[1] R.N. Mishra, *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1975

[2] For the post-Gupta history of South Kosala, cf. *E.I.*, XXXI, 263, or the Śarabhapurīyas: Dikshit, M.G., *Madhya Pradesh ke Puratattva ki Ruparekha* (Hindi), Sagar, 1954, pp. 58-61

[3] Mirashi, V.V., "The Pandava Dynasty of Mekala", *Indica* (Silver Jubilee Volume of Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay), pp. 268-273; *E.I.*, XXXI, 33-34

[4] *E.I.*, IX, 342, the inscription is dated in 501 A.D.

[5] Dikshit, M.G., *ibid.*, pp. 55-61

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Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase. For the region of Bharatabala there is a reference to an officer: *devavārika*[6], 'a superintendent of temples and holy places' who might have supervised the construction of temples as well as other artistic activity. He might also have been responsible for the maintenance of other temples. Bharatabala's successor, Iśānadeva built a temple at Kharod which was named Iśāneśvara.[7] Nannādeva I's brother acting as the governor of the Chāndā region, restored a derelict temple originally built by Sūryaghosha. During the reign of Tīvaradeva perhaps the first phase of construction of the Rājīvalochana temple at Rajim was completed since no extent epigraphic evidence exists, this suggestion is tentative. The next building project known to us is the Lakshmaṇa temple at Sirpur dated *ca.* 600 A.D.[8] Under Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna the Rājīvalochana temple was enlarged and Western Gate in the temple compound added. This ruler also helped to preserve the preexisting work at Mallar,[9] Sirpur[10] and Kharod.[11] The Senakapat inscription of his time refers to Durgarakshita, a brāhmaṇa, who built an *āyatana* 'temple', dedicated to Śiva and who granted eight *halas* of land to maintain the temple and its priest: Sadyaḥśivāchārya.[12] In the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs certain regions such as Ashṭadvāra Vishaya[13] (Adbhara, Bilaspur dist.), Tāradaṁśaka Bhoga[14] (the region around Mallar, particularly Tarod, Bilaspur) and Penthamā *bhukti*[15] stand out significantly; it is no wonder that these areas abound in the monuments of this period.

II

The above account gives the historical background and chronological sequence for artistic activity in the South Kosala region during the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rule. It may also be added that the excavations conducted by the late Dr. M.G. Dikshit at Sirpur have brought to light two Buddhist temples and many stone and bronze images dateable to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase.[16] With this evidence at our disposal we may now attempt to trace the stylistic evolution of the art-idiom of the post-Gupta and post-Vākāṭaka period in the region basing ourselves on sculpture from Sirpur, Mallar, Rajim and Kharod.[17]

The central point of the stylistic matrix of this art phase seems to rest with the Lakshmaṇa temple of Sirpur, built by Vasatā. On the basis of its architectural peculiarities and epigraphic evidence, the temple is attributed to early seventh century. However, a comparatively plainer doorway, the less ornate 'plant style' and overall simplicity of the Indaldeo (Kharod) temple (fig. 358) suggest that it was built sometime before the Sirpur temple. Between these two temples may be placed the Tīvaradeva phase of the Rājīvalochana temple at Rajim. Similarly, the Mallar sculptures also indicate various levels of development marked by the

[6] *E.I.*, XXVII, 139

[7] The temple, dedicated to Śiva, was flourishing in the time of Mahāśivagupta who made some grants to it at the behest of a Śaiva ascetic, the incharge of that temple, cf. *E.I.*, XXVII, 321

[8] Krishnadeva, "Lakshmaṇa Temple of Sirpur", Journal of the M.P. Historical Society, II, pp. 35, 40. This temple, to my mind, serves as a watershed in evolving a stylistic categorisation of the South Kosala monuments of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase. This temple was built by Vasatā, the mother of Mahāśivagupta who perhaps ascended the throne "shortly if not immediately" after Tīvaradeva's reign. Cf. Dikshit M. G. and Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXI, 32; also see p. 220 for a different view. The earliest phase of construction of Rājīvalochana temple may be ascribed to Tīvaradeva; the Lakshmaṇa temple of Sirpur and enlargement of Rājīvalochana temple may be ascribed respectively to Vasatā and Mahāśivagupta. Stylistically these two temples appear to be close to each other. Two suggestions may be offered in favour of ascribing the first phase of Rājīvalochana temple to Tīvaradeva; in the first place, it has Garuḍa on the lintel of the sanctum doorway and Garuḍa was the insignia of Tīvaradeva. Secondly, the temple doorway introduces a *nāga-śākhā* which was not accepted in the Sirpur temple but which reappeared at Rajim again on the Western Gate. This gate exhibits a vigorous figure work consisting of Vishṇu-Anantaśāyin on the lintel and other *mithuna* and *dvārapāla* reliefs of Sirpur model, but more advanced in plasticity. Incidentally, the artisans who worked during the rule of Tīvaradeva, do indicate some Nāga affiliation in their names, e.g. Bodhanāga and Sotranāga. It may be surmised that the earliest phase of the construction of Rājīvalochana temple was concluded during the rule of Tīvaradeva and in its bold execution and excellence, it appears to herald the political emergence of Tīvara as 'lord of Kosala and Utkal'. Accordingly, the Kharod temples (viz. Indaldeo and Lakshaṇeśvara may go back to the pre-Tīvara and Vasatā period. More investigation is required for evolving a chronological sequence of the monuments of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī period, and in this process it will be necessary to study the antiquities from Adbhar (Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, VII, 217-19; Cousens and Bhandarkar, *P.R.A.S.I.*, Western circle, 1904, p. 28; Longhurst, *A.R.A.S.I.*, 1909-10, pl. V), Dhanapur (Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, VII, 237) and Dhamatari *(ibid.)*.

[9] *E.I.*, XXXIII, 113

[10] *ibid.*, p. 198

[11] *ibid.*, XXVII, 321

[12] *ibid.*, XXXI, 36; according to Dikshit, Ānandaprabha (*E.I.*, XXXI, 198) a monk helped in establishment of a *vihāra* at Sirpur; Dikshit's suggestion, however, has not been accepted by Sircar who has interpreted the inscription differently.

[13] *E.I.*, XXXI, 219

[14] *ibid.*, p. 120

[15] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, 295: the region around Piprod in the Raipur district of M. P.

[16] Dikshit, M.G., *Sirpur and Rajim Temples* (in collaboration with Barrett), Bombay, 1960, pp. 21-22, pls. 50-68

[17] It may perhaps be relevant to mention here that the Pāṇḍus had their association with the Magadha region and that Tīvara who eventually assumed the title; "the lord of Kosala" was responsible for displacing the Vākāṭakas from the latters' north-eastern dominion.

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image of Skandamātā (fig. 359), Ādinātha, Jina and Kubera in that order. Of all these sites and relics those from Rājīvalochana temple complex appear to exhibit the most definite stylistic evolution. Dikshit[18] distinguished three stages of development at Rajim, the Śarabhapurīya, Pāṇḍu and Nala phases (the fourth or Kalachuri phase is not of relevance here). These three phases, ending with the Nalas, cover a period of two centuries from the sixth to *ca.* 700 A.D. While the upper chronological limits suggested by Dikshit may be correct, the range of two centuries for the whole activity at Rajim seems doubtful. The decorative patterns and sculptural state at the Rājīvalochana complex seem to have materialised and matured during the reigns of Tīvaradeva, Mahāśivagupta, Nannādeva, Chandragupta and Harshagupta. The carved decoration of the Rajim temple has none of the hesitant ambiguities of Kharod and Sirpur; nor is there any discernible gap in the stylistic patterns used during this phase. A closer examination of the doorways, pillars, pilasters and reliefs at Rajim indicate stylistic variations whose upper chronological limits may be accounted for by the unusually long reign of Mahāśivagupta. The decorative pattern of the sanctum doorway of Rājīvalochana temple does not appear to be far removed in time from that of the temple compound's Western Gate. Taking the first stage of construction of this temple as belonging to the reign of Tīvaradeva, it may be suggested that the Western Gate (fig. 360) follows the same pattern in addition to that of the Sirpur temple built by Vasatā. It thus indicates that the style took a complete circle from Rajim back to Rajim through Sirpur, and through the reigns of Tīvara to Mahāśivagupta. Vasatā's Lakshmaṇa temple seems to provide the necessary link between the sanctum door and the Western Gate of Rājīvalochana temple; its earlier and later phases being connected with Tīvara and Mahāśivagupta. The superbly conceived and exquisitely carved figures on the Western Gate seem mature when compared with the hesitant arrangement of decorative details on the Indaldeo temple (Kharod) and Lakshmaṇa temple (Sirpur). All in all the reliefs on the *maṇḍapa* of the Rājīvalochana temple and the Western Gate reveal a stunning variety of beautiful meandering creepers and rhizomes, whose continuous flow seems to be gently broken by neatly arranged couples in amorous dalliance or by boldly carved polycephelous *Nāga* figures entwined in their delicate coils. In the decorative rhizomes and 'plant style' the world presented is one of complete bliss where (fig. 361) *gaṇas* frolic and time stands still.

The images of *dvārapālas* (fig. 362), Devī (fig. 363), Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Nṛisiṁha on the *maṇḍapa* of the Rājīvalochana temple seem to form a class by themselves: they are distinctly different from the images of Vishṇu and Mañjuśrī (Dikshit, 1960: plates 46-48, 54) at Sirpur and of Vāmana, Vishṇu (fig. 364), Nṛisiṁha and Trivikrama (*ibid:* pls. 72-77) at Rajim. This latter group of images was installed perhaps when *devakulikās* were added during the enlargement of the temple complex. The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and other images of the former group have their counterparts at the Rāmachandra temple of Rajim (fig. 365) and at the Lakshaṇeśvara temple at Kharod. However, the Kharod figures of the River Goddess show more attenuated proportions and a greater but smooth tension of contours. Their balanced curves as well as the rounded and receding planes of the female figure appear to mark a development on the other reliefs of the earlier period. The Mallar image of Skandamātā seems to precede these Kharod and Rajim images: it is carved in the round and its style may belong to the pre-Vasatā period in the South Kosala region. Apparently sometime in the eighth century the artistic tradition of South Kosala was transplanted to the Utkal region and eventually influenced the art of Bhuvaneshwar and Mukhaliṅgaṃ.[19]

At about 700 A. D., Rajim witnessed more activity with the advent of Vilāsatuṅga, a Nala ruler of Vidarbha.[20] Clear traces of this activity are not known. However, there do exist some reliefs, Śaivite in theme, on the door of a *devakulikā* at the north-east corner of the Rājīvalochana temple complex. These relief panels which mark a complete break from the other Vaishṇavite and decorative reliefs of the temple, represent Śiva as Lakulīśa (fig. 366), Ardhanārīśvara, Trimūrti (fig. 367), Ekapāda and Gajāntaka. Their distinctive style seems to follow a tradition that became vigorous in the region later. These reliefs cannot be related to any known contemporary tradition in that region. Their connection with the period of Vilāsatuṅga is also doubtful, for his inscription credits him with the building of a Vishṇu temple. Later in the ninth century, the Bāṇa dynasty[21] appeared in South Kosala, but the style of the reliefs of this period (fig. 368) as seen on the sanctum door of the Pali temple is quite different from the Śaivite reliefs of

[18] Dikshit, M.G., *ibid.*, pp. 27-31

[19] Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains of* Bhuvaneshwar (Orient Longman, 1961) 1961, p. 251; Barrett, D., Mukhaliṅgaṁ Temples, Bombay, 1960

[20] Mirashi, V.V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV (i), intro. p. cxvi-cxvii

[21] Mirashi, V.V., *E. I.*, XXVI, 34

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Rajim and therefore not comparable. These Śaivite reliefs thus appear to be quite enigmatic. Stylistically they do not seem to belong to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase. If they did, they could have been ascribed to Mahāśivagupta who was a devout Śaivite. These carvings do not have the facile and uniformly swaying, delicate touch of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase, nor do they have its elegant and exuberantly decorative floral work which could overwhelm the composition; these reliefs at best seem to be emulating some so far unravelled tradition that does not attain the perfection of the earlier phase.

Sirpur, Kharod and Mallar are important both in themselves and in relation to Rajim. Their significance with reference to the post-Gupta trends has been discussed above. Besides, in certain sculptures, particularly those in the Rāmachandra temple (Rajim), Lakshaṇeśvara (Kharod) temple and at Mallar (fig. 369) (Nandmahal group of loose sculptures and those of Parghaniadeo), provide ample evidence of a development in which the limbs become gradually controlled and stumpy. From eighth through ninth century it took some time for sculptures to evolve towards a medieval idiom. In the early stages, the evolution may be seen in certain images in the round, now preserved in the corner *devakulikās* of the Rājīvalochana temple.[22] In their singularly bold plasticity and typical pattern of wearing *antarīya* where sash covers the left thigh longer than the right thigh, and in round, plump faces, in the simple but energetic portrayal of beaded ornaments and a happy balance of sturdy somewhat plump figures, the images of Vishṇu (fig. 364), Vāmana, Nṛisiṁha and Trivikrama (Rajim), and those of Garuḍāsana Vishṇu, standing Vishṇu, a Nāga and Mañjuśrī at Sirpur[23] the later Pāṇḍava phase of art takes a definite change. These images represent both a continuation and an innovation in the artistic idiom. They make a clean break from the overwhelmingly decorative art tradition, and yet they have in them a subdued ornamentation of halo, necklace, *aṅgada, kaṭaka, upavīta* etc. All these are pre-ninth century images. Figural Form changed eventually and the South Kosalan art tradition, of which the Mahānadī valley was the mainstay, seems to have been transplanted to the nearby Utkal region. In the Mahānadī valley itself, the 'classical' tradition seems to have faded out in the ninth century. In Utkal on the other hand, it helped in "initiating a revival of artistic conception with certain modification".[24] It has been suggested that the Somavaṁśīs were responsible for transmission of this idiom into Orissa. The necessary evidence in this regard seems to be provided by the Brahmeśvara inscription. On the basis of this inscription it has been surmised that Janamejaya, a Somavaṁśī prince conquered Odra, and during the reigns of his successors the regions of Kosala, Utkala, Kongoda and parts of what then was known as Kalinga assumed a unity distinguished by cultural and linguistic bonds. While Panigrahi traces this influence on the temples of the former Buddha State and some other places in Orissa, Barrett adduces the evidence from the temples of Mukhaliṅgaṃ[25] consisting of Mukhaliṅgeśvara (originally, Madhukeśvara, second half of the eighth century), Someśvara (second half of the ninth century) and Bhīmeśvara (eleventh century). Barrett ascribed the first two temples to the reign of the early Eastern Gaṅgās (*ca.* 496 to *ca.* 900 A. D.) and the third to the Gaṅgā king Vajrahasta II (980-1061 A. D.).[26]

As regards South Kosala, the classical tradition seems to have been modulated in a newer form and the female figure in the Rāmachandra temple and certain other images from Mallar seem to indicate the denouement of that mannerism. Politically, South Kosala lost significance; and because there was no strong dynastic power to serve as a bulwark, the region was reduced to an outlying bastion in a power struggle. In this situation art suffered stagnation. At the Rāmachandra temple this is evidenced by the haphazardly fixed pillars and the partially recut female figures adorning them (fig. 370). First erected by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs' Rāmachandra temple was reconstructed in the twelfth century by Jagapāla, an officer of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It was renovated again in the last century. The differences in style and in chronological levels of construction and renovation are clearly seen in the *mithuna* figures on the *maṇḍapa* pillar, second in the row of four from east to west as well as in on the anthropomorphic face of a Varāha image (fig. 371) whose size is too small for the body upon which it rested. Perhaps the human head of the Varāha was recarved out of the more usual boar-head, hence its smallness. Even the standard figure of Pṛithvī in the image has been cut away and Varāha's hand is left meaninglessly raised to the place that she probably once occupied. There are other indications of this haphazard reconstruction. For instance, in the *maṇḍapa*, there are three pillars with Gaṅgā but no Yamunā, and two

[22] Dikshit, M.G., *ibid.*, pls. 72-77
[23] *ibid.*, pls. 46-48, 54
[24] Panigrahi, K.C., *op. cit.*, p. 251, also pp. 158 ff.
[25] Barrett, D., 1960, pp. 8-12, pls. 1-38
[26] *ibid.*

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Varāha images but no Nṛisiṁha. Even the reliefs of *śālabhañjikā* and *dvārapālas* have obvious difference in style owing to the chronological gaps in construction. The motley group of pillars in this temple have reliefs of various times; some of these reliefs may belong to a period from ninth to eleventh century.

On the right side of the Rāmachandra temple, in the row of pillars as one enters the *maṇḍapa*, there are life-size reliefs of *śālabhañjikā* in *alto relievo*.[27] Of these, the one having an elongated bowl in her hands (fig. 372) indicates a new stylistic idiom. Though in the suppleness of form it may be related to the anterior art tradition, the tilts and curves on the axis of this figure's body articulate a new lateralism. In another *śālabhañjikā* figure there, these traits assume a further attenuation.[28] In its flabby torso and face, in the schematically arranged layers of its *uttarīya* (to the right between the breast and the waist); in its prominently sinewed coeliac region and in the angular and sharply cut facial features, this relief of *śālabhañjikā* exemplifies only a decadence. What follows now was a period of further stagnation that can be seen in some other pillar figures of Rajim. In these reliefs the alienation from the earlier supple forms of female figure is complete. One such female figure in the compound of the Rājīvalochana temple (fig. 373) has ample curves but an emphatic solidity that is heightened by a flat and disproportionate treatment of the torso and arms and by static hands. Though traces of a linear swerve of body and its rhythm give some grace to the image, its proportions are not skillfully handled. The other reliefs from the Rāmachandra temple indicating similar plasticity and diction may fall in the same group. These figures lack the grace and ornamentation of the art of earlier phase and betray the stagnation that had set in recently.

A very similar situation may be seen at the other centres of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī phase where the pattern of denouement is almost identical to the eleventh century 'medieval' sculptures and monuments replaced the earlier modes of style; evidence of this change is profusely available from Pali, Ratanpur, Janjgir, Bhoramdeo, Deurbija, Deo Baloda and Gandai etc.

III

Before concluding this brief paper, comments must be made on the institutional background of artistic activity in South Kosala during the classical phase. It has been noted above that monuments were created through the patronage of the existing ruling class and nobility. They made the required arrangements for the maintenance of temples by granting land for the purpose and by establishing the priests of particular *śākhās* to carry on the rituals. In this situation, the royal donors apparently had only a marginal financial contribution in the development of particular idioms and styles. An enquiry into the factors that led to the standardisation of form and idiom of sculpture raises certain problems. The stylistic inflexions of sculptures can not be related to the individual rulers or the other members of nobility for the simple reason that they themselves only financed the work but not the skill. Nor can the stylistic inflexions in this period be related to the canons of art. The canons made their appearance not before the ninth century. It may be suggested therefore that the unity or the stylistic and formal similarity in the art relics of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī period in the South Kosala arose out of the wide experiments of master craftsmen and artisans who used their labour and skill in evolving the stylistic matrices of sculptures and monuments. The contemporary inscriptions of the region refer to two categories of artisans namely, *sūtradhāra* and *akshaśālin*. Ancient texts and inscriptions have prolific evidence concerning these and other categories of craftsmen who were engaged in the domain of artistic activity.[29] They had their well defined roles which they performed with credit. As regards the artisans and craftsmen of South Kosala in the "classical" period, we have in the inscriptions reference to the following personalities : Sotranāga and his son Bodhanāga, Ārya Goṇṇa (perhaps the same as Goṇṇa Śiva?), Prabhākara, Vasuguṇa and Ṛishigaṇa and Droṇāditya. Of these, the first two were *akshaśālins* who worked for Tīvaradeva; Ārya Goṇṇa, Prabhākara and Vasuguṇa, the son of Ṛishigaṇa worked during the reign of Mahāśivagupta. The name of Droṇāditya as a mastersmith occurs on certain bronze images obtained from the Sirpur excavations.[30] Of his work, the images of Tārā and Mañjuśrī are superb and as Dikshit has remarked, his work "ranks among the finest things produced by the Pāṇḍava artists." The *sūtradhāra* Durgahastin was the son of Jalahastin and has been referred to as *śilpaśālin;* he flourished perhaps at Rajim during the time of Vilāsatuṅga, the Nala ruler.

The credit of perfecting the form and idiom of art in the South Kosala region should appropriately go to these craftsmen and to their unknown brethren whose names are no longer available now.

[27] Dikshit, M.G., *ibid.*, pls. 78-80
[28] *ibid.*, pl. 78
[29] The author's *Ancient Artists and Art Activity*, pp. 34 ff.
[30] Dikshit, M.G., *ibid.*, p. 22., pl. 54

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WALTER M. SPINK

Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: Cave 1's Patronage and Related Problems

Cave 1 is the most impressive of all the *vihāras* at Ajaṇṭā, judging from both the quality of the work and the amount of effort which went into its making (figs. 374-86). Furthermore, it was executed with more consistency than any other cave and, from the time of its inauguration, it was utilized as a primary stylistic source from which the planners of later caves freely borrowed new and useful ideas. However, despite its obvious importance, it has no extant dedicatory inscription, and so the problem of who its donor might have been remains. The ancient suggestion that it might be associated with the seventh century Hindu king Pulakesin II has of course long been discredited, although many scholars still accept a dating for Cave 1's paintings which is consistent with that erroneous theory, and certainly puts the paintings some one hundred fifty years too late.[2]

What does seem very certain is that it is a royal cave. The overall splendour of its plan and decoration might suggest this, although such observations by themselves prove nothing. The evidence provided by an analysis of its iconographic programme is much more telling. Although one must be wary about leaping to conclusions, it is worth noting that the narrative murals in Cave 1's main hall are all pointedly related to the theme of kingship, without exception; and this is true in no other cave (fig. J). Furthermore, the ceiling paintings, with their representations of regal delights, appear to amplify this same theme (fig. 381). One could even argue—if one is not too inflexible:—that all of the striking façade friezes present appropriate royal themes as well (fig. 375). It is also possible that the remarkable emphasis on *nāgas* in this cave, in positions of particular importance on the pillars (fig. 382) and doors (fig. 383) and in three major painted narratives (figs. 378-80)—there are no such *nāga-jātakas* in other caves—is a reference to the ancestry of the Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa, who was ruling during the heyday of the site, and whose accomplishments provided the auspicious cultural and political *milieu* in which it could flourish.[3]

Without discussing the cave's iconographic programme any further here, since that is the subject of a longer study now in preparation, what I intend to propose is that Cave 1 is indeed an "imperial" monument, not only in its effect, but in point of fact. I do indeed believe that it was sponsored by the Vākāṭaka emperor Harisheṇa himself, who for political as well as pious reasons would have benefitted by taking an interest in the site, just as did his chief minister and the two feudatory rulers who successively controlled that region, as I have suggested elsewhere.[4] Admittedly, the connection which I am proposing must remain a hypothesis, at least until documentary proof is found for it. The cave has no extant inscriptions, either because such evidence was lost with the extensive breakage of its façade and court area, or because—as I would suggest—it was never dedicated.

Even if Cave 1 is the most impressively decorated *vihāra* at the site, and even if its iconographic programme supports the conclusion that it was indeed a royal benefaction, the reader will rightly ask why we assume that it was the emperor Harisheṇa's cave. Why could it have not been the pious undertaking of some other Vākāṭaka ruler, or of the feudatory king of Ṛishika who ruled over the region until 472, or of the feudatory king of Ashmaka who had come into control of the region by 475?

Our answer must lie in a review of the development of the site's patronage, which reflects the contemporary

[1] The reader should be apprised at the outset that the dates given in this essay are approximations, arrived at by means explained in the text. For convenience I give simple dates—e.g. 478—but "*circa*" is implied, and a small margin of error must be allowed. Furthermore, many of my statements about when certain caves were started and finished, or when certain features were carved or painted, may appear to be very arbitrary. However, in all cases I could, if space permitted, point out reasons for my judgements, based on a close comparative study of the various developmental features at the site; the relationships in the Time Chart have been established in the same way. Needless to say, the reader should not accept my conclusions without subjecting my observations to a similar investigative process of his own. In lieu of doing this, I would only ask the reader to allow my judgements as hypotheses, and to judge for himself if what I propose is reasonable.

[2] The suggestion was made by J. Fergusson and published as a note in *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, no. 9 ("Notes on the Bauddha Roc-Temples of Ajaṇṭā . . ."), Bombay, 1879, pp. 90-93

[3] See V. Smith, "The Vākāṭaka Dynasty of Berar in the 4th and 5th Centuries", *JRAS*, 1914

[4] W. Spink, "Bāgh: A Study", *Archives of Asian Art*, XXX (1976-77), pp. 55-56

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political situation. By outlining Ajaṇṭā's growth during its Mahāyāna phase stage by stage, one can show how Cave 1 fits into the overall picture and why it may well be connected with this greatest king of the greatest dynasty then ruling in India's declining but still radiant Golden Age.

Our present discussion reflects our hypothesis that Ajaṇṭā's whole Mahāyāna development took place within the short space of two decades, between *ca.* 462 and *ca.* 482, that it was started shortly after king Harisheṇa came to power, and that its abandonment was due to the political disruptions which attended the collapse of the great Vākāṭaka house (fig. K). For lack of space, we will not repeat the evidence for such a "short chronology" here.[5]

Because so many thousands of separate motifs were

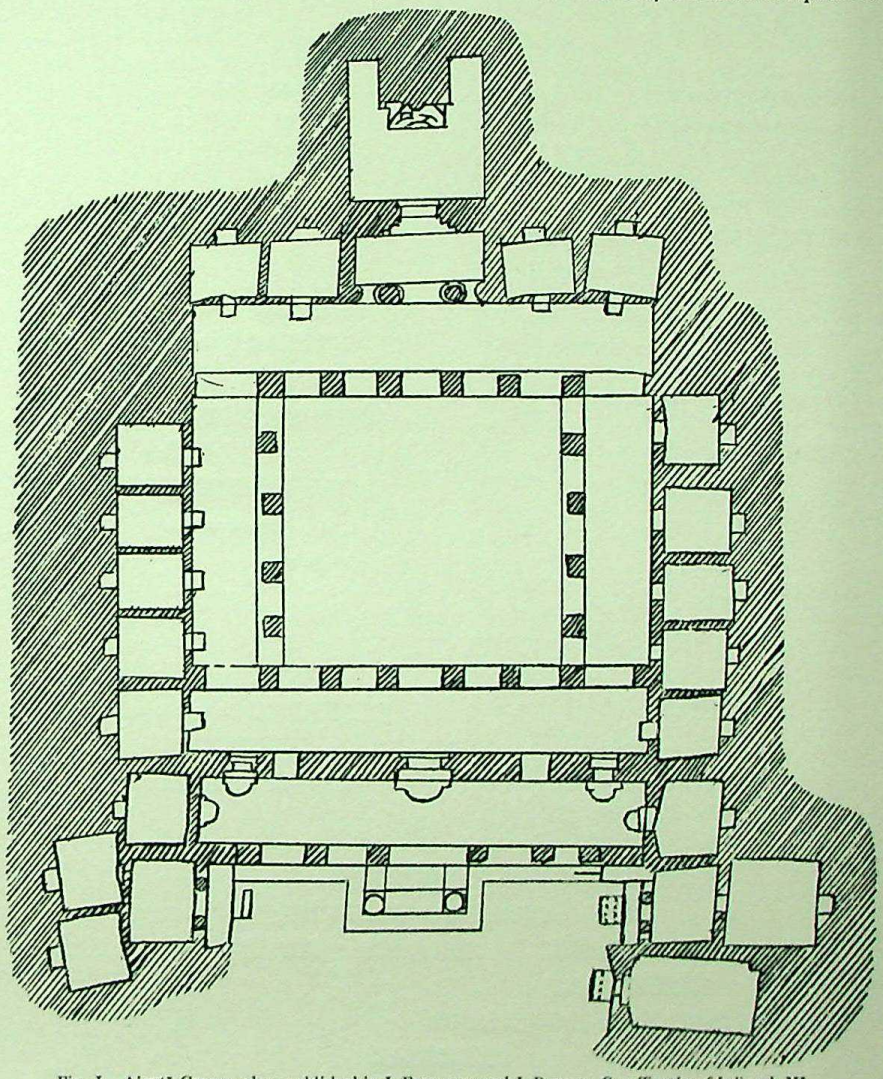

Fig. J Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, plan, published in J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pl. XL

[5] See *Time Chart*. For discussion of the evidence, see W. Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave", *Ars Orientalis*, X (1975), pp. 143 ff; also Spink, "Bāgh: A Study". This "short chronology" was first proposed in my *Ajaṇṭā to Ellorā*, Ann Arbor, 1967 (simultaneously published as *Marg* 22 (2) (March 1967), with a fifty-year span suggested. In subsequent articles I have reduced the time-span considerably and have made certain changes in the developmental sequence proposed. The present article, like all previous ones, included certain revisions which my more recent investigations have suggested.

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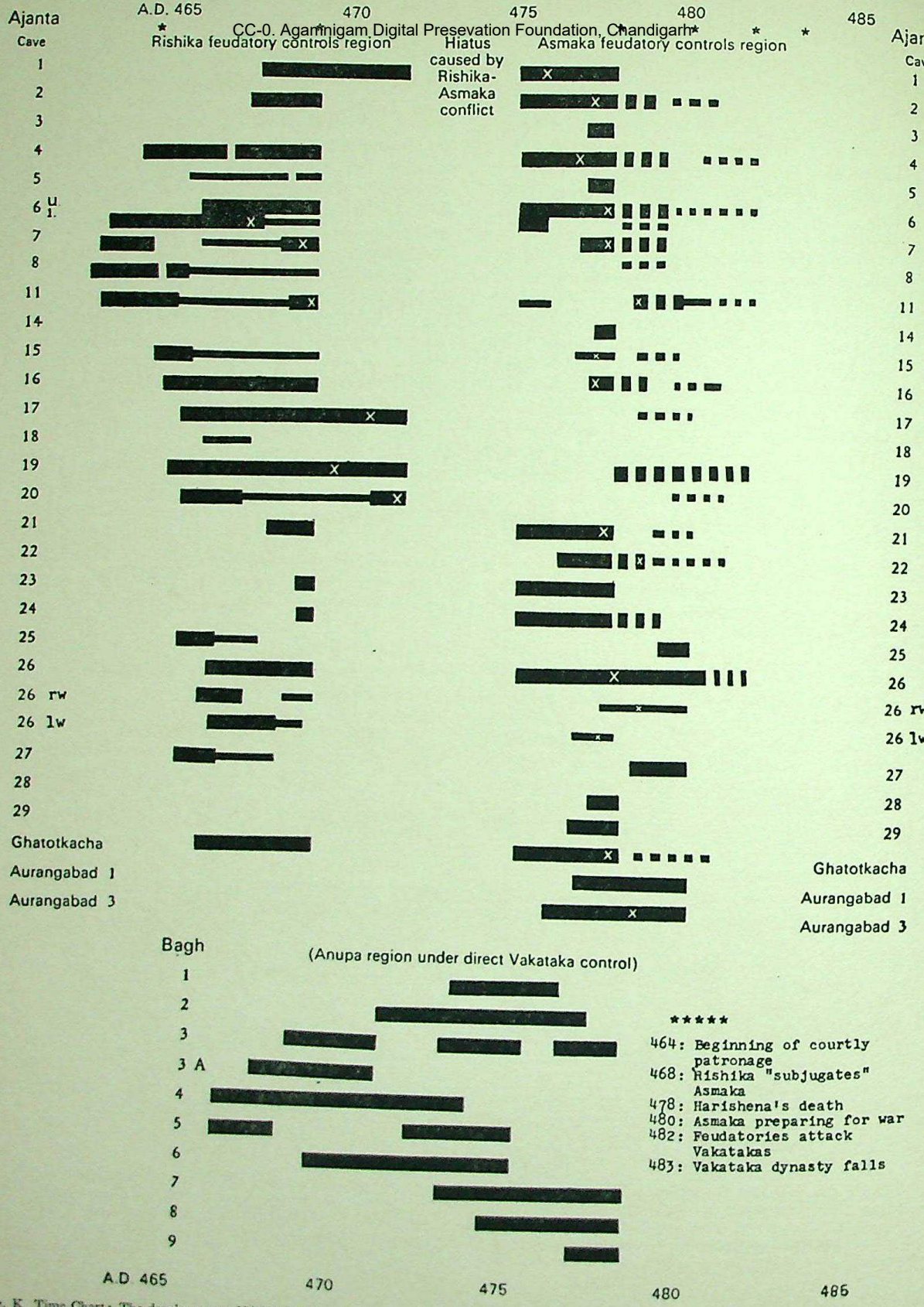

Fig. K Time Chart: The development of Vākāṭaka cave sites during the reign of king Harishena (*ca.* 460—*ca.* 478) and of his successor (*ca.* 478—*ca.* 483). The Vākāṭaka dynasty collapsed in *ca.* 483. Thicker lines suggest more intensive patronage. Broken lines refer to intrusive donations after the consistent phase of excavation and decoration was abandoned. The approximate date of the main image in each case is indicated by an X; in the case of Ajaṇṭā Caves 7 and 11, the images we re-worked after the hiatus, so two Xs are shown. We assume the reader will understand that dates given throughout the article represent only what are, in my opinion, close approximations. See note 1.

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carved and painted at the site during this space of twenty years, we should be able to reconstruct, even if imperfectly, the gradual development of the site as a whole by considering the stylistic, iconographic, functional, and structural relationships between all of its separate parts. But this means that we have to think in terms of fairly discrete year by year changes subject to a few years margin of error since we can only "date" Ajaṇṭā's Mahāyāna phase by reference to a *terminus ante quem* (458) which must have preceded Ajaṇṭā's inauguration by at least a few years, and a *terminus post quem* (486) which must have come at least a few years after Ajaṇṭā's collapse.[6] That is, our *relative* sequence can be established with some confidence, but developments may have proceeded more slowly, or more swiftly, at any given point in time than our developmental continuum suggests. To put it another way, we can be fairly certain that Cave 16 was started before Cave 17 which in turn was started before Cave 1, and that all three caves were undertaken fairly early in the site's Mahāyāna phase, but the dates which we suggest for their inaugurations (464, 465, 468) are ultimately arbitrary. They could certainly be shifted by a year or two, or even more. On the other hand, such shifts cannot be too great, since if we are correct, some twenty sizable excavations were undertaken within the period of a mere two decades, during which time there were a number of serious interruptions and setbacks. Indeed, if we consider only the years when the site was actually flourishing, a period of fifteen years would be closer to the mark for the development of the excavations, while work on the major mural cycles within them certainly occupied no more than ten.[7] This is indeed remarkable, but that is very different from saying that it is impossible. In fact, it is more impossible to conceive that an organically consistent development such as Ajaṇṭā's could have been sustained for anything like the long period of two or three centuries usually suggested. Well-laid plans all too easily fall apart when, as the years go on, patrons die, rulers change, or cultural forms evolve. Ultimately the only explanation for such a phenomenon as Ajaṇṭā's brief flowering lies in man's creative spirit which, at a few fortunate times in our history, has been able to express itself in monuments of consummate splendour.

We do not know who initiated Ajaṇṭā's Mahāyāna phase, but the early history of the site in this period is one of increasingly dynamic involvement. The first cave begun, Cave 8, lying next to the old Hīnayāna caves which were probably being used for worship and residence at the time, was extremely simple in plan and devoid of hall-pillars and carved ornamentation. However, within a very short time—perhaps in 462 itself, or certainly by 463—three other much more ambitious excavations were underway, namely Caves 7, 11, and Lower 6.[8] They were certainly undertaken by wealthy donors, but possibly not by royal benefactors. This seems evident, since a year or two later, when courtly patrons did indeed start their own caves at the site, these ongoing earlier undertakings suffered accordingly. Soon their workers had been coerced or hired away to work on the new benefactions inaugurated by donors of higher rank and greater clout.

The first of these courtly donations appears to have been Cave 16. It was undertaken in 464 by Vārāhadeva, the chief minister of the great emperor Hariseṇa himself.[9] Though still relatively simple in its form and detailing—for the planners were still in the process of learning how to make rock-cut monuments, at which they had had no experience prior to their work at Ajaṇṭā—Cave 16 was very grandly conceived, as would befit the benefaction of such a patron (fig. 389). Indeed, the possible involvement of court architects might well account for the authoritative nature of his *vihāra's* plan, as originally conceived; all later major *vihāras* at the site derive their basic format from it.[10]

With the imperial minister involved as a sponsor at the site, one can easily understand that the local feudatory ruler (Upendragupta of Ṛishika) must have been involved too; indeed, both must have been attracted by the political as much as by the pious rewards they might garner from their good deeds.[11] Since they are slightly farther from the site's old nucleus and since they have more "developed" decorative and functional

[6] For a discussion of these termini, see Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave", p. 143 ff; also Spink, "Bāgh: A Study".

[7] We assume that no caves had been readied for their murals until at least 467, and that no major murals were painted after 479, a period of 13 years, during the course of which (472-475) a 3-year *hiatus* occurred.

[8] Cave 16 and Cave 17, both certainly inaugurated in Hariseṇa's reign, as we know from their inscriptions, contain motifs which parallel and often anticipate features in the earlier Mahāyāna undertakings. Thus it is difficult to believe that there is much difference in the inauguration dates of this whole group; they probably all reflect the same sudden surge of interest, which soon involved Hariseṇa himself.

[9] See V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas, Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum* (Ootacamund, 1963), vol. 5, pp. 103-111 ("Ajaṇṭā Cave Inscription of Vārāhadeva").

[10] Cave 16 shows two distinct stages of development: see Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave", pp. 143-169

[11] We have argued elsewhere that the name of the Ṛishika king was probably Upendragupta, and use this name for convenience here. See Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave", pp. 143-144

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features, Upendragupta's caves appear to have been started somewhat after Vārāhadeva's; but since he undertook a whole huge complex, comprising Caves 17-20 (fig. 393), all at once, the very fact that so much rock had to be cut away to reveal their façades (this task being huge in the case of Cave 19) probably explains why his cave façades would have been underway slightly later than Cave 16's (fig. 390). Furthermore, Upendragupta, as we shall see, appears to have had a more compelling interest in his benefactions or at least a greater ability to claim and to hold the best artists than Vārāhadeva did. Perhaps this was because he was the local ruler. In any case, he certainly urged his artists on to make his caves (which included Cave 19, the new devotional centre for the site) particularly elaborate. From the start they exceed the minister's in splendour.

Anyone, who has been in a region when a building boom is on, knows what a problem it is to get and keep good workmen unless your project has a high priority status. This is just what began to cause problems for most donors at Ajaṇṭā in 465 when the Ṛishika ruler started his impressive four-cave complex. The difficulties were increased just shortly thereafter when the huge Cave 26 *chaitya* complex was begun, along with its upper and lower "wings". By 468 the situation had reached crisis proportions because in that year Cave 1 was begun.

Planned from the start as Ajaṇṭā's most elaborate *vihāra*, Cave 1 immediately became the chief focus of attention. By the time that its façade was being defined, work had stopped on all other caves at the site except for those of the local ruler (i.e. Caves 17-20). Even the Vākāṭaka minister's Cave 16 was left in limbo, as was his other large excavation at Ghaṭotkacha some eleven miles away; quite possibly Vārāhadeva would not or could not stand in the way of his superior's new enthusiasms, and offered his workmen (or his funds) to Harisheṇa (Cave 1's hypothetical donor) as a consequence.

Clearly the donor of Cave 1 was a figure of transcendent importance, for work suddenly stopped at this time on a total of fourteen caves in various stages of development.[12] Even Upendragupta's developing complex felt the effects of the new donor's demands; Cave 20 in

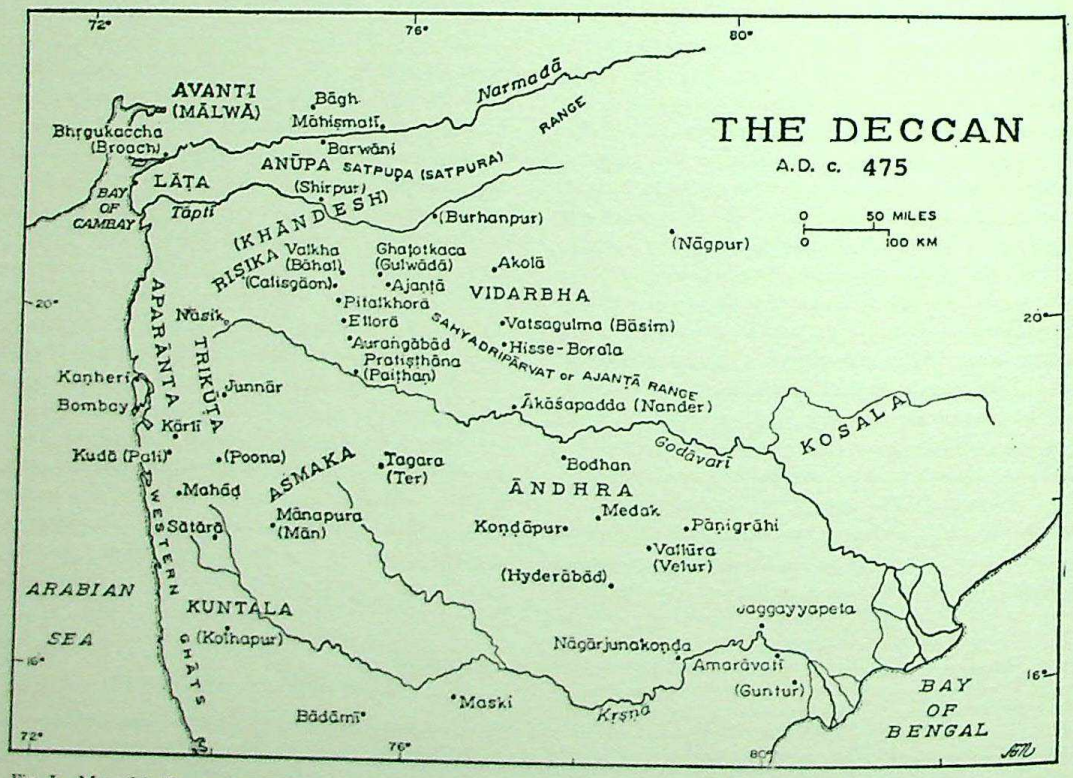

Fig. 1. Map of the Deccan during Harisheṇa's reign, reproduced, with slight revisions, from S. Weiner, *Ajaṇṭā, Its Place in Buddhist Art*, Berkeley, 1977, p. 11

[12] The Caves are 2, 4, 5, Lower 6, Upper 6, 7, 11, 15, 16, and 26 (including its right wing, its left wing—which is commonly called Lower 27-25, and Upper 27). Evidence cannot be given here, but much of it is to be found in articles cited above. See also note 1

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particular languished, perhaps because it was a relatively minor undertaking, while progress was also slowed down (although by no means stopped) on Caves 17 and 19 too. By contrast, Cave 1 progressed with striking swiftness and its workmen (some of whom had certainly come over from Cave 19) frankly elaborated upon many of the beautiful features—complex pillars, doorways, and the like—which were already to be found in Upendragupta's excavations (cf. figs. 395 & 374).

The fact that between 468 and 472 patronage at the site was exclusively devoted to the local king's complex, and to Cave 1, and that Cave 1 was now the more compelling of the two foci, certainly supports the hypothesis that Cave 1 was the overlord's dedication. Subsequent developments further support this view.

As we have pointed out elsewhere, between 472 and 475 there was a *hiatus* in the development of Ajaṇṭā, when no work was done at all (fig. K). This rupture in the site's patronage was apparently caused by a conflict between ancient Ṛishika, the territory in which Ajaṇṭā lies, and the neighbouring territory of Ashmaka (fig. L). The rivalry between these two feudatories of Harisheṇa was apparently a longstanding one, since Upendragupta, in his Cave 17 dedicatory inscription written in 471, singles out Ashmaka for mention as the region he had earlier subjugated.[13] This "put-down" may, however, have been an exercise in braggadocio, for just at this time relations between the two regions deteriorated drastically, a struggle ensued, and Ṛishika was defeated and lost control of Ajaṇṭā to its rival. Upendragupta had probably seen the writing on the wall at the very time that he dedicated Cave 17, for neither it nor Cave 19 nor Cave 20 (also inscribed) had been properly completed at the time.[14] His attitude appears to have been an anxious one, to say the least, and it was justified by the events which lay ahead.

When peace was restored in the region after 475, and patronage was inaugurated again, Ashmaka was in power. Ashmaka and not Ṛishika was singled out for praise when in 480 the vast central hall of *Chaitya* Cave 26 was finally finished and dedicated. Furthermore, Aurangabad Caves 1 and 3, which lay within the Ashmaka territory, or at least closer to their capital than Ajaṇṭā, were also begun in the post-*hiatus* period and show very intimate connections with contemporaneous developments at Ajaṇṭā. The Ṛishika king Upendragupta is not heard from again; and when, much later, work was continued on the great complex of caves which he had started, it was done in a disorderly and disruptive way which the original royal patron would never have countenanced (fig. 394).

The history of Cave 1's development at this time is of great significance, for it continued to develop very consistently and very vigorously just as soon as the *hiatus* was over. Not only was it one of the few caves upon which work started up again immediately, but in fact its elaborate features came to provide the chief stylistic source at the site for all later undertakings. Thus it is clear that its great patron—obviously very rich, and prestigious enough to dominate work at the site *both before and after* the *hiatus*—could neither be the presently-subjugated ruler of Ṛishika, nor the previously-subjugated ruler of Ashmaka. Being neither of these lesser lords, he must have been their overlord, Harisheṇa himself.

Although work on Cave 1 (as on all caves in the region) had necessarily stopped during the *hiatus* (fig. 386), Harisheṇa himself was probably not involved in or seriously affected by that brief local conflict. Indeed the Buddhist caves at Bagh, lying in Anūpa which was under direct Vākāṭaka control, enjoyed a great fluorescence during this period, probably because Ajaṇṭā's craftsmen went there to find work while Ṛishika and Ashmaka were quarrelling.[15]

In contrast with the situation in Cave 1, there does not appear to have been any serious effort to continue the excavation and decoration of many of the early caves at the site, once the *hiatus* ended. Not only Upendragupta's complex, but the majority of the other still-incomplete excavations in the main (older) part of the site—many of which must have been undertaken by friends of the "old regime"—received no attention at all; instead a huge work-effort now went in the vast Cave 26 complex, and into a series of new caves which were now started nearby in the site's western section. Cave 26 was the benefaction of a rich (or well-connected) monk who, in his dedicatory inscription makes a great point of having close friends at the Ashmaka court.[16]

The development of Ajaṇṭā after the *hiatus* of 472-475 suggests the increasing accumulation of Ashmaka power, and ultimately reveals a weakening and finally a collapse of Vākāṭaka power and authority at least in the Ajaṇṭā region. This connects ominously with what we learn from Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita,*

[13] For the inscription see Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, pp. 120-129 ("Inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVII")
[14] See note 11
[15] See Spink, "Bāgh : A Study", pp. 54-59
[16] For the inscription, see G. Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā*, Part IV (text), London, 1955, pp. 114-118

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where we discover that the Ashmakas, shortly after Harisheṇa's death, instigated an insurrection in which their fellow feudatories took part, and thus destroyed the great empire.[17] However, up until 478 there seems to have been no problem. Cave 1 was rapidly moving toward completion, with its remarkably innovative, beautiful, and time-consuming sculptural decoration, its new and influential variation on the standard shrine image type, and its skillfully organized programme of painted decoration. Vārāhadeva, meanwhile, appears to have been so occupied with completing his large and complex *vihāra* at Ghaṭotkacha (fig. 401) that at least for the present, he ordered no work to be done on his long-neglected and by now quite old-fashioned-looking Cave 16 (fig. 389).

It was not until about 477 that Vārāhadeva finally decided to finish Cave 16, a task which could actually be done rather quickly, since when he had abandoned it a decade before only its shrine and rear cells were still unexcavated, and much of its ceiling and front portions were already painted. However, instead of finishing it as originally planned, in the mode of Cave 17, he opted for a very modern and very dramatic new type of shrine and shrine image. The new conception, which he must have developed with some self-satisfaction, for it was both very impressive and very unconventional, incorporated a *pralambapādāsana* Buddha in a pavilion-like chamber. Revolutionary though the conception was—the new type of image became the rage during the next few years at the site and provided the prototype for most shrine images in sixth century and seventh century caves as well—it was never properly brought to completion in the case of Cave 16 itself. Although the great new Buddha image did get completed, the shrine walls were still only very roughly carved, and were unplastered, and unpainted, when work ended. Indeed, this was true of much of the rest of the rear of the cave as well, despite the fact that the cave is described in its dedicatory inscription as if it were complete: "...adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs and has a temple of the Buddha inside."[18]

Cave 16 *does* have all these elements, yet since a number of the "picture-galleries"—its decorated walls—are very unfinished, the cave and its image must have been dedicated while work was still underway, probably shortly after the image was finished and could be put into worship. Perhaps such haste was demanded by Vārāhadeva's schedule, in order that the dedication coincide with a visit of his to the site; and/or perhaps astrological factors made it desirable for its dedication to be accomplished by a certain date; and/or perhaps a deterioration of the political and economic situation advised speed in making the pious donation. However, an equally likely explanation lies in the fact that it was not uncommon to dedicate monuments in that day, as it still often is in our own, before they were quite complete.[19] The question is, since it seems evident that Vārāhadeva had intended to finish his cave properly, why was he not able to?[20]

The very same question arises when we examine his other great benefaction, the *vihāra* at Ghaṭotkacha, which also has a dedicatory inscription which—although illegible in spots—appears to have been composed for the same reason as the one in Cave 16.[21] Judging from the character of motifs which were still underway (fig. 401), or (like its Buddha image) (fig. 402) had just been completed when its excavation was abandoned, work on the Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra* seems to have broken

[17] See V. V. Mirashi, "Historical Evidence in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracharita", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 24: 20 ff, in *Studies in Indology*, vol. 1 (Nagpur, 1960), pp. 164-177. For my somewhat different interpretation, see Spink, "Bāgh: A Study", pp. 54-59; also "Jogeswari: A Brief Analysis" in *Dr. Moti Chandra Commemoration Volume*, Special Number of *JISOA*, 1978, pp. 1 ff.

[18] Inscription quoted from Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, p. 111. For discussion, see Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave".

[19] Of the caves known to have been dedicated during Harisheṇa's reign, none were completed: Caves 16, 17, the Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*, and 20 (if we are correct in assuming it to be by the same royal donor as Cave 17). Cave 26, dedicated after Harisheṇa's death, was also not complete at the time; nor was Cave 4, when its image was painted and inscribed, presumably just after 478, when consistent work on the cave had been abandoned. For the Cave 4 inscription, see D. C. Sircar, "Inscription in Cave IV at Ajaṇṭā", *EI* 33, pt. 6, sec. 49, pp. 259-262, where the inscription is thought to belong to the first half of the sixth century.

[20] Although the paintings on the rear wall of Cave 16—notably the processions which converge upon the shrine—are so closely associated with the image that they appear to form part of the original scheme of decoration rather than to be intrusions, they were certainly added in haste, before the rear wall had been properly smoothed. We would suggest that work was proceeding normally in 478; the carving of the image had just been finished, the ceiling of the rear aisle had already been plastered, and the rear wall and shrine walls were still being smoothed in preparation for plastering. Then Harisheṇa died and, out of expediency, further careful smoothing of the walls was abandoned. Instead the processions—and perhaps the large iconic groups too—were quickly painted on the rear wall, even though the aisle ceiling was still unpainted and the shrine ceilings and walls were still in a very rough condition. Later on, the intrusive paintings on the left aisle wall were added; it is possible that the major iconic groups on the rear wall also belong to this intrusive phase, but their complexity and careful organization suggests that they belong to Vārāhadeva's hurried last efforts instead.

[21] For the inscription see Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, pp. 112-119 ("Ghaṭotkacha Cave Inscription of Vārāhadeva"). See Spink, "Ajaṇṭā and Ghaṭotkacha: A Preliminary Analysis", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 6, 1966, for discussion.

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off at exactly the same point in time as on Cave 16, namely in 478.[22]

Remarkably, the long and consistent development of Cave 1 appears to break off at exactly the same point in time that work so abruptly ended on Cave 16 and the Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*.[23] This sudden abandonment is the more striking because only a few square yards of painting—a few weeks' work—remained to be done in order to bring the cave's carefully conceived decoration-programme to completion. Instead, the half-finished frescoes on the front and right walls of the interior were abandoned in mid-course (fig. 378). How do we explain this curious situation, in which the greatest *vihāra* at the site was abandoned just before completion, particularly when we know that artists remained active at the site for some years hence?

The best explanation would seem to be that this was indeed the great emperor Harisheṇa's cave, as circumstantial evidence which we have presented suggests, and that work on it was suddenly given up when he died—not an unusual situation in India in the case of royal donations. This would equally explain why his chief minister's involvement at Ajaṇṭā and Ghaṭotkacha also ended at just this point, or very shortly thereafter, for the death of such a powerful monarch could have had serious repercussions on the political and economic situation of the empire as a whole.

Proceeding with our analysis, we find that what happens elsewhere at the site at this time is equally significant. When we locate all the various features of every Mahāyāna cave at the site upon a stylistic and iconographic continuum, we find that a similar disruption of patronage occurred at *every* cave which was underway at this time, with the single exception of the Cave 26 complex (fig. K). That is, no matter how far their excavation and decoration had progressed, their latest features (often in process of completion) all appear to have been underway in about 478. After this, their original work-programmes are invariably abandoned.

In a few cases, just after this general break in the work-programmes, there was an effort (either on the part of the still interested but harried original patrons, or perhaps on the part of new ones) to complete the decoration of the walls and ceilings of these caves in something like the manner originally intended. However, this was only done if these areas had previously been excavated and were more or less ready for such plastering and painting; indeed, where rough areas or extrusions existed they were now, more often than not, merely plastered over prior to being painted—an unthinkable procedure in the heyday of the site.[24] But by and large the idea of "decorating" the caves with *jātaka* stories or beautifully-patterned ceilings was a thing of the past. Increasingly as the months went on the emphasis was upon donating Buddha images, large and small, painted or sculptured, seated or standing, singly or in groups, wherever wall space or room for little shrinelets, inside or outside the caves, was still available (fig. 388). Often these intrusive votive donations are inscribed—usually quickly with the brush rather than with the chisel—by their donors, who were much more concerned with making merit now than with making caves. Thus the site, although still very active, became increasingly anxious after 478, with pious expediencies rather than personal prestige and aesthetic interest defining the donor's goals.

Having seen how widespread the disturbance of Ajaṇṭā's patronage was, starting in 478, how do we explain the startling fact that the huge Cave 26 complex was not adversely affected at all, at least at first. Despite the fact that its donor was only a monk (although it must be admitted that he had powerful connections at court) Cave 26's excavation and decoration continued very vigorously, probably the more so because of the sudden surplus of skilled workmen who had been thrown out of work by the site's "recession" at this time (fig. 397). At the same time, Caves 1 and 3 at Aurangabad, which had been begun only shortly before 478, also continued to flourish until at least 480, incorporating decorative, iconic, and functional features which reflect and evolve from their immediate Ajaṇṭā prototypes. Clearly, there was no debilitating economic recession in the region, and no manifest politic conflict such as caused the earlier *hiatus*, for in such circumstances *all* caves would have gone into decline.

The most convincing explanation for the favoured treatment of these few caves would seem to be that either by virtue of their patronage or (in the case of the Aurangabad caves) their location, they had the particularly close support of the local Ashmaka court, which had enjoyed a dramatic increase of prestige and power after its successful struggle against Ṛishika. It seems evident too that in the case of Cave 26, its promised size and grandeur combined with its sacred function

[22] The hall was never painted, but the Buddha image shows traces of paint; it seems likely that it was put into worship when the still-unfinished cave was dedicated.

[23] Like other such observations throughout this paper, and as explained in note 1, this judgement is made on the basis of our detailed analysis of the overall developments at the sites.

[24] Examples can be found in Caves 7, 20, 11, Upper 6, 16

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would have sustained interest in it, if only as Ashmaka's answer to Upendragupta's beautiful Cave 19. A constant glittering reminder of that former rival's piety and power, Cave 19 may not have been used for worship after the *hiatus*—surprising as that may seem—but it could hardly have failed to attract attention and admiration.

If we are correct, from the moment of Harisheṇa's death in 478 the Vākāṭaka involvement in Ajaṇṭā drastically waned, while that of their feudatory, the Ashmakas, waxed. Quite possibly Harisheṇa's successor and his court had new and different priorities; but it seems certain too that they were distracted by increasing problems. The total collapse of their empire—Ajaṇṭā with it—a few years later makes such a conclusion indisputable. And, if we can rely on the evidence of the *Daśakumāracharita,* which has been shown to be surprisingly reliable as an account of the fall of Harisheṇa's house, the Ashmakas were the fattening worm at the troubled core of the Vākāṭaka rose.

The *Daśakumāracharita* says that Harisheṇa, after successfully extending his empire and ruling it authoritatively, was succeeded by a weak son who had been corrupted by bad counsel prior to ascending the throne. Very shortly thereafter, this new king—perhaps already weakened by the troubles which so often attend dynastic succession—came under the pernicious influence of the son of the minister of Ashmaka, who had come to the court with the attention of advancing Ashmakan political ambitions. Proceeding to work against his overlord from within, he, with his machinations, had soon "destroyed the entire virile section of the people and brought the capital of the (Vākāṭaka) king to a tottering condition."[25]

As the Vākāṭaka empire—and Ajaṇṭā with it—went into these first stages of a deepening state of shock, the ruler of Ashmaka, increasingly impatient with his subordinate status, asserted more and more authority in his own region. However, there is no reason to think that this involved any military action. The *Daśakumāracharita* suggests that Ashmaka started its rise to power by virtue of the tongue rather than the sword, and the situation at Ajaṇṭā and Aurangabad immediately after 478 would certainly confirm this. Work on Cave 26 and Aurangabad 1 and 3 progresses vigorously and smoothly; it is only the total disruption of consistent work on so many other caves which reflects the dramatic development of an increased regional autonomy, with very new priorities, and hints at the disaster yet to come.

If Cave 26's total development—it had been started and then abandoned over a decade earlier when Ṛishika controlled the region—stands as witness to the ominous evolution of Ashmaka's power, its dedicatory inscription commemorates two chief architects of Ashmaka's destiny, namely a great minister of Ashmaka, who was dead at the time, and his son who had succeeded him to this office.[26] The fact that the monk Buddhabhadra, who donated the cave, praises the deceased minister, "who was attached to him in friendship through many successive births" even more fulsomely than his "excellent son" (the present minister), and the surprising fact that he presents the cave, not for his own personal benefit, and not in honour of the new minister, but in honour of the *deceased* minister, strongly suggests that the latter had only recently died. And if this minister had indeed passed away only very shortly before the cave was dedicated, then it is evident that his son and successor was that same treacherous "son of the minister of Ashmaka" who, according to the *Daśakumāracharita,* "pretending to have been exiled by his father", came to the Vākāṭaka court, and with his "many courtesans and gallants, artists of great skill, many spies and disguised servants . . . gained access to the king" whom he deceived and corrupted.[27] Or as Buddhabhadra's inscription, reflecting Ashmaka attitudes, puts it, he "accomplishes with tact and sweetness only, even such tasks as would normally call for rigours and active struggle."

Considering the amount of demanding work which was done, following a well-disciplined programme, on Cave 26 after 478, when the widespread "recession" of patronage afflicted the site's other caves, it is reasonable to assume that its execution progressed vigorously until 480. After that, as we shall see, its consistent programme also fell into disarray. This is the point (*circa* 480) at which it probably was dedicated (even though it was still quite unfinished) because after this point intrusive additions by other donors begin to appear upon it. We would conclude that the new Ashmaka minister had succeeded to power by this time, having been recalled to his home region from his perfidious diplomatic mission at the central Vākāṭaka court. Indeed, the recent death of his father may even have been the occasion for the composing of the inscription, which thus could serve the dual purpose of memorializing the father, in whose honour the cave was dedicated, and of praising the son, who had just come to power, bringing with him a well-deserved reputation for diplomacy.

[25] V. Satakopan, V. Anantacharya, and N. Bhaktavatsalam (trans.), *Dandin's Daśakumāracharita,* Madras, 1963, p. 151
[26] Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā,* p. 118
[27] Satakopan, Anantacharya, and Bhaktavatsalam (trans.), *Dandin's Daśakumāracharita,* pp. 145-146

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It is of course possible that the consistent development of Cave 26 continued after it was dedicated, but it seems unlikely that this could have gone on for more than a few weeks or months, since well before the total disruption of the site, in 482, Cave 26's work programme had fallen into disarray, as the many intrusive additions on its façade and in its ambulatory attest (figs. 396, 398, 399).

We now must ask why, when Cave 26 seemed exempt from the problems which in 478 afflicted all other developing caves, did it succumb to such intrusions in 480. And how do we explain the collapse of patronage in this and all other caves in 482?

The answer seems to be that Ashmaka was now being hoist with its own petard; it was already feeling the first winds of the storm which it had itself engendered. According to the *Daśakumāracharita,* after circumstances — including the subterfuge of the son of the Ashmaka minister—had brought the Vākāṭakas, under Harisheṇa's weak successor, to a "tottering condition," the Ashmakas organized a coalition of feudatory rulers and in a successful insurrection, toppled the great dynasty from power. The involvement of the Ashmaka court—and of its exchequer—in this business must have been all-consuming, once the process was underway. One can easily understand why the consistent programmes of work on Ajaṇṭā Cave 26 and on Aurangabad Caves 1 and 3 would have broken off at the point when these new commitments began—probably in 480, judging from the point these caves had reached in their development by this date.

This does not mean, however, that all artistic patronage came to an end in 480. We know this because the donations of intrusive images, which had been going on in most other caves since 478, now started to be made in Cave 26 as well, after its consistent development had been given up. Here, as elsewhere, these new disruptive additions appear to be private image-offerings made by devotees who had not been involved at all in the original work on the caves in which or on which they were placed (figs. 396, 399). Often they are identified by separate short inscriptions, generally merely painted rather than carefully incised, as the "meritorious offerings" of different individuals.

By considering factors such as their style, iconography, and placement, one can work out a fairly reliable sequence for all of these late and intrusive images which appear at the site in great numbers. Significantly, some of the latest—generally in the newly-popular *pralambapādāsana* mode (which never appears in sculpture prior to 477) and often relegated to whatever locations were still available at this point—are unfinished (fig. 400).[28] Such unfinished images signal still another landmark in the declining site's history, namely its final and sudden abandonment. Apparently a moment came when there was no longer any possibility of bringing them to completion, for Ajaṇṭā's doom was sealed. After this point, which we would date to *circa* 482, not a single image was ever painted or sculpted at the site again. Even the various monks' cells, which in accordance with the latest fashion were all being plastered in these final years, were from the moment of the debacle onward to remain bare-ceilinged and bare-walled. Soon, it appears, most of them were uninhabited, for many of those which were newly plastered at this time suffered little subsequent damage from use.[29] Ajaṇṭā certainly could not sustain very many monastic residents without its accustomed resources; and now times had changed. Of course, this does not mean that the site was absolutely deserted from the time that its artistic patronage ceased; but it seems unlikely that it continued as a vigorous establishment for very long. Indeed, if (like the caves at Bagh, or at Ellora) Ajaṇṭā's caves *had* remained in use for very long, the beautiful paintings in their interiors would have been woefully begrimed. Caves 17 and lower 6, the only caves which had been painted and put into use prior to the *hiatus* of 472, reveal exactly what damage such use could cause and how quickly it could occur (fig. 391).[30]

Compared to the vast accomplishments of Ajaṇṭā's heyday, the total quantity of work which was done at the site during its declining years from 478 to 482 is not very great. No new caves were started, while (except for the Cave 26 complex) the well-laid plans of all still-incomplete undertakings were either completely abandoned during this period or else they were decorated as expediently as possible.

As we have argued elsewhere, the Vākāṭaka dynasty must have collapsed in about 483.

Ironically, Ajaṇṭā's patronage probably finally gave out just as the Ashmakas, who had been supporting it, were moving toward victory—a victory which was so

[28] In a forthcoming article I will analyze the development of this intrusive imagery, all of which appear to date between 478 and 482

[29] Obviously much plaster has fallen away in the last 1500 years, but many cells at the site have plastered walls still quite undamaged. The complex question of just when the cells were plastered will be the subject of another study.

[30] According to my chronology the shrine and shrine antechamber of Cave Lower 6 had been put into worship in 468, despite the fact that the cave was not yet ready for residence; the cells were not finished until a few years after the *hiatus*. Cave 17 was dedicated, having been mostly painted at the time, in 471.

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shattering in its effects that it created a flood of change which ultimately engulfed those who won and those who lost alike. The *Daśakumāracharita* says that the ruler of Ashmaka, treacherous as always, "baited all the (other feudatories) into a ruinous squabble, and himself swallowed the whole plunder" once the Vākāṭakas were overthrown.[31] But he obviously could not contain such a gross and selfish feast; he may well have ended up weaker than before.[32] In any case, in these times of troubles, with its support withdrawn, Ajaṇṭā died.

The donor of Cave 17, when he dedicated his cave in 472, had wished that his "almost measureless hall" would work its blessings and "cause the attainment of well-being by good people as long as the sun dispels darkness by its rays."[33] As it turned out, his cave was used for a mere decade; and it had a far longer life than most. Cave 16 and Cave 26 were in worship only from 478 and 480 respectively; and no sooner had they been dedicated than their disciplined development broke down. As if in witness to this, the monk Dharmadatta, who played an important part in the making of the vast Cave 26, appears to have joined the *hoi polloi* by 481, for we find him making intrusive donations in Vārāhadeva's Cave 16 where, by this time, any semblance of a consistent programme of decoration had been given up (fig. 389).[34]

As for Cave 1, the greatest of all the *vihāras*, it seems quite possible that it was never used for worship at all, even though (as was not uncommon) its cells had been used for residence for a number of years prior to the site's collapse; a few cells, showing a relatively early type of door fitting, may even have been occupied prior to the *hiatus*, when its excavation was still quite incomplete.[35] If we are correct that Harisheṇa's death precipitated the disruption of work at the site in 478, Cave 1 was affected like the rest, and remained unfinished too, as a result. Perhaps for the very reason that it was the emperor's cave, later donors did not violate its carefully worked-out programme of decoration by adding intrusive images on still-available wall surfaces; but this explanation is not very convincing, since other important donors' caves, Harisheṇa's minister's included, were not exempt from such additions.[36] It seems more likely that such intrusions never were added because the cave was never dedicated.

It is interesting to note that intrusive images only appear in caves where the main image shows evidence of having been painted and used; in these caves the intrusions are often crowded into any and all available spaces. By way of contrast such intrusions *never* appear in caves where the shrine images were never carved, or were never completed, even though these latter excavations, unfinished, usually have plenty of good wall space to spare.[37] Therefore, the absence of intrusions in this most splendid of all the *vihāras* certainly tempts one to the conclusion that the Cave 1 image, although it was painted, had still not been put into actual use—presumably such use was preceded by appropriate dedicatory rituals—by the time its donor died. Considering the date at which work on the cave was abandoned, this neglect does not seem particularly surprising, since (no matter what reason we give as its cause) the previously vigorous patronage of the site was shattered in 478. Things which had not been done by that point tended never to be completed after it.

A few other points seem to support this hypothesis—admittedly surprising—that Ajaṇṭā's most splendid cave, carried so near to completion, was never put into worship. For one thing, we should note that Cave 1 has no extant dedicatory inscription, nor does there seem to be any area on its façade where one might once have appeared.[38] Thus we may reasonably assume that (like

[31] Arthur W. Ryder (trans.), *The Ten Princes* (Chicago, 1927, reprint 1960), p. 215; Ryder's translation is more readable but less precise than that by Satakopan, Anantacharya, and Bhaktavatsalam.

[32] By 490, the Traikūṭakas were in control of much of the Konkan, even if Ashmaka had controlled it for a short time after the Vākāṭaka fall, as the *Daśakumāracharita* implies; see V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Cedi Era*, *Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum*, Ootacamund, 1955 vol. 4, p. 25 ff, for relevant inscriptional evidence. For this and other suggestions of the Ashmaka decline by the end of the fifth century, see our forthcoming article, "The Great Cave at Elephanta: A Study of Sources", to be published in a volume relating to the *Carleton College Gupta Period Seminar*, 1977, Bardwell Smith, ed.

[33] Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, p. 129

[34] For Dharmadatta's intrusive Cave 16 donations, see Yazdani, *Ajaṇṭā*, part III, p. 95. For illustrations, see Spink, "Ajaṇṭā's Chronology: The Crucial Cave", figs. 6, 24

[35] Door and window-fittings at Ajaṇṭā evolve in an even more consistent and revealing way than other *motifs* at the site, probably because they are purely functional features.

[36] Cave 16 and the Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra* both have intrusive images, added after 478, as do Caves 17, 19, and 20. Cave 26 shows many intrusions after 480

[37] Cave 21 has an intrusive painted Buddha image on its left aisle wall, and thus might be an exception. However, its shrine image might have been in use, since it was fully carved; if so, its paint has all been lost. The small intrusive panel at the left end of the rear porch wall must have been placed there because of the presence of the shrinelet nearby, created by converting the cell at the left end of the porch to such a use.

[38] This is better judged from photos taken prior to the loss of Cave 1's portico. See illustration facing page 48 in J. Burgess, "Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples", *ASWI*, vol. IV, London, 1883, reprint, Varanasi, 1964

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the dedicatory inscriptions of Cave 26 and the Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*) it would, if composed, have been placed on the main (rear) wall of the porch; and it seems equally reasonable to assume that like all other extant major inscriptions at the site it would have been incised. Since it does *not* appear in the porch, it may well be that it was never written.

Further evidence that the Cave 1 image was not put into worship involves the surprisingly unsullied surface of the paintings in the cave, most remarkably those in the shrine antechamber, along with the remaining fragments in the shrine itself. In caves where the shrines were in worship for only a few years, there are always thick deposits of grimy soot from oil lamps, particularly at the upper levels. We need only compare Cave 1's startlingly clean shrine antechamber ceiling (figs. 383, 384) to the thickly coated antechamber ceilings in Cave Lower 6 (put into use in 468), Cave 17 (put into use in 472) (figs. 391, 392), or even Cave 2 (put into use in 479) to understand this. It is much more like the equally clean painted antechamber ceiling in Cave 15, which was certainly never used, since the shrine doors were never hung.[39]

Finally, one might note that the centre of the painted medallion on the shrine antechamber ceiling of Cave 1 shows practically no damage, despite the fact that a hook (for a lamp or a garland?) was usually placed at this point.[40] The plaster around the centre of the similarly placed medallion in Cave 2 is, in contrast, very damaged from a very few years' use (fig. 387), and a great number of similar instances can be found throughout the site, even in the main residence area of Cave 1 itself. This suggests that the shrine antechamber ceiling-hook was never (or at least very seldom) used—again supporting the hypothesis that the image was not in active worship.

[39] All caves where it is evident that the image was in use had shrine doors fitted; but this could not have been the case in Cave 15, since the pivot-holes for the door panels were never cut out. Cave 1 does have such holes, which show signs of wear proving that the shrine door had been opened and closed many times. This does not prove, however, that the shrine was used for worship, rather than for some other purpose, even storage, or residence. Compared to the mostly intact painting on the shrine antechamber walls, those in the shrine have badly broken away; they are nonetheless quite free of grimy deposits.

[40] The hook (if it was once present) was later removed, or has fallen out. The exact centre of the medallion shows a tiny area which has been filled with cement by recent conservators.

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List of Illustrations

Fig. 374. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, façade, old photograph, showing remains of original portico (fig. 181 in J. Burgess, The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India, 2 vols. 1897; from copy neg. 1-18 in the Asian Art Archives of the University of Michigan (hereinafter referred to as AAAUM).

375. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, façade, detail of frieze over second pillar from left, showing episodes in the life of a prince (Siddhartha?); copyright AAAUM 16-68.

376. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, porch, view to right end; old photograph, taken prior to restoration. Copied from Boston Museum of Fine Arts photo 47114 from India Office negative 534 rec 463; AAAUM copy neg. X-15.

377. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, view to right rear of main hall. AAAUM 312-69.

378. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, right wall, between cells R4 and R5, unidentified subject involving a king and a *nāga;* unfinished painting at right, with still unpainted plastered wall surface at left. Photo: *Courtesy* of Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of India.

379. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, left wall, front end, Śaṅkhapāla *jātaka*, detail. Photo: *Courtesy* of Dept. of Archaeology, GOI.

380. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, rear wall, near right end, Champeyya *jātaka*, detail. Photo: *Courtesy* of Dept. of Archaeology, GOI.

381. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, main hall, ceiling detail, *yaksha-rāja*(?) with attendants. AAAUM (copied from slide).

382. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, view through rear centre pillars, which show *nāgas* worshipping stūpas on their capitals. AAAUM 11096.

383. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, shrine antechamber. AAAUM 12055.

384. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, shrine antechamber, ceiling medallion. Photo: *Courtesy* of Dept. of Archaeology, GOI.

385. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, shrine, Buddha. AAAUM 1028-66.

386. Ajaṇṭā Cave 1, interior, doorway of Cell L5, from within the cell. Arrow shows location of upper socket for door's pivot pole. Lower socket is cemented in. There is no socket in the monolithic projection just above and to the left of the doorway. AAAUM 382-77.

A study of Cave 1's door-fitting arrangements shows that only a few of its cell doors had been hung prior to the *hiatus,* since most of the projecting pivot-pole holders which were in standard use at this time and which had been defined when the doorways were carved out (*ca.* 468—*ca.* 471 A.D.) have no sockets cut into them. After the *hiatus* a simpler and better fitting system was used, whereby the door was set into a recess, to achieve better closure. Since the upper and lower sockets for the pivot pole could now be set within this recess, the monolithic projections were no longer of any use—as we might expect they are never found in excavations begun after the *hiatus,* but in examples such as this they remain as vestigial forms, bereft of their intended function.

387. Ajaṇṭā Cave 2, shrine antechamber, ceiling medallion. Photo: *Courtesy* of Dept. of Archaeology, GOI.

388. Ajaṇṭā Cave 16, interior, view to left rear of main hall, showing intrusive Buddha images (some donated by the monk Dharmadatta) painted on the rear portion of the left wall. AAAUM 11244.

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Fig. 389. Ajaṇṭā Cave Upper 6, interior, rear wall, left end, showing intrusive images carved in unfinished wall surface. The lightly sketched-in *padmāsana* images along the top of the wall were abandoned when the present eight seated images (seven Buddhas of the past in *pralambapādāsana* pose, and Maitreya) were carved. AAAUM 1187-72.

390. Ajaṇṭā Cave 16, shrine, showing unfinished surfaces. AAAUM 11251.

391. Ajaṇṭā Cave 17, shrine antechamber. AAAUM 1108-66.

392. Ajaṇṭā Cave 17, shrine antechamber, dancing dwarfs in the ceiling medallion, very obscured by grime. AAAUM 132-68.

393. Ajaṇṭā Caves 17-20 (Upendragupta's complex) with Cave 16 at right and Cave 21 at left; Cave 29 is above Cave 21. AAAUM 12060.

394. Ajaṇṭā Cave 19, façade. Note the intrusive images on the left and right respond. AAAUM 1113-66.

395. Ajaṇṭā Cave 19, portico. AAAUM 1114-66.

396. Ajaṇṭā Cave 26, façade, showing intrusive images on left respond. AAAUM 981-68.

397. Ajaṇṭā Cave 26, interior, frieze over right pillars, showing *pralambapādāsana* image incorporated into the original programme of carved decoration; such usage is a very late feature, appearing elsewhere only in Aurangabad Cave 3, except in intrusive contexts. AAAUM 6062.

398. Ajaṇṭā Cave 26, interior, intrusive images in left ambulatory. AAAUM 1202-78.

399. Ajaṇṭā Cave 26, interior, intrusive images in right ambulatory, showing later inscribed standing Buddha replacing unfinished seated image. AAAUM WO-28.

400. Ajaṇṭā Cave 26, interior, unfinished intrusive *pralambapādāsana* Buddha toward rear of right ambulatory. AAAUM 430-69.

401. Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*, shrine antechamber, looking toward main hall. AAAUM XR-7.

402. Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*, shrine, Buddha. AAAUM 781-72.

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JENNINE AUBOYER

About an Indian Terracotta of the Guimet Museum, Paris

Owing to the generosity of Mr. Robert Rousset (Paris), member of the "Society of the Friends of the Guimet Museum", the collection of Indian terracottas of the Museum was enriched by a new specimen in 1971 (number M. A. 3342).

It is a quite large moulded plaque: though its lower part is missing, it is 0.155 metres high and 0.120 metres at its widest. It is made of pink earth with traces of mica. On the front, one can see a male winged figure, standing in the *samapāda-sthānaka* position with arms *akimbo* (fig. 403).

A very similar moulded plaque, although more damaged (fig. 404), has been published by S.C. Kala.[1] Kala describes this figure as follows: "Moulded plaque no. 1763 (7.5 × 6.5 cms)[2] showing a standing male figure wearing wings. He puts on round earrings, a thick torque, necklace and armlets. The headdress is composed of two masses parted in the middle by two long frills. He wears a *dhotī* supported by a waistband knotted on the left side". Close similarities between these two pieces reinforce the suggestion that the specimen at the Guimet Museum comes from the same site.

The Guimet-plaque, more complete than the Allahabad Museum's, allows us to say that this winged male figure holds in each hand a rising and undulating stem crowned by a lotus with a well-drawn pericarp. In addition to the description of S.C. Kala, we can give these details: the armlets are decorated with palmette like those at Bharhut or other ancient sites such as Pauni;[3] on the basis of the dig's stratigraphy, this last relief is attributed to phase II, that is to say the Śuṅga period. On the other hand, the bottom of the plaque is, in both the Guimet and Allahabad terracottas, decorated with the same background of rosettes in low relief; this decoration can be seen on other terracottas, for instance on the famous moulded plaque of Tamluk (Midnapur district, West Bengal) now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[4] The inside of its wings, which spring from the shoulders, is decorated with a well marked scroll that represents those frequently found in reliefs belonging to the ancient phases of the Mathura school (particularly in a relief probably of Śuṅga period now in the Mathura Archaeological Museum).[5]

Moreover, though the softness of the contours suggest that the breast is a feminine one, several details allow us to assume that it really is a male figure, especially the belt which is better preserved in the Allahabad specimen and the type of which is only known in male representations. The three holes dug above the hairdress and the wings are characteristic of the Śuṅga period.

All this parallel information suggest that these two plaques belong to the Śuṅga period, probably dating to about the end of the second century B.C.

The Guimet's plaque allows us to assume that the figure holds in each hand a lotus stalk growing along the outside of the arm towards the shoulder—it was not possible to say this with the broken Allahabad plaque. This detail is important because it permits us to compare the Guimet plaque with others on which the subject appears completely: that is to say, a male or female winged figure standing on the pericarp of a great lotus and holding in each hand an undulating lotus stem rising along both arms. In most cases, these winged figures are females and quite rarely males, though S.K.

[1] Terracotta Figurines from Kauśāmbī, pl. XIVB, Allahabad, 1950, p. 62

[2] An error might have crept into these measurements. It has not been possible for me to make a verification. But the similarity between the two plaques is important and we can only notice very few differences. Perhaps both plaques come from the same mould, their minor variations being due to different impressions. This hypothesis, however, does not agree with the opinion of P.L. Gupta who wrote in 1965, in: Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, p. 173: "Scarcely any of the objects as yet found, however similar some may be, could have been made in the same mould."

[3] S.B. Deo & J.P. Joshi, *Pauni Excavation 1969-70*, Nagpur, 1972, pl. XIX, XX

[4] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1939*, Kern Institute, XI, p. 102 *et.* pl. V. E.H. Jonhnston. "A Terracotta Figurine at Oxford", J. I. S.O. A., X, 1942, p. 94 ss. *et.* pl. IX, 1.—Rectifications in: S.K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1949 (2nd ed. 1960), pp. 98-102, *et.* pl. XVI; Chapter VIII, no. 9

[5] No. 8/130, which was shown at the Exhibition of Buddhist Art in 1956 in New Delhi on the occasion of the Symposium for the Buddhajayanti (No. 4 of the Catalogue): cf. J. Auboyer, "Septterres cuites de style Sunga/Kanva au Musee Guimet Paris", *Indologentagung* 1971, fig 10, Berlin 1972

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Saraswati insists that, among the terracottas, representations of them, many are of an indefinite sex.

In 1927, for instance, A.K. Coomaraswamy[6] describes the figure on a well-known plaque at the Patna Museum under number Arch. 1773[7] as a "winged goddess, standing on a lotus, from Basāṛh", P. Lal Gupta[8] describes it, without mentioning its sex as follows: "Vaiśālī[9] plaque with standing winged figure with a long and a slim body holding lotuses, standing on a lotus and with buds, etc. . . . on the side". It appears to us that Coomaraswamy was not wrong when he said that this figure was a female[10]. To his arguments we can add that the figure wears an anklet on each ankle. According to painted and sculpted representations men did not wear anklets until the seventh or the eighth century(fig. 405).

Another document provides a better comparison: it is the moulded terracotta plaque representing a standing winged male figure, found at Tamluk[11] and now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (fig. 406).[12] It shows a standing winged male figure holding a lotus stem in each hand. S.K. Saraswati describes it in the following manner: "Stylistically assignable to Śuṅga epoch, it represents either a male figure, either a *yaksha* or a god, standing facing in rigid *samapāda-sthānaka* attitude. The two arms are shown *akimbo* and hold two stalks with lotus blossoms. Two wings are shown on the shoulders and the figure wears ear-studs, a heavy neckcollar and bracelets".[13] To this we must add that in this figure the feet rest directly on the ground and that the stems of lotus grow from this same ground to the right and left of the figure.[14]

The break above the knees in both the Allahabad and the Guimet Museum, plaques present us from making a complete comparison of them with the Asutosh Museum plaque. Moreover the shape of the wings, the hairdress, the costume and the ornaments in Calcutta piece are very different from those in the Paris and Allahabad plaques.

An important question that remains to be discussed is the identification of this winged figure: is it, as S.K. Saraswati wrote, "a *yaksha* or a god"? As a matter of fact, the problem of winged humans in the iconography of ancient India has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. In the first place no definite statistic has been established yet. An incomplete indication is given by S.K. Saraswati about the terracotta plaques found in Vaiśālī (presently Basāṛh). Among eleven specimens gathered, eight are female, two are of an indefinite sex, and one only is indisputably male. Until further research has been completed, we must conclude that the representations of winged male figures are more uncommon than the female ones.

Some scholars have attempted, for a long time to compare the female figures standing and holding a lotus in each hand to those of Śrī-Lakshmī, because of their obvious similarities[15]. This comparison, however, does not take into account the outstretched wings issuing from the shoulders. A.K. Coomaraswamy has already expressed his position about comparing the winged female represented in Basāṛh to Śrī-Lakshmī. He said: ". . . but the presence of wings rising from the shoulders is a unique peculiarity" and further: ". . .but with the exception of the winged goddess from Akhun Dheri.[16] I cannot recall any other early, or even late, example of a feminine divinity represented in Indian iconography as winged." One must stress that the comparison of winged females (Basāṛh one and others) with the goddess Śrī or Lakshmī is not convincing[17] because, as far as I know, no text describes Śrī or Lakshmī as being winged.

The identity of the winged male figures is also uncertain. Are they *yakshas* as S.K. Saraswati suggests? Nothing is more uncertain. No representation of the *yakshas* and *yakshīs* identified at Bharhut on the basis of the short inscriptions that accompany them, exhibit wings; and no literary allusions mention this particularity.[18] On the contrary, it seems well established that *yakshas* and *yakshīs* are closely related to the water cosmology though they live on the earth.[19] Moreover,

[6] *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. V. 16 and p. 130

[7] Mrs. Spooner, "Excavations at Basāṛh", *A. S. I., A. R.* 1913-14, p. 116 and pl. XLIV (no. 661 and 550). Which has been reproduced many times since this date. Cf. P. Lal Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 271 (24) and pl. XLVIII, at the top, on the right.

[8] P. Lal Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, Patna, 1965, p. 170

[9] Ancient Basāṛh, Northern Bihār.

[10] It is the opinion of Moti Chandra too: *Mārg*, vol. XXIII, Dec. 1969, p. 18, fig. 36

[11] Formerly Tāmralipti: Midnāpur district, West Bengal.

[12] Above no. 6; and *Mārg*, *loc. cit.*, p. 21, fig. 52

[13] *op. cit.* 2nd ed. 1960, p. 102, fig. 40

[14] *op. cit.* p. 280

[15] "Early Indian Iconography, II: Śrī-Lakshmī", *Eastern Art*, I, 3, Jan. 1929, p. 181

[16] *A.S.I., A.R.* 1913-14, no. 661, pl. XLIV, fig. 1

[17] For instance Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh, *A.S.I., A.R.* 1935-36, pl. XXII

[18] Cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, 2 vols., Washington, 1928-1931

[19] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.* II, p. 13

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in the numerous Buddhist and Jaina legends, they are sometimes mistaken for humans; they live among them and even marry them; and the children who are born from this union are exactly like human children.

Could they be *gandharvas?* Here again, if we refer to Brāhmanic and Vedic texts, nothing indicates that *gandharvas* should have wings: "Originally a single divinity but later looked on as many",[20] with their consorts the *apsarās*, they "appear at first as genii of vegetation and fertility, connected with Varuṇa and Soma, and when later they are reduced to the status of attendants of Indra, they are replaced functionally, by the *yakshas* and *yakshīs*".[21] One of the oldest references to the *gandharvas* according to J.N. Banerjee[22] can be found in *Atharvaveda* VIII, 10, 27[23] in a hymn to the Virāj[24] who joined the *gandharva* Sūryavarchas: she had a son from him, Chitraratha, who is always described as the king of the *gandharvas* in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And she milked Vasuruchi, son of the same *gandharva*.

Early in the Brāhmanic epoch, the *gandharvas* are believed to be denizens of the air or atmospheric region. But the descriptions of them are quite late ones: for instance, they are described in the *Mānasāra* as looking like the *kinnaras*[25] and having wings, paws instead of legs, and the face of *garuḍa* or a horse's head, rather than that of a human.

However, in ancient Buddhist iconography, the visual distinction between flying humans, winged or not, and composite flying figures, half-human, half-bird, appear clearly. It is quite striking to see in the same relief such as in Bharhut—a figure ready to fly and a human bird sitting and symmetrically facing each other honouring a *stūpa*. Equally striking, is the representation at Mathura, for instance of two winged males flying in the same position, both of which have wings whose shape is very similar to that represented on the Allahabad and Paris plaques.[26]

The most important difference between the figures on the Allahabad and Paris plaques, and the flying winged genii is that the former are both represented standing, in a frontal pose, holding in each hand a lotus-stem. This last detail establishes a comparison with Śrī-Lakshmī (without wings) with the god Sūrya (though he possesses these iconographic attributes in earlier period). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IX, 4, 18), Sūrya is compared to the *gandharvas* and we know at least one winged representation of him in Mathura: he appears on a Kuśāṇa relief (D 46) squatting on his chariot drawn by horses in divergent position, and having two small crooked wings issuing from his shoulders (fig. 407).[27] However, he does not hold any lotus as seen in later iconography, but he probably had "a lotus bud in his right hand and a short sword in his left."[28] J.N. Banerjee specifies that the wings "are seldom attached to the figures of Sūrya." He thinks that the wings are a Vedic remembrance of the sun-bird, or *garuḍa*. There is a representation of a *garuḍa* at Amarāvatī "as a man with wings"[29]: though it is a later specimen than the winged male of our two plaques, the depiction really seems to be one of the more ancient human representations of *Garuḍa* in Buddhist art.

Is it possible to combine these different facts into a positive identifications? Sūryavarchas ("as resplendent as the sun") is the name of a *devagandharva*: Sūrya ("the Sun") is one too; the *gandharvas* have wings on their arms *(pakshayuktau)*; the sun-bird *garuḍa* can be depicted as a winged man; and the lotus is a sun symbol.

From these diverse facts we could possibly say that our figure is a *devagandharva*[30] or even an iconographic prototype of Sūrya; but, we shall not.

We shall only suppose that this winged male figure who seems to be associated with the sun; might have been included in the pantheon of domestic and popular cults as well as with the *yakshas* and other *vyāntara devatās*.

[20] L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, first ed., p. 238

[21] *ibid.*, p. 34 *et* 55

[22] *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 351

[23] English translation by W.D. Whitney, *Atharvaveda Saṁhitā*, Cambridge, 1905, 2nd part, p. 515. Hymn: "Extolling the Virāj".

[24] Cf. Renou Filliozat and others, *L' Inde Classique*, I, 555: The Virāj (cow), name of a meter, *Atharvaveda* VIII, 9 and 10 who has been promoted, as a rule a creater: "who verily was this universe in the beginning", and she is said to have come to various classes of beings.

[25] *Mānasāra*, LVIII, 18-24, (ed. *Acharya*, p. 270, trad. p. 573)

[26] But J.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, describes p. 133: "... the lotus in the hand alone would not always justify us in identifying the figure as Lakshmī unless some other distinctive marks are present; the lotus on which a few of these goddesses are made to stand is not also the characteristic of Lakshmī alone".

[27] J. Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathura*, Paris, 1930, pl. XXXVIII and p. 46. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pl. XXIX, 103 and p. 67

[28] J.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.* p. 434

[29] C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculpture in the Madras Government Museum*, pl. IV, fig. 31 and p. 73

[30] We do know that the only *devagandharva* that can be surely identified in ancient Buddhist iconography is Pañchaśikha, but does not exactly correspond to the Brāhmanic descriptions of the *gandharvas* although he plays a *vīṇā*, he has no wings or animal paws, but ordinary legs. So, the Buddhist sculptors did not follow the descriptions of the Brāhmanic texts, which are anyway, not very precise on the whole and generally of quite late date (especially in *Mānasāra*).

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VERONICA MURPHY

A Note on some Recently Discovered Tipu Shawl Fragments in England and Comparative Material in the Bharat Kala Bhavan

Among the many relics of Tipu Sultan, the famous "Tiger of Mysore" (died 1799), preserved in Britain, one of the most interesting and best authenticated is a "Rich War Jacket" (thus described in a contemporary document) at Windsor Castle. Lord Mornington, later the Marquess Wellesley, presented it to the future George IV after the fall of Seriṅgapāṭam in 1799, together with a less magnificent "War Dress" for the Duke of York, and the outfits have remained in the royal collections ever since.

The heavily quilted hip length "Rich War Jacket", with a front opening and three-quarter length sleeves, had as a surface layer a crimson silk damask of European origin. Recently it was decided, due to the extremely bad condition of the damask, that the jacket should be restored by a leading conservator in the field of historic textiles.

Under the perished layer of European silk she discovered a series of quilted interlining layers, all of Indian manufacture, and not seen since the garment was made some time before 1799. The first was an almost complete layer of mixed silk and cotton of a pale orange colour, brocaded with a small repeating sprig in blue and green silk, with details in very worn silver on a core of yellow silk. This is a Deccani *masru* fabric (fig. 408). As successive layers were uncovered, some were found to consist of Kashmir *shawls*, worn but almost complete, and, like the *masru*, covering the whole area of the jacket. Other layers were a patchwork of assorted fragments in varying shapes, sizes, materials and techniques: cotton, silk and fleece, printed, woven and embroidered. Discarded clothing from the Sultan's *toshakhānā* would have been readily available for this purpose, so there is every possibility that these textiles come from garments worn by Tipu and his father Haidar Ali.

In all, the remains of at least 35 separate articles are incorporated in the jacket. They include twenty-four different *pashmīnā* (fleece) fabrics, a few plain, but most from the patterned heads (end pieces) of oblong Kashmir *shawls* and *paṭkās* with plain fields. They are of the usual twill tapestry weave, with a considerable range of weight and quality. The designs are mainly variants of a small diaper sprig, in a head about 30.5 cms. deep. This kind of pattern was, of course, also standard for the yardage from which sewn garments such as *jāmās* and *chogās* were made. The Tipu coat includes one entire lining layer of sprigged *pashmīnā* yardage, but most of the fragments are automatically excluded from this category as they show traces of the outer borders which run down the sides of plain field/patterned head *shawls* (fig. 409) or the narrow guard borders which frame the heads. An interesting feature of these otherwise uniform and repetitive designs is that several of them seem to come in pairs, but not the identical pairs that one would expect. Patterns which at first sight appear so alike that they might be fragments from the same head prove on closer inspection to be from different *shawls* with a different thread count, though the colours and patterns are the same except for a fractional difference in the size of the sprigs. Perhaps the smaller patterns may be from *paṭkās* or turbans matching the larger *shawl* pieces. Such a pair is fig. 410.

The colour schemes of the fragments are as follows: blue and green sprigs on grounds of deep yellow (is this the dead-leaf colour which the seventeenth century traveller Thévenot noted as a favourite *shawl* ground?), yellow and brown sprigs on deep red, pink and green on green, and assorted colours on grounds of white and off-white. Most of the fragments are fairly well preserved, but one with an unusually sombre tiny black sprig exhibits a diaper of holes where the iron solution used to produce the black dye has in many places eaten away the ground fabric.

These *shawls* were standard wear for both Indians and Europeans in the later eighteenth century, with the important distinction that in European costume they were an exclusively female accessory, with white grounds the most liked.

Similar items in the collections of the Bharat Kala Bhavan include the *shawl* and *paṭkā* seen in pls. B and G, both of which were probably made between 1750 and 1800. An early nineteenth century variant of sprig usage appears in the square *shawl* or *rūmāl* at pl. C. Here the sprig is no longer confined to a patterned head, but spread out over the field, and often such *shawls* are further embellished by a medallion of floral motifs in the centre, with a quarter of the medallion

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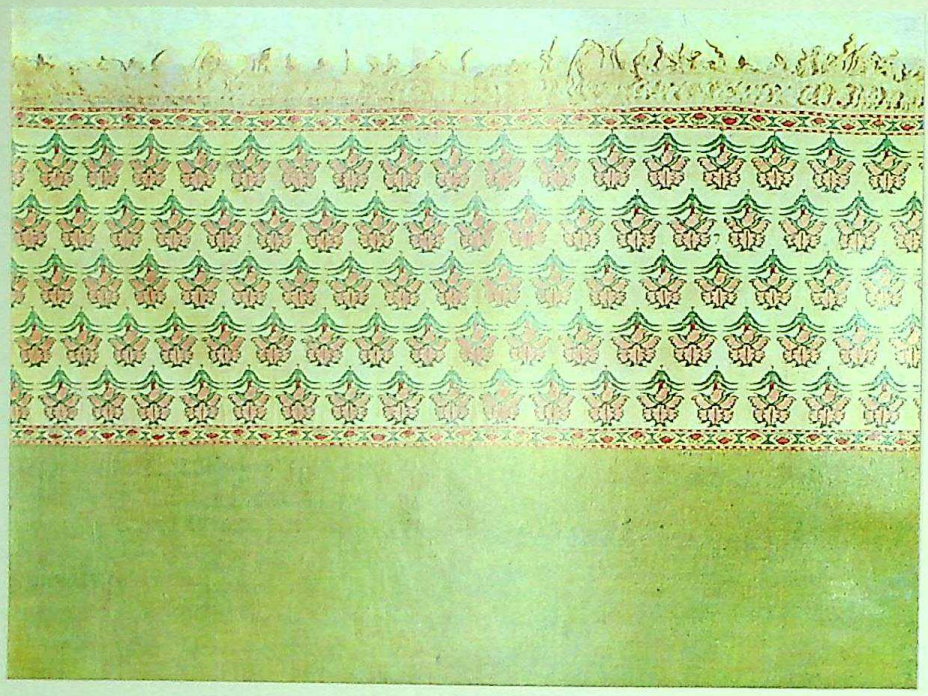
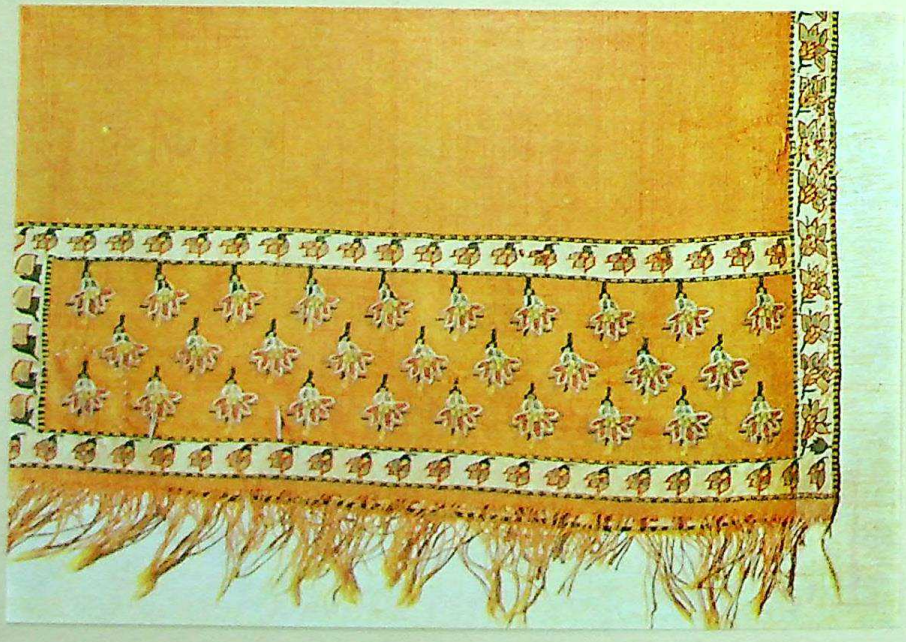


Pl. B *Shawl*, Kashmir, eighteenth century



Pl. G *Paṭkā*, Kashmir, eighteenth century

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repeated in each corner. They can also be striped or trellised. Square *shawls* were worn as head *shawls* by Indian women, and about 1812 to 1850 were popular with European women, who wore them folded diagonally and thrown across the shoulders.

A Tipu fragment with a different kind of pattern is shown at bottom (pl. L). *Shawl* heads with a single row of semi-naturalistic flowering plants can be seen in portraits of the Golconda school painted about 1680. Of the few *shawls* and fragments surviving from this date—an early one, considering the perishable nature of the material—two in the Bharat Kala Bhavan are shown at pls. H and D. Each is headed by a row of poppy-like plants that seem to have held a particular fascination for artists, craftsmen and patrons in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Pl. C *Shawl* or *Rūmāl*, Kashmir, early nineteenth century

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Pl. L Bottom : Border of a *shawl*, Kashmir, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century
Top : *Shawl* or *Paṭkā* fragment, Kashmir, probably seventeenth century

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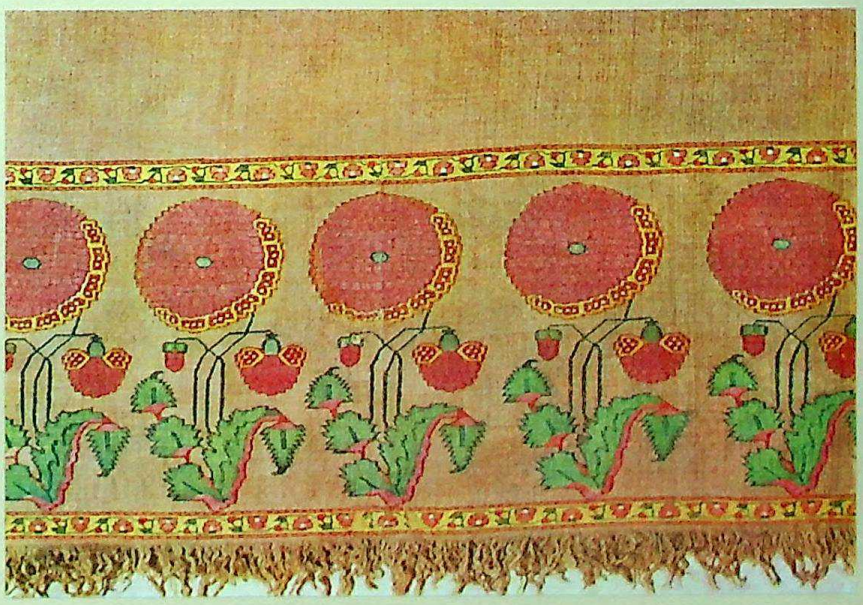
Pl. D *Shawl*, Kashmir, seventeenth/early eighteenth century



Pl. H *Shawl*, Kashmir, seventeenth/early eighteenth century

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Pl. E *Shawl*, Kashmir, eighteenth century

Pl. I *Shawl*, Kashmir, mid-eighteenth century

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As the eighteenth century advanced, the single flowering plant in *shawl* heads became gradually more stylized, until by 1800 it had evolved into the formal cone or *būṭā* which was to characterize *shawl* ornament perhaps pre-1700. Some seventeenth century fragments of painted and dyed cotton from dress fabrics and floor spreads show faintly reminiscent designs in staggered rows of asymmetrical plant motifs, but the resemblance

Pl. J *Paṭkā*, Kashmir, *ca.* 1800 A.D.

of the nineteenth century. Pls. E, I and J show stages in this process, and pls. K and F (fig. 411) early nineteenth century variants on a now well-established theme.

By far the most remarkable remnant found inside the Tipu coat is the *shawl* fabric of which a small portion is seen at pl. L top. Its field is divided into two by a narrow border. Above this line is a widely spaced repeating pattern of a single stylized flower. Below the line appears part of another one, quite different and even more stylized, and at right angles to the upper design. Probably the part below the line is a head of which we have only a tantalizing glimpse. No comparative *shawl* material is known to us; the piece may be a unique survival, and is almost certainly of early date, is not very close.

A small detached portion of this fascinating remnant, and of many other interlining materials, were removed by permission of H.M. the Queen, in cases where several pieces of one pattern were present, and where the restorer was satisfied that this would in no way weaken the structure of the jacket when the layers were re-assembled in their original order (To facilitate re-assembly every stage of the dismantling was carefully recorded, and colour transparencies made). The samples removed were presented to the Victoria Albert Museum, where they form a valued addition to the study collection of Indian textiles. The coat itself was returned to Windsor Castle for display to the public with other Tipu relics there.

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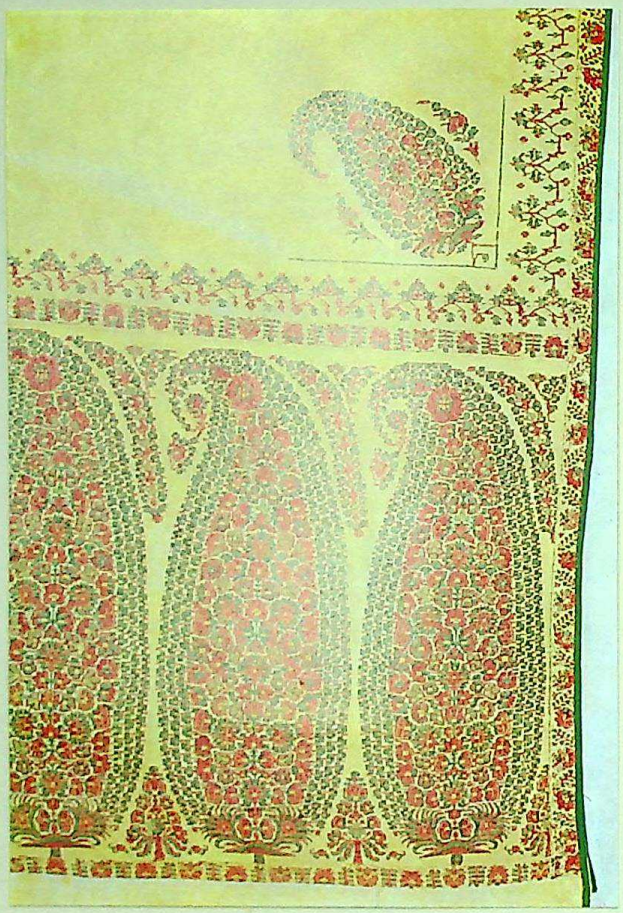

Pl. F *Shawl*, Kashmir, first half of nineteenth century

Pl. K *Shawl*, Kashmir, *ca.* 1800 A.D.

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List of Plates

Fig. 408. Fragment of *masru* fabric. Orange ground, with a repeating sprig pattern in blue, green, and silver. Deccan, eighteenth century, (I.S. 8-1972).

409. Fragment of *pashmīnā* fabric from a *shawl* or *paṭkā*. Orange ground with a border pattern in blue, green, black and white. Kashmir, eighteenth century, (I.S. 17-1972).

410. Fragment of *pashmīnā* fabric from an almost identical pair of *shawls*. Saffron yellow ground with a border pattern of repeating sprigs in blue and green. Kashmir, eighteenth century, (I.S. 26 and A-1972).

411. Part of a *shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Yellowish ground, with an all-over pattern of multicoloured cones in staggered rows, creating the effect of trees with a bird and leaf motif between them. Kashmir, early nineteenth century, (10/49).

Pl. B *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Green ground with a border pattern of repeating sprigs in orange and blue. Kashmir, eighteenth century, (8514).

C Square *shawl* or *rūmāl, pashmīnā* fabric. Cream ground with a diaper pattern of sprigs, and a quarter circle in each corner in red, blue, green etc. Kashmir, early nineteenth century, (10063).

D *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Cream ground with a border pattern of poppy-like plants in a single row, in red and green. Kashmir, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, (9983).

E *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Green ground with a border pattern of flowering plants in a single row, in a red, white, yellow, etc. Kashmir, eighteenth century, (7369).

F Part of a *shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Cream ground with a border pattern of highly stylized cones in red, blue, green, etc. Kashmir, first half of nineteenth century, (10/1474).

G *Paṭkā, pashmīnā* fabric. Orange ground with a border pattern of repeating sprigs in white, blue and red. Kashmir, eighteenth century, (9387).

H *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Cream ground with a border pattern of poppy-like plants in a single row, in red and green. Kashmir, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century, (8006).

I *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Cream ground with a border pattern of flowering plants becoming stylized into the formal cone pattern, in red, orange, green, blue, etc. Kashmir, mid-eighteenth century, (8591).

J *Paṭkā, pashmīnā* fabric. Partly-coloured, red and white ground with a border pattern of elongated cones in red, blue, green, yellow etc. Kashmir, about 1800, (8590).

K *Shawl, pashmīnā* fabric. Buff ground, with a multicoloured border pattern of cones. Kashmir, about 1800, (8007).

L *Bottom*: Fragment of *pashmīnā* fabric from the border of a *shawl*. Orange ground with a pattern of flowering plants in a single row in blue, green etc. Kashmir, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century.
Top: Fragment of *pashmīnā* fabric from a *shawl* or *paṭkā*. White ground, divided by a narrow border, with a different repeating flower sprig in each half. The two motifs are placed at right angles to each other and are mainly pink and blue. Kashmir, probably seventeenth century.

Figs. 408-10 and pl. L Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum.
Fig. 411 and pls. B-K Collection: Bharat Kala Bhavan.

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MARK ZEBROWSKI

Transformations in Seventeenth Century Deccani Painting at Bijapur

The recent rediscovery of the schools of painting of the Deccan is a major step in our expanding knowledge of Indian art. It is now becoming clear that the intermingling of Indian and Middle Eastern cultures during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which resulted from the Islamic conquest of the subcontinent, produced a brilliant flowering of the arts not only within the Mughal Empire of northern India, but also in the Deccan, the plateau region of the South, where independent Muslim Sultans ruled.

At least three Deccani Sultanates, Golkonda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, produced exciting schools of painting during their brief cultural apogees from the late sixteenth century until the Mughal conquest of the 1680's. The Deccani Sultans, mainly of Turkish origin, ruled over an extremely mixed population of Indian Hindus and Muslims as well as large numbers of Turks, Arabs, Africans and Persians.[1] The Deccan was famed for its wealth, and ever since the Muslim conquest of the area at the beginning of the fourteenth century, its rulers had encouraged immigration from all over western Asia and Africa. Poets, scholars,[2] artists, military men and adventurers of all sorts found generous patronage at the Deccani courts and helped to establish a Muslim society there. Ties were particularly close with Safavid Iran, for the ruling dynasties professed the Shia sect of Islam. Hostility was constant with the Sunni Mughal Empire which resented the political and cultural independence of the Deccanis and the strong Safavid bond.

Bred in an exotic, multiracial atmosphere, Deccani painting was a short lived hybrid that owed as much to Turco-Iranian traditions as to the lush sensuality of South Indian art. Dense, highly charged compositions and intense colours give Deccani art a moody romanticism, totally different from the sobriety and realism of Mughal art, though akin to some Bikaner works. Here princely portraits predominate, and they usually aim to establish a gently lyrical mood, often one of delicate abandon to the pleasures of wine, love or just the perfume of a flower. There is hardly any narrative or historical painting of quality, still less the celebration of the military successes of the ruler as were so common in the Mughal North. The lives of dervishes are glimpsed at too, often in deep meditation. They are usually as sumptuously bejewelled as the Sultans they advised. Although the harsh realities of life are never openly observed as in Mughal painting, sombre tonalities suggest the transitoriness of all that is depicted.

Although since the 1930s several scholars have published newly discovered Deccani paintings, thereby dramatically spotlighting the school's unusual character, it has remained the most mysterious major school of Indian painting.[3] The reasons are manifold. Most importantly, remarkably few pictures have come to light so that it remains one of the rarest schools. Moreover, unlike Mughal works, Deccani paintings are usually not signed or dated, making the reconstruction of the school as a whole a devilishly difficult task. Finally the small corpus of surviving works include such a disproportionately large number of the most exciting creations of Indian art as to arouse intense speculation concerning the brilliant achievements of the school as a whole.

[1] For the history of the Deccan see: J. Briggs (tr.), *History of the Rises of the Mahomedan Power in India*, London, 1829 and Calcutta, 1971 (reprint), vol. III (translation of Firishtah's *Gulzar-i Ibrahim*); R.M. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300-1700*, Princeton, 1978; Sir Wolseley Haig (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, vols. III and IV; H. K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Hyderabad, 1969; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (ed.), *History of the Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, vol. 1, Hyderabad, 1973

[2] A. Schimmel, "Islamic Literatures of India", *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. VII, Wiesbaden, 1973, pp. 3-7, 31, 36-37

[3] D. Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan*, London, 1958; *idem.*, "Painting at Bijapur" in *Paintings from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, Oxford, 1969; M. Chandra, "Portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah", *Marg*, vol. V, no. 1 (1951); H. Goetz, "La peinture indienne: les écoles du Dekkan", *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, vol. 13 (1935); *idem.*, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950; B. Gray "Deccani Painting: The School of Bijapur," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 83 (1938); *idem.*, "Deccani Painting in the States of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda", *Painting of India*, Lausanne, 1963; J. Irwin, "Golkonda Cotton Paintings of the Early 17th Century", *Lalit Kala*, no. 5 (1959); K. Khandalavala, "Five Miniatures in the Collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir", *Marg*, vol. V, no. 2 (1952); S. Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1937; *Marg*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1963), a special number devoted to Deccani art; R. Skelton, "Documents for the Study of Painting at Bijapur", *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. V, no. 2 (1958); *idem.*, "The Mughal Artist Farrokh Beg", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. II (1957); *idem.*, "Early Golkonda Painting", *Indologen—Tagung 1971*, Wiesbaden, 1973; S. C. Welch and M. Zebrowski, *A Flower From Every Meadow*, New York, 1973

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Bijapur, the most powerful Deccani Sultanate, produced a strongly integrated style of painting by the end of the sixteenth century.[4] The majority of existing Deccani paintings can be attributed to this centre and an even higher percentage of inscribed works, nearly all of which are royal portraits, a few recorded with the subject's or the painter's name. One is even dated (fig. 423). Unless stylistic evidence suggests the contrary, we have assumed that a portrait of a known ruler was executed during his reign. Portraits can thus provide illuminating flashes into the obscurities of Deccani art, and the unmistakable transformations that occurred in portraiture, which we shall now examine, were undoubtedly representative of trends in Bijapuri art as a whole.

The most extraordinary member of the Adil Shahi dynasty which ruled Bijapur was Ibrahim II (r. 1579-1627) whose uniqueness lay not on the battlefield but in his ability to draw out works of genius from the painters and poets of his court. Fascinated all his life by Hindu culture, and music in particular, he composed a now famous collection of Urdu songs which he entitled the *Kitab-i-Nauras*.[5] The earliest painting which can be attributed to his reign is the portrait of a plump rosy-cheeked adolescent which appeared in Paris a few years ago (fig. 412). Soustiel and David identified the young man as Ibrahim because of his resemblance to the royal figure in the well-known processional portrait in the Bikaner collection (fig. 418).[6] They dated the work to about 1580, the year of Ibrahim's accession to the throne, and translated the Persian inscription on his turban:

Line 1: (A) Khadiv of the world, the king of his age.
(B) Enthroned under an auspicious sign, the fortunate king.
(C) Light of the heart and eyes of the happy.
(D) The benefactor of the soul of the generous.

Line 2: (A) He is Khalil.
(B) The oystershell of the heavens contain nothing like thee.
(C) Faridun and Jam have no son like thee.
(D) Solomon....

The Sultan's youthful face does in fact sport a well-developed moustache and abundant adolescent hair, so he must be older than nine, the age at which he became king in 1579-80 A.D. The portrait more likely dates from 1590 when the king was nineteen and had just won a position of real power after defeating his tenacious Abyssinian regent Dilavar Khan.[7]

The word *Khalil* in line 2(A) of the inscription also connects the portrait to Ibrahim. The Persian poet Zuhuri, who had immigrated to Bijapur from the court of Shah Abbas I of Iran, composed his major prose work in honour of Ibrahim and his court. Entitled the *Seh Nasr*, "The Three Essays", it repeatedly identifies Ibrahim with the prophet Abraham ("Ibrahim" in Arabic) who is frequently called *Khalil*, "the friend" (of God) in Islamic literature.[8] The last section of the *Seh Nasr* which enumerates the accomplishments of Ibrahim's courtiers is entitled the *Khan-i Khalil* (The Table of the Friend of God). The laudatory inscription on Ibrahim's turban in fact strongly resembles certain passages in the *Seh Nasr* and may be stray lines from the poet laureate's pen.

At this early date a dichotomy is apparent, soon to be resolved, between Indian artistic conventions and imported Iranian ones. The Paris portrait is representative of the indigenous strand. Its accomplished delineation of the warmth and volume of the human body and its earthy russet tones are completely Indian and recall the style of the *Hamza-Nameh* manuscript, produced at the Mughal court a few decades earlier.[9] The artist may have worked on that project before coming to Bijapur.

In a far more Iranian mode is the coolly elegant portrait of Ibrahim in the Mughal album in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Leningrad (fig. 413), inscribed in Persian:

taṣwīr-e khāqān-e 'azam Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh[10]
(Portrait of the Emperor Ibrahim Adil Shah)

[4] Before the end of the sixteenth century an imitative school of manuscript illumination had emerged, basically a variant of provincial Persian styles but incorporating local stylistic elements as well. The major works in this idiom include a manuscript on music and dance in the British Library, Or. 12857, *ca.* 1560-1570, already imbued with a special Deccani flair for colour, (published: K. Ebeling, *Ragamala Painting*, Basel, 1973, p. 176, erroneously described as Jaunpur, 1626-1656) and the well-known *Nujum al Ulum* in the A. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, dated 1570: Sir T. W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, a Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, London, 1936, Ms. 2, pls. 3-5

[5] Nazir Ahmad (ed. and tr.), *Kitab-i Nauras by Ibrahim Adil Shah II*, New Delhi, 1956

[6] J. Soustiel and M. C. David, *Miniatures de l'Inde (2)*, Paris, 1974, pp. 30-31

[7] For political events at Bijapur during Ibrahim's reign see Firishtah, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 87-115

[8] The *Seh Nasr* is a trilogy containing the *Nauras* (Zuhuri's Persian introduction to the Sultan's Deccani work of the same name), the *Gulzar-i Ibrahim* and the *Khan-i Khalil*. For a full translation see M. A. Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, vol. III, Allahabad, 1930, Appendices A, B, C. See also: Nazir Ahmad, *Zuhuri, Life and Works*, Allahabad, 1953

[9] G. Egger, *Hamza-Nama I*, Graz, 1974; H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen des Hamsae-Romanes*, Vienna, 1925

[10] T. V. Grek *et al.*, *Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of the XVI-XVIII Centuries*, Moscow, 1962, no. 81 (in Russian).

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The elegant handwriting and the use of the titles *Shah* and Emperor, rather than the lesser term *Khan* which the Mughals employed in referring to the Bijapuri Sultans, suggest that the inscription is Deccani, contemporary with the painting and therefore reliable.

The Sultan, wearing a magnificent mauve *jāmā*, rides a hennaed pony through a fantastic landscape of lilac rocks and dark green plants beneath a golden sky. The luminescent palette and the half-hidden grotesques which swarm through the rocks link this page to early Safavid painting of the reign of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) as well as to fifteenth century Turkoman painting at Tabriz.[11] Although our stylish prince has lost his adolescent plumpness, he is clearly the same young man as in the Paris portrait with a large hooked nose, narrow eyes, conical turban and a barely visible necklace of many strands of jewels. Probably just slightly older than in the former portrait, he is still beardless, suggesting a date of *ca.* 1590-95.

Hastily scrawled on the border of the painting is an attribution in Persian to the artist Farrokh,[12] recalling the name Farrokh Hossain whom Zuhuri mentions in the *Seh Nasr* as the most accomplished painter at Bijapur:

> The fourth (illustrious member of the court is) Maulana Farrukh Husain: than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils, and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model put their lives under his obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green haired (the beautiful) have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting has put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of the jealousy of his painting. . . . That magical painter has put in motion the breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful.[13]

Since this painting is one of the finest works which can be assigned to Bijapur and bears an attribution to its most accomplished artist, we can assume, until evidence to the contrary arises, that it is a genuine work by Farrokh Hossain. We will not attempt to discuss here the problems raised by stylistic connections with a Mughal artist of a similar name, Farrokh Beg, whose career at the Mughal court during the reigns of both Akbar and Jahangir is well-documented by a series of inscribed works.[14]

According to Zuhuri's *Seh Nasr*, Ibrahim was a skilled painter, calligrapher and poet, but music was his main passion. He not only performed and composed music himself but attracted the greatest musicians of the age to Bijapur:

> . . . he treats all his accomplishments as the effect and music as the cause . . . in Nauraspur (a suburb of the capital) a building has been newly erected and furnished for the residence of the expert musicians . . . .[15]

A painting on a Jahangiri album page in the Náprstek Museum, Prague, shows Ibrahim playing the *vīṇā* in an ecstatic mood while three courtiers clap their hands in time with the music (fig. 414).[16] The painting was cut out of its original mount—presumably a Deccani album—and pasted into the famous Mughal album which belonged to Jahangir.[17] As in his other portraits, Ibrahim has a large hooked nose and wears his customary conical turban, mauve *jāmā* and necklace of many chains. Similarities with the Leningrad portrait suggest the hand of the same artist, probably Farrokh Hossain. In both paintings he uses a hard, bead-like "pointillism" to depict plants in the foreground and thin impressionistic washes of colour at the top to suggest distant trees. Other details are similar, like the hard ripples of the Sultan's skirt which resembles the twists in the yak tail hanging from the pony's neck in the Leningrad picture. As Ibrahim's beard is now fully grown, a date of *ca.* 1595-1600 is probable.

The main problem raised by the Prague painting is the significance of the Persian inscription that runs along the top and bottom of the Mughal album page onto which it has been pasted:

[11] For the Turkoman antecedents of sixteenth century Safavid painting see S.C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings*, New York, 1972, pp. 34-42. Welch sees a strong link between the Turkoman painting of fifteenth century Iran and Deccani art. Later he sees these influences carried from the Deccan to Rajasthan, especially to Kota, probably by the migration of artists during the Mughal conquest of the Deccan.

[12] I am grateful to Robert Skelton, Keeper of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and to Dr. Ellen Smart for this information.

[13] Ghani, *Khan-i Khalil*, pp. 462-463

[14] Skelton, *op. cit.*, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. II, (1957)

[15] Ghani, *Khan-i Khalil*, pp. 441-444

[16] L. Hajek, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal School*, Prague, 1960, pl. 8-20

[17] The painting has been rather crudely cut down, the scissors having cut round the contours of the three courtiers' turbans and shoulders in the lower left hand corner. Only two pages from Jahangir's album (or albums) are in Prague (Hajek, pl. 8-32). The bulk of the remaining folios now form two separate albums. One is in the State Library, Berlin: E. Kuhnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1926. The other is the Gulshan Album in the Golestan Library, Teheran: M.C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and its European Sources", *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, vol. LXIII, no. 332, 1965

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> Allah is greatest. Portrait of Ibrahim Adil Khan Deccani, Governor of Bijapur, who in the knowledge of the music of the Deccan made himself master of those who profess the art. And it is the work of Farrokh Beg in the 5th regnal year corresponding to the hijri 1019 (1610/1611 A.D.). Written by the lowest slave Muhammad Husain *Zarrin Qalam* Jahangir Shahi.[18]

There is no doubt that the inscription is Mughal, since it calls Ibrahim *Khan* rather than *Shah* and is signed by the famous Mughal calligrapher *Zarrin Qalam* who uses the *nisbat: Jahangir Shahi*. Hajek believes that the inscription is proof of Farrokh Beg's visit to the Deccan and employment by Ibrahim, while Barrett considers the painting to be a copy by Farrokh Beg working at the Mughal court after a lost Deccani original. We, however, have difficulty in believing that Farrokh Beg could have painted it. Although he habitually used many Deccani conventions such as conical turbans, long waist sashes and massive chenar trees, he always transformed them into hard crystalline forms in keeping with formal Mughal taste, so different from the earthy exuberance of the Bijapuri school.

Leaving aside excessive theorization on the thorny issue of Farrokh Beg, we can only state the facts as they now stand. A corpus of inscribed paintings exist which prove that Farrokh Beg worked at the Mughal court for the emperors Akbar and Jahangir. There is no real textual proof that he visited the Deccan, although he may have done so. On the Deccani side, Zuhuri's *Seh Nasr* states that an artist named Farrokh Hossain worked for Ibrahim. At least one Bijapuri painting bears an attribution to "Farrokh" (fig. 413) and it is closely related to at least four others, probably by the same hand, one of which is the Prague painting (fig. 414) and three others to be discussed below (figs. 415-16 and 417).

Given Farrokh Beg's exotic style, it is possible that he came to the Mughal court from Iran or possibly from the Deccan and then modified his style to suit the tastes of his new patrons. At any rate he specialized in a "Persianizing" style which Jahangir obviously liked, for at least three of the Emperor's other painters, Muhammad Ali, Aqa Reza Jahangiri, and Mirza Ghulam, worked in similar idioms. It is quite possible then that the court calligrapher *Zarrin Qalam* automatically but mistakenly attributed many Deccani pictures in the Mughal library to the hand of Farrokh Beg.

Two elephants are barely visible in the background of the Prague portrait, just to the left of the Sultan's head (fig. 414). The larger one, presumably a male, has huge jewelled tusks and a bell strapped round his belly while the smaller animal, probably a female, is tuskless. A portrait of two nearly identical animals in an American private collection may also be the work of Farrokh Hossain and may depict Ibrahim's two favourite elephants, the male *Atash Khan* and his mate *Chanchal* (fig. 415).[19] Ibrahim himself rides the larger animal and can be recognized by his narrow eyes, pointed chin and beard and huge necklace.

The magical landscape, though obviously related to the Leningrad and Prague portraits, is more restrained and may indicate a slightly later date of *ca.* 1600. Again tiny dabs of colour depict leafy trees, thin washes of colour at the top of the page suggest a distant vista and swaying plum branches loaded with pink blossoms caress the image of the Sultan like an aureole. A new emphasis on stippling and cross-hatching around the contours or rocks and trees derives from European prints.

Another portrait of a bull elephant, again probably *Atash Khan*, is in the collection of Sita Ram Sahu, Banaras (fig. 416).[20] While the massive animal strides through a luminous meadow, his groom, clothed in European style cape and knee breeches, gingerly approaches with an armload of hay. The groom derives from representations of summer, a figure bearing harvest bounties, in sixteenth century Dutch prints depicting *The Four Seasons*.[21] The bead-like vegetation, wind-swept palms at the top of the page in transparent washes of colour and the abundant use of cross-hatching and stippling link this page to the previous three works. The Persian inscription on the mount states that it is the work of the Deccanis *'amal-i Dakaniyān*. A date of *ca.* 1600-1610 is probable.

A fifth painting by the same hand depicting a horse and groom is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 417).[22] The composition is basically the mirror image of the Banaras painting: a groom in semi-European clothing approaches a richly caparisoned horse whose pose and ornaments resemble the elephant's. Compared to the earlier pictures, however, a trend

[18] Barrett, "Painting at Bijapur", p. 158

[19] The names *Atash Khan* and *Chanchal* are mentioned in Ibrahim's *Kitab-i Nauras* (Songs 7 and 9) and in the Bijapuri *Pem Nem* manuscript in the British Library (Barrett, "Painting at Bijapur", p. 144). Asad Beg, the Mughal envoy to Bijapur, records in his *memoirs* that Ibrahim was forced to send his favourite elephant *Chanchal* to the Mughal emperor Akbar: P. M. Joshi (tr.), "Asad Beg's Mission to Bijapur", *Potdar Commemorative Volume*, ed. S. N. Sen, Poona, 1950, p. 192

[20] N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926, pl. 47

[21] I am grateful for this information to Maria van Berge of the Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris.

[22] I. S. 88-1965. Published: R. H. Pinder-Wilson *et al.*, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India*, London, 1976, no. 172, p. 90

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towards "minimalization" is apparent: only the thinnest washes of colour are used to suggest distant trees, and even the foreground plants have been reduced to delicate dabs of paint. The increasingly abstract style suggests a date of *ca.* 1610 or later. The artist was clearly moving away from the highly finished paintings of his youth towards a new rapid-fire technique.

More akin to the "Indian" style of the Paris portrait (fig. 412) than to Farrokh Hossain's rather Persian mode is the well-known processional portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah in the Bikaner Palace Collection (fig. 418)[23]. The inscription on the reverse in Rajasthani Hindi, nearly a century later than the painting itself, identifies the prince as Ibrahim, adding that the page was captured from the fortress of Āḍonī, one of the last independent outposts of the Bijapuri kingdom, and was then checked into the Bikaner library.[24] The arabesque of Ibrahim's robe recalls the decoration on his turban in the Paris painting and the extensive gold surfaces on both turbans and shawls are similarly covered with red stippling, a frequent Bijapuri convention.

The Bikaner painting depicts Ibrahim with a heavy mature beard and longish hair tumbling out from beneath his turban. He has replaced the sumptuous emerald necklace which he wore as a youth in the Paris painting by another of similar design but made up of *rudrākshas*, the dried berries used by Hindu holymen for rosaries. Sometime between the dates of these two paintings, Ibrahim developed a fascination with Hindu culture which he embraced with youthful ardour. Here for the first time he has had himself depicted as the *Jagatguru*, the Hindu title meaning "world teacher" that he bestowed on himself and frequently mentions in his own work, the *Kitab-i Nauras*.[25] This is only one of several portraits which show Ibrahim wearing a rosary round his neck, just as he describes himself in Song 56 of his *Kitab-i Nauras*.[26]

A portrait of Ibrahim which has recently come to light in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, is one of the earliest Bijapuri paintings to show strong Mughal influence (fig. 419).[27] The dense pulsating compositions of early Deccani painting have disappeared, and the Sultan, wearing the Hindu *tilaka* on his forehead, is now isolated against an empty background, much as in a Mughal portrait of Jahangir's reign (1605-1627). Nevertheless the bulky proportions of the body and the shaded armpits suggest a relatively early date, probably not much later than *ca.* 1610.

The portrait of a *mullah* in the India Office Library, London, may be a slightly later work by the same hand, the foamy white clouds at the top of both pages being nearly identical (fig. 420).[28] Although the painting's sobriety derives from Mughal art, its sweeping elegance of form and intense mood of spirituality surpass most Mughal work of the period. Lacking an inscription, the portrait may depict Mullah Muhammad Bijapuri, an identification made possible by an inscribed Mughal portrait of the *mullah* in the Shah Jahan album in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[29]

During the following decade Mughal influence increased and transformed the lush romantic style of Ibrahim's reign into a crisp new idiom where fantasy played little part. Most Bijapuri paintings from 1630 onwards are brilliantly ornamental portraits rendered with Mughal realism and restraint. However, the vigorous gestures of the figures, their side-long glances and a restricted use of glowing Deccani colours endow these works with an exuberance that is rare in late seventeenth century Mughal art.

The transformation in painting was a direct result

[23] Published: Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, pl. VIII; B. Gray, *Treasures of Indian Miniatures*, London, 1955, pl. III; Skelton *Arts Asiatiques*, fig. 2. Welch, who has examined the painting, believes it to be the left hand fragment of a considerably larger work and most of the area to the right of the Sultan is a later addition. In the photograph a line of demarcation is barely visible on the right running from the top to the bottom of the page and just touching the Sultan's elbow. The bit of blue and red *sārī*(?) cloth which seems illogically fixed to Ibrahim's knee may be all that is left of a courtesan who may have preceded him in the procession.

[24] Skelton, *Arts Asiatiques*, p. 102. Āḍonī, the fief of the Abyssinian Nawab Siddi Masud, resisted the Mughal invaders for several years after the Mughal capture of Bijapur, the capital city. The fort was finally taken in 1689 by the Mughal General, Anup Singh, Maharaja of Bikaner.

[25] Ibrahim's *Kitab-i Nauras* has a highly Sanskritic vocabulary and makes frequent allusions to Hindu themes, deities and the *Rāgamālā*. The book begins with an invocation to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, just as a Hindu work would. According to an eighteenth century Urdu source quoted by Eaton (*Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 110), Ibrahim used to perform *pūjā* before an image of Sarasvatī in Hindu fashion.

[26] In fact, the song describes Ibrahim like a Hindu deity with attributes and a mount: "In one hand he has a musical instrument, in the other a book . . . He is robed in saffron . . . his teeth are black, the nails . . . red . . . Ibrahim, whose father is God Gaṇeśa, and the mother, pious Sarasvatī, has a rosary of crystal round his neck, a city like Vidyāpur and an elephant as his vehicle." Such descriptive passages in the *Kitab-i Nauras* probably provided subjects of Ibrahim's painters. The Prague portrait (fig. 414), for example, depicts Ibrahim, as in the song, holding a musical instrument, a rosary round his neck, nails painted red, with two elephants and a city (Bijapur) in the background. Ibrahim almost always wears a rosary-like necklace, though usually it is hard to ascertain if it is of jewels, crystal or dried berries.

[27] No. AG 753. I am grateful to Dr. Asok Kumar Das, Director of the Museum, who brought this painting to my attention and kindly sent me a photograph of it.

[28] No. J. 25. 14. Published: Basil Gray, "Painting", *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, London, 1950. no. 813, pl. 145; Pinder-Wilson, *Muslim Courts of India*, no. 175, p. 91

[29] The Mughal portrait may be a copy of a now lost Bijapuri original. Published: E. Grube, *The World of Islam*, London, 1966, fig. 100

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of sudden political developments in the Deccan. During the first two decades of the seventeenth century Mughal armies overran and then absorbed the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, the northern Deccani state situated between Bijapur and the Mughal Empire.[30] Subsequently the Mughal emperors and their courts frequently resided in the Deccan, first at Burhanpur and then Aurangabad, the latter city a mere two hundred miles from Bijapur, or in huge camps in the countryside. From there Mughal armies penetrated even further southward bent on Bijapur's destruction. Many of the important Mughal generals stationed in the Deccan were Rajput grandees, including the rajas of Bikaner, Bundi and Kota. It is now known that certain Rajputs brought with them painters from Rajasthan and patronized local ones, continuing their role as patrons of the arts from the magnificent tents which housed them.[31]

Bijapur soon had to toe the line. In 1636 the Sultan was forced to accept Mughal suzerainty, cede certain forts on the northern frontier, pay a large tribute, and use the title *Khān* rather than *Shāh*.[32] With the Mughal emperor and other patrons of culture firmly ensconced in the Northern Deccan, the Sultan of Bijapur had direct exposure to Mughal art and to the mixed Deccani-Mughal-Rajput style of painting that grew up round the Mughal camps. Painters who had left the northerners' employ were in easy reach of Deccani patrons, who no doubt found their realistic style appealing.

A portrait of Ibrahim's successor, Muhammad Adil Shah (ruled 1627-1656), in the collection of the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, bears a written attribution to a Deccani artist named Muhammed Khan who was thoroughly conversant with Mughal portraiture of the 1630s (fig. 421).[33] The Persian inscription in the lower right hand corner reads:

'amal-e Muḥammad Khān farzand-e Miyān Chānd (the work of Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand)

His career is the only well documented one in the Deccan, for there are four paintings, one of which is dated (fig. 423), that bear written attributions to him. The painting imitates such Mughal works as the portrait of the Emperor Shah Jahan executed by Bichitr and inscribed by the emperor himself "a good portrait of me in my fortieth year (1632 A.D.) . . ." (fig. 422).[34] The Sultan's turban topped by a floppy plume, his long necklace of rubies and pearls, the posture of his body and even his face so resemble Shah Jahan's that both figures could almost derive from the same pounce. It is clear that the iconographic formula developed by Mughal artists to portray their emperor had somehow been transmitted to Bijapur to serve as a model for paintings of the Adil Shahi Sultans.

A portrait of Sultan Muhammad attended by his nobles, again in the Jaipur collection, also bears a written attribution to Muhammad Khan but is stylistically more innovative (fig. 423).[35] He has had time to digest the Mughal input more successfully and, although his debt to north Indian art is still apparent, the unrestrained colours—maroon, orange and inky blue—and the vigorous gesturing imbue the page with a typically Deccani verve. Muhammad Khan's figures vary little from picture to picture. Faces are sharply defined and always in profile. Eyes sweep upward at the ends with a decorative arc beneath the lower lid. Necks are fleshy and swell out at the back. Turbans and shawls are frequently painted in gold, decorated either with chains of diamond shaped motifs or red stippling.

The Persian inscription on the scroll held by the courtier to the right of the throne makes this painting one of the most important landmarks of Deccani art, for it gives both the date of the painting and the artist's name:[36]

(1) *farmān-e humayūn sharaf-e*
(2) *ṣudūr yāft bi-jānib-e*
(3) *'uhdadārān-e maḥall-e*
(4) *tib(?) pargana-ye kot(?)*
(5) *qalamzad ānkih az shuhūr*
(6) *sana iḥdā khamsīn.*
(7) *wa alif az . . . (wufūr-e?)*
(8) *marāḥim-e pādshā*

[30] Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, Delhi, 1966, chapter VII

[31] See: Saryu Doshi, "An Illustrated Manuscript from Aurangabad, dated 1650 A.D.", *Lalit Kala*, no. 15, Bombay, n.d.; S. C. Welch, *Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches*, New York, 1976, pp. 82, 89

[32] Sherwani and Joshi (ed.), *History of the Medieval Deccan*, I, pp. 358-359

[33] No. AG 765. The subject can be identified as Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah on the basis on several inscribed Deccani portraits executed for European travellers in the second half of the seventeenth century, the most famous being the figure marked VI in the Adil Shahi dynastic portrait in the Manucci album in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Réserve O. D. 45, published: Niccolao Manucci, *Storie do Mogor*, tr. by W. Irvine, Indian reprint, Calcutta, 1966, vol. III, pl. 34. The royal figure in the Bijapuri *Diwan* of Orfi, dated 1636, must also be Sultan Muhammad since he ruled 1627-1656. Published: S. C. Welch, "Mughal and Deccani Miniature Paintings from a Private Collection", *Ars Orientalis*, V, 1963, fig. 14

[34] Victoria and Albert Museum, I. M. 17, 1925. Published: S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, New York, 1963, pl. 43

[35] City Palace Museum, A. G. 771. I am again indebted to Dr. Das for bringing this painting to my attention and providing a photograph of it.

[36] I am grateful to Dr. Shariyar Adl, Simon Digby and A. H. Morton for their contributions to the translation of this important inscription.

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(9) *-hāna wa mazīd-e 'aw*
(10) *-āṭif-e khusravāna min-jumla*
(11) *hāṣil wa . . . (?) -e*
(12) *maḥall—e madhkūr dar wajh -e*
(13) *rūzimarra-ye Muḥammad Khān bin*
(14) *Miyān Chānd rūzīna nīm*
(15) *hūn 'ātifarmūda.*

(1) An august decree has had the honour
(2) of being brought to the attention of
(3) the authorities of the place of
(4) Tib (?) in the pargana of Kot (?)
(5) (for the accomplishments of) the pen (or brush?)
(6-7) The order is that from the shuhur year 1052 (1651 A.D.) from the abundance[37]
(8) of imperial munificence
(9) and excess of
(10) regal benevolence from the total
(11) revenue and . . . (?) of the
(12) above mentioned place for the purpose of
(13) the maintenance of Muhammad Khan son of
(14) Miyan Chand, daily half a
(15) hun has been granted.

The inscription is crucial for reconstructing the chronology of Deccani painting and also provides unique information concerning the position of the artist in Indo-Muslim society. This painting, dated 1651-52, is the only dated seventeenth century Deccani work of royal quality which has so far come to light. Moreover the courtier who holds the scroll is probably the painter himself, since he points exactly to the artist's name on the document, "Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand". If he is the artist, this is one of very few Indian self portraits in existence and the only Deccani example. A second Persian inscription covered over by a thin layer of paint is just barely visible between the skirt of the throne and the arabesque at the bottom of the page. It restates the authorship of the painting and is identical to the inscription on the standing portrait in the same collection (fig. 421) using the Persian word *farzand* for son instead of the Arabic *ibn*. Both inscriptions are by the same hand.

The artist, whose jewels and dress are as sumptuous as those of the other courtiers in the group portrait, must have enjoyed a very high position at court. The painting is in fact nothing else but a pictorial commemoration of the Sultan's presentation of a land grant to Muhammad Khan for his maintenance, again underlining the importance which the painter must have had in Indo-Muslim society. Henceforth the village or town of Tib would provide the artist with his daily income, namely half a hun (sometimes called a gold *pagoda*), the currency used in the Deccani Sultanates and the Hindu South.

Some of the courtiers in the painting can be identified. The nobleman saluting the Sultan in the lower right hand corner is Sayyid Nurullah, a friend of the King and a prominent man of letters at court. He appears in exactly the same pose across from Muhammad Adil Shah in a double portrait in the pocket sized manuscript of the *Divan* of Orfi, dated 1636 (fig. 424, see footnote 33). The bearded courtier offering a jewelled turban pin to the Sultan may be Shah Nawaz Khan, an important noble of Muhammad's and Ibrahim's reign.[38] To his left the aged stout African is certainly Ikhlas Khan who served both Muhammad and Ibrahim as prime minister.[39] The two young men fanning the Sultan and bearing his egg-shaped *bidri huqqah* may be members of the royal family, as yet unidentifiable.

Another portrait of Ikhlas Khan is in the Binney collection (fig. 425).[40] As he appears younger and less corpulent than in the Jaipur darbar scene, a date of 1630-35 is possible. The characteristics of Muhammad Khan's distinctive idiom are apparent, and Ikhlas Khan's body is the mirror image of the Sultan's in the Jaipur page. An inscription that is barely visible on the pillow beneath the African's right arm has been painted over in the same way as the one on the Jaipur Museum group portrait. Certain letters are still decipherable, revealing the same attribution, *amal-e Muḥammad Khān, farzand-e Miyān Chānd* (the work of Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand).

A third portrait of Ikhlas Khan in the India Office Library, London, is an elaboration of the figure of

[37] The date 1052 is not in the customary Islamic (Hijra) era but in a derivative Islamic era, called the *shahur*, used in the kingdom of Bijapur and later by Hindu Mahratta chroniclers in Maharashtra. To change shahur dates into Christian ones, add 599. "There is another era of Muhammadan origin still employed by the Marathas of the west, entitled the *Shahur* or *Soor-san*, a corruption of the Arabic *shahur*, (plural of *shahr*, 'month') . . . probably adopted . . . in the Dakhan under . . . Tughlak Shah . . ." James Prinsep, *Useful Tables, Illustrative of the Coins, Weights, and Measures of British India*, London, 1858, vol. 2, part 2, p. 171

[38] The same man appears in a double portrait with Ibrahim Adil Shah II, who looks a good deal older than in any of the portraits we have so far discussed, in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd: E. Binney, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools*, Portland, 1973, p. 153

[39] Portraits of the same man, inscribed Ikhlas Khan, are in several Deccani albums, including two Golkonda albums in the British Library: Or. 7964, fol. 26a, and Sloane 5254, fol. 34a. He also appears in a finely painted Golkonda (?) portrait in the India Office Library (J. 23.2) inscribed in Persian *Shabih ye Ikhlas Khan Bijapuri* (Portrait of the Bijapuri African Ikhlas Khan).

[40] I am grateful to Dr. Binney for the photograph. Because of a later inscription on the mount identifying the subject as Masud Khan, the African regent of Sikandar, the last Sultan of Bijapur (r. 1672-1686), the painting has been published as *ca.* 1670-1680: E. Binney, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools*, Portland, 1973, no. 133, p. 159

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Ikhlas Khan in the Jaipur darbar scene (fig. 426).[41] The position of his body—except for his hands—and the details of his costume are identical. Close in date to the Jaipur scene and surely by Muhammad Khan as well this tiny portrait radiates the explosive energy that characterized the African's career in the turbulent world of Deccani politics.

Two other portraits, both of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah, can also be attributed to the hand of Muhammad Khan. A bust portrait in the British Museum shows the distinctive traits of his style, and as the Sultan's age appears to be the same as in the dated Jaipur darbar scene, it can be ascribed to *ca.* 1650 (fig. 427).[42] Another portrait in the India Office Library shows the Sultan giving *darshan* at a palace window *(jharokhā)* to a courtier who offers *pān* in return (fig. 428).[43] The courtier may be Shah Nawaz Khan, the same man in exactly the same posture who offers a jewelled turban pin to the Sultan in the Jaipur darbar scene (fig. 423).

One of the most exciting Bijapuri paintings of this period is the double portrait of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah fanned by Ikhlas Khan, both astride a richly caparisoned elephant (fig. 429).[44]

Although the Mughal portrait style of about 1630 serves as the point of departure, the colours are dazzlingly Deccani, far more brilliant than Muhammad Khan's usual palette. The background is vivid blue, the saddle cloth salmon pink and the Sultan is entirely clothed in gold, the surface of his robe pricked to catch the light in typically southern fashion. As both the Sultan and his general appear to be about the same age as in the Jaipur group portrait, a date of *ca.* 1650 is probable.

A Persian inscription written in bold *naskh* script in the lower left corner of the page gives the names of two painters:

'amal-e ḥaidar 'Alī va Ibrāhīm Khān

(the work of Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan)

At the Mughal court certain painters specialized in outlines, others in colouring and still others in portraiture.[45] This inscription suggests the existence of a comparable division of labour in the Bijapuri *atelier*, although we cannot yet ascertain which portion of the work was allocated to which man.[46]

The production of the Bijapuri school in this mid-seventeenth century idiom must have been considerable, for it influenced painting in the neighbouring Deccani kingdom of Golkonda, as well as further afield in Rajasthan—particularly at Bikaner[47] and Savar[48] and even painting at the Safavid court.[49] Artists trained

[41] J. 26. 19

[42] Oriental Antiquities, 1937-4-10-04. Published: Gray, *Burlington Magazine*, fig. D; Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan*, pl. 9, p. 22. An inscription on the mount erroneously identifies the subject as Sultan Ali Adil Shah, Muhammad's successor (r. 1656-1672)

[43] Add. Or. 2770 (formerly J. 69.3). Unpublished. Inscribed in Persian on both recto and verso "Portrait of Muhammad Adil Shah". The courtier has been mistakenly identified by Welch as Sayyid Nurullah and the painting attributed to the eighteenth century: Welch, *Ars Orientalis III*, p. 145, f.n. 63

[44] Private Collection. Published: Pinder-Wilson, *Muslim Courts of India*, no. 179, p. 92

[45] See Wilhelm Staude, "Les artistes de la cour d'Akbar et les illustrations du Dastan-i Amir Hamzah", *Arts Asiatiques*, t. 2, f. 1 (1955) and *idem*, "Contribution à l'étude de Basawan", *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, t. 8, f. 1 (1934)

[46] A portrait of Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah (r. 1672-1686) in the Fondation Custodia, Paris, no. 1973 t. 14, bears a similar Persian inscription giving the names of two artists, the second of whom is again Ibrahim Khan: "the work of Abdul Qadir and Ibrahim Khan Naqqash". Since the Persian word *naqqash* can mean decorator, painter or outliner it does not supply any new information about the division of labour within the Bijapuri *atelier*. Although the young prince can be identified as Sultan Sikandar on the basis of the inscribed Adil Shahi dynastic portrait in the Manucci Album in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, (Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, pl. 34), the painting has been published as a portrait of Sultan Ali Adil Shah his predecessor, (r. 1656-1672): *Acquisitions récentes de toutes époques, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais*, Paris, 1974, pl. 72, p. 49

[47] Bikaner painting, particularly of the seventeenth century, shows strong Deccani influence, probably due to the prolonged residence of several successive Bikaner rajas in the Deccan as high ranking Mughal officers. The Mughal invasion, expansion and occupation of the region continued for well over a century. Raja Rai Singh (1571-1611) was commander-in-chief of the Mughal forces in Khandesh and Berar in the northern Deccan from 1587 until 1592, and then served as governor of Burhanpur, capital of Mughal Berar from 1607 to 1611. Raja Karan Singh (1631-1669) resided for several long periods in the Deccan, serving as governor of Daulatabad. Raja Anup Singh (1669-1698) captured the Bijapuri fortress of Āḍonī in 1689 during a stay of twenty years in the Deccan. At Āḍonī he took possession of a group of Deccani paintings including the processional portrait of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (fig. 418, see footnotes 23 and 24 above). It is possible that many so-called "Bikaner" paintings of this period were actually painted in the Deccan by Mughal, Deccani or Rajasthani painters in the service of the Bikaner raja.

[48] At or near Savar in the Ajmer region a painter named Wajid, who did a series of mainly unpublished portraits of a local raja and his favourite horses, had strong Bijapuri links, possibly having emigrated to Rajasthan from Bijapur during the second half of the seventeenth century. One painting in this group has been published: Messrs Sotheby and Co., London, *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, The Cary Welch Collection, 12 December 1972, lot 118

[49] In Iran the painter Shaykh Abbasi and related artists of the mid and late seventeenth century worked in a very formal style imbued with Deccani flavour although the precise nature of these influences cannot as yet be ascertained. It is possible that one or more of these painters worked in the Deccan. A painting by Shaykh Abbasi for example dated 1086 A.H. (1675-1676 A.D.), in the Louvre collection (described: I. Stchoukine, *Peintures indiennes du musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, no. 92 (the date erroneously read as 1016 A.H.), is based on an elephant drawing done at Ahmadnagar in the northern Deccan some eighty years before, published: Welch, *Indian Drawings*, pl. 36

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in the style of Muhammad Khan, Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan probably migrated to Golkonda by the mid-seventeenth century.[50] A number of richly decorated portraits of Golkonda nobles executed in Bijapuri style in the 1670s with some Golkonda motifs have recently come to light. Typical is the portrait of Akbar Shah Hussaini, the son of Shah Raju, spiritual guide to the last Golkonda Sultan Abul Hasan (r. 1672-1687) and direct descendant of the celebrated Muslim saint Gesu Daraz (fig. 430).[51] The young man, who like Dara Shikoh was an impassioned student of Hindu literature, sits upon a white and gold coverlet spread over a deep burgundy floral carpet. His sharply defined almost African features, the distinctive turban and the huge cushions thickly encrusted with gold paint and sprigs of flowers, all derive from Bijapuri painting.

A Persian inscription to the right of the bolsters gives the name of the artist:

faqīr Raḥīm Khān Muṣawwir

[(the work of) the lowest (slave) Rahim Khan, the Painter]

Rahim Khan, who may have worked with Muhammad Khan at Bijapur, is one of the only four known Golkonda artists. He may have executed this portrait in the early 1670s when the two friends Akbar Shah Hussaini and Sultan Abul Hasan were still young men, a decade before the Mughals conquered the kingdom, thereby extinguishing the last base of the independent Islamic culture of the Deccan.

[50] Golkonda never evolved the homogeneous painting style that emerged at Bijapur; its painting always retained currents of almost pure Safavid, Mughal and Bijapuri modes throughout the seventeenth century, suggesting that its Sultan encouraged the immigration of artists from all over India and the Middle East.

[51] Private collection. Akbar Shah Hussaini's dates are not known. He was a close friend of Sultan Abul Hasan of Golkonda who was born in 1646

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APPENDIX

Deccani Portraits Discussed in the Article Classified by Artist

The Reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1579-1627)

(A) *Painter B 1* (Identity Unknown)

1. *The Adolescent Ibrahim Adil Shah II, ca.* 1590 (fig. 412)
   Private Collection.
   26.5 × 16.5 cm.
   Published : Soustiel and David, *Miniatures de l'Inde (2)*, pp. 30-31

(B) *Painter B 2* (Farrokh Hossain?)

1. *Ibrahim Adil Shah II Out Hawking, ca.* 1590-1595 (fig. 413)
   Oriental Institute, Leningrad. 28.7 × 15.6 cm.
   Published : T.V. Grek *et al., Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of the XVI-XVIII Centuries*, Moscow, 1962, No. 81
   Written attribution to Farrokh on mount

2. *Ibrahim Adil Shah II Playing the Vīṇā, ca.* 1595-1600 (fig. 414)
   Náprstek Museum, Prague. 62.5 × 42.0 (including borders).
   Published : Hajek, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 8-20

3. *Ibrahim Adil Shah II Riding an Elephant, ca.* 1600 (fig. 415)
   Private Collection. 14.1 × 10.2 cm.
   Unpublished

4. *A Bull Elephant, ca.* 1600-1610 (fig. 416)
   Sita Ram Sahu Collection, Banaras. 19.2 × 15.7 cm.
   Published : N. C. Mehta, *Indian Painting*, pl. 47

5. *A Horse and Groom, ca.* 1610 or later (fig. 417)
   Victoria and Albert Museum, I. S. 88-1965.
   29.7 × 22.1 cm. (including borders).
   Published : Pinder Wilson *et al., Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India*, No. 172, p. 90

(C) *Painter B 3* (Closely related to Painter B 1)

1. *Procession of Ibrahim Adil Shah, ca.* 1595-1600 (fig. 418)
   Bikaner Palace Collection. Dimensions unknown.
   Published : H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner*, pl. VIII;
   B. Gray, *Treasures of Indian Miniatures*, pl. III

(D) *Painter B 4* (Identity Unknown)

1. *Ibrahim Adil Shah II Wearing a Turban Decorated with Peacocks, ca.* 1610 (fig. 419)
   City Palace Museum, Jaipur, No. AG 753.
   10 × 7.5 cm. Unpublished

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2. *A Bijiapuri Mullah, ca.* 1610-1620 (fig. 420)
India Office Library, J. 25.14.
14.8 × 7.5 cm.
Published: R. Pinder Wilson *et al., Painting from the Muslim Courts of India,* No. 175, p. 91. This artist also executed *The Courtier* [British Museum, 1937, 4-10 03, published Barrett and Gray (Skira), p. 126] and *Ibrahim Adil Shah* (Binney Collection, published Binney, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools,* No. 121, p. 143).

The Reign of Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-1656)

(E) *Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand*

1. *Muhammad Adil Shah Standing before a Distant Vista, ca.* 1635-1640 (fig. 421)
City Palace Museum, Jaipur, No. A.G. 765.
Dimensions unknown. Unpublished.
Written attribution to Muhammad Khan

2. *Muhammad Adil Shah on a Canopied Throne in Darbar,* dated 1651-1652 (fig. 423)
City Palace Museum, Jaipur, A.G. 771.
Dimensions unknown. Unpublished.
Written attribution to Muhammad Khan

3. *Ikhlas Khan Attended by a Youth Bearing a Spittoon, ca.* 1630-1635 (fig. 425)
Edwin Binney Collection. 11.8 × 10.8 cm.
Published: Binney, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools,* No. 133, p. 159.
Written attribution to Muhammad Khan, partially obscured by repainting

4. *Ikhlas Khan Holding a Yellow Staff, ca.* 1650 (fig. 426)
India Office Library, J. 26-19.
13.2 × 9.0 cm. Unpublished.
Attributed here to Muhammad Khan

5. *Muhammad Adil Shah Smelling a Flower, ca.* 1650 (fig. 427)
British Museum, 1937, 4-10, 04.
15.6 × 11.7 cm.
Published: Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan,* pl. 9
Erroneous inscription identifying the subject as Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (1656-1672).
Attributed here to Muhammad Khan

6. *Muhammad Adil Shah Appearing at a Palace Window to a Courtier, ca.* 1650 (fig 428)
India Office Library, Add. Or. 2770. (formerly J. 69.3).
13.8 × 9.70 cm. Unpublished.
Attributed here to Muhammad Khan

(F) *Haider Ali and Ibrahim Khan*

1. *Muhammad Ali Shah and Ikhlas Khan Riding an Elephant, ca.* 1650 (fig. 429)
Private Collection. 30.5 × 26.7 cm.
Published: Pinder Wilson *et al., Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India,* No. 179, p. 92.
Written attribution to Haider Ali and Ibrahim Khan

(G) *Rahim Khan*

1. *Akbar Shah Hussaini Reading a Book of Prayers, ca.* 1670 (fig. 430)
Private Collection.
22.4×17.2 cm. Unpublished.
Written attribution to Rahim Khan

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List of Illustrations

Fig. 412. The Adolescent Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1590. Private Collection.

413. Ibrahim Adil Shah II Out Hawking, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1590-1595. Oriental Institute, Leningrad. (The Leningrad Mughal Album, fol. 81). Written attribution to the artist Farrokh on the Mount. After T.V. Grek's Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, Moscow, 1962, No. 81.

414. Ibrahm Adil Shah II Playing the *Viṇā*, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1595-1600. Náprstek Museum, Prague. After L. Hagek's, Indian Miniatures of the Mughal School, Prague 1960, Plate 8.

415. Ibrahim Adil Shah II Riding an Elephant, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1600. Private Collection.

416. A Bull Elephant, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1600-1610. Sita Ram Sahu Collection, Banaras. After N.C. Metha's, Studies in Indian Painting, Bombay 1926, pl. 47.

417. A Horse and Groom, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1610 or later. Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. I.S. 88-1965.

418. Procession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1595-1600. Bikaner Palace Collection. After Hermann Goetz's, The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State, Oxford 1950, Plate 8.

419. Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1610. City Palace Museum, Jaipur, No. AG 753.

420. A Mullah, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1610-1620. India Office Library, London, No. J. 25-14.

421. Muhammad Adil Shah Standing Before a Distant Vista, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1635-1640. City Palace Museum, Jaipur, No. AG 765. Written attribution to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand.

422. Shah Jehan, By Bichitr, Mughal, *ca.* 1632, Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. I.M. 17-1925.

423. Muhammad Adil Shah in Darbar. By Muhemmad Khan, son of Miyan Chand, Bijapur, Deccan, dated 1651-1652. City Palace Museum, Jaipur, No. AG 771.

424. Muhammad Adil Shah (left) and Sayyid Nurullah (right). Illustrated frontispiece to a *Divān* of Urfi executed at Bijapur and dated 1636. Private Collection. After S. Cary Welch's, Early Mughal Miniature Paintings. From Two Private Collections shown at the Fogg Art Museum, Ars Orientalis, Vol. III, 1959, Pl. 13, Figure 22.

425. The African Commander Ikhlas Khan, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1630-1635. Edwin Binney Collection, San Diego. Written attribution to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand (painted over).

426. The African Commander Ikhlas Khan, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1650. India Office Library, London, No. J. 26-19. Attributed here to the artist Muhammad Khan.

427. Muhammad Adil Shah, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1650. British Museum, London, No. 1937, 4-10, 04. Attributed here to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand.

428. Muhammad Adil Shah, Appearing at a Palace Window to a Courtier, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1650. India Office Library, London, Add. Or. 2770. Attributed here to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand.

429. Muhammad Adil Shah and Ikhlas Khan Riding an Elephant, Bijapur, Deccan, *ca.* 1650. Private Collection. Written attribution to the artists Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan.

430. Akbar Shah Hussaini, son of Shah Raju Golkonda, Deccan, *ca.* 1670. Private Collection. Written attribution to the artist Rahim Khan.

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D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

On Some Buddhist Āsanas

I

The need for a comprehensive work devoted to the exposition of the nature and significance of various *mudrās* and *āsanas* of Indian Buddhist images has long been felt by the students of Indian Buddhist art and iconography. Saunder's book[1] on *mudrās* is no doubt a significant and useful contribution in this field of study, but it is concerned primarily with Japanese and Chinese Buddhist hand-gestures and attributes. That their Indian counterparts differ, sometimes fundamentally, is revealed from the study of the Indian Buddhist texts dealing with them and also from their representation in Indian Buddhist images. However, in respect of the *āsanas* in Buddhist iconography, no comprehensive work has yet been done by any scholar. The need for such a work is felt more by the students of Indian Buddhist iconography who often find themselves in utter confusion when they come across altogether different interpretations of a particular *āsana* given by different scholars. As for example, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya interprets[2] *paryaṅkāsana* as an "attitude in which case the legs are placed one upon the other with both the soles visible", whereas J. N. Banerjea[3] takes it to mean "a sitting posture in which both the legs are made to dangle down from whatever type of seat the figure sits on". According to Alice Getty, who followed L. A. Waddell's interpretation, the term refers to the sitting pose in which "the right leg lies above the left with both the soles visible".[4] With these three different interpretations of a single term given by well-known authorities, a student of Buddhist iconography finds himself in utter confusion since he cannot decide which one to accept.

It has, however, to be noted that in Buddhist iconographic texts, the terms and terminologies have been used not always in their technical sense; quite frequently, they have been used only in their literal sense. Some examples may be cited. The term *padmāsana* has been used sometimes to refer to a particular mode of sitting which is highly technical in nature, and, occasionally, in the literal sense of a seat *(āsana)* of lotus *(padma)*. Similarly, the term *siṁhāsana* may either mean the lion or great *(siṁha)* seat *(āsana)* or a sitting posture *(āsana)* suitable for great or royal *(siṁha)* personages—a sitting attitude which otherwise is referred to as the *mahārājalīlāsana* or *vīrāsana*, as will be discussed later. Thus, it has to be appreciated, the term *paryaṅkāsana* may also mean either the cot or couch *(paryaṅka)* as the seat *(āsana)* or the sitting posture involving a particular mode of the disposition of the legs. In order to ascertain which sense to accept when, it is necessary to take a careful note of the context of the application of the terms concerned.

A case may be cited in order to illustrate how the context can serve as an important determinant of the proper meaning of terms and terminologies pertaining to Buddhist iconography. In the section entitled *Trichatvāriṁśadātmaka Mañjuvajramaṇḍala* of the *Nishpannayogāvalī*,[5] there is the description of ten deities starting with Vighnāntaka. They are referred to there as *lalitākshepiṇa* 'and also' as *pratyālīḍhāsanasthita*. Moreover, the same section states that Yamāntaka should be in the *ālīḍha* 'as well as' in the *vajraparyaṅka* pose. It is difficult to reconcile the combination of *lalitākshepa* and *pratyālīḍha* in the same form, since the former is a sitting attitude, while the latter refers to a standing posture. Similar difficulty arises with regard to the visualization of the form of Yamāntaka simultaneously in the *ālīḍha* (a standing posture) and in the *vajraparyaṅka* (a sitting attitude). But the problem gets solved if the prescription for the iconography of Yamāntaka is read carefully. The relevant line reads: *yamāntakastvālīḍhenāpi vajraparyaṅkenāpi*. The use of the word *api* twice, once after the term *ālīḍha* and again after *vajraparyaṅka*, makes it clear that the prescription here is not for the combination of the *ālīḍha* pose of standing with the *vajraparyaṅka*

[1] Saunders, F. Dale, *Mudrā. A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture*, New York, 1960. Mention could be made of an interesting monograph by Lokesh Chandra: *Mahākaruṇachittadhāraṇī*. an Illustrated Japanese Manuscript on *Mudrās* and *Mantras*, New Delhi, n. d.

[2] Bhattacharyya, B., *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 435

[3] Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 272

[4] Getty, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan, 1962, p. 184

[5] *Nishpannayogāvalī*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949, p. 52

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mode of sitting, but to suggest that Yamāntaka should be either *(api)* in the *ālīḍha* pose or *(api)* in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude of sitting. In this light, we are able to know that the reference to Vighnāntaka and others as being in the *lalitākshepa* and in the *pratyālīḍha,* as mentioned above, is also to the alternative postures of the deities concerned. This will mean that, according to the abovementioned prescription of the *Nishpannayogāvalī,* Vighnāntaka and others should be either in the *lalitākshepa* or in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, and likewise *(tu),* Yamāntaka in either the *ālīḍha* or in the *vajraparyaṅka* pose.

Another relevant point needs discussion here. In Buddhist texts, the word *āsana* is used in the sense of a seat or support of a deity or to refer to a particular mode of sitting. But, apart from these usual meanings, the word has sometimes been used in the sense even of a standing posture. In the *Sādhanamālā,*[6] for instance, the Vajradhātvīśvarī form of the goddess Mārīchī is described as standing in the *pratyālīḍha* pose *(pratyālīḍhasthitāṃ),* but her charioteer *(rathavāhikā)* is described as *pratyālīḍhāsanāṃ,* presumably meaning, in spite of the use of the suffix *āsana* with *pratyālīḍha,* the same standing posture as that of her mistress, the goddess Mārichī. Such a use is extremely rare, and the single case noted above may even be an exceptional one. The authors of technical treatises, however, sometimes used the word *pada* or *vajrapada* as a substitute for the word *āsana,* presumably because the former pertakes of a wider denotation and perhaps also because of its more appropriateness, since in an *āsana,* whether it refers to a sitting or a standing pose, the basic concern is with regard to the disposition of the legs or feet *(pada)* and its variation.

In this connection mention should be made of the very interesting fact that, apart from the above-stated sense, the word *āsana* had acquired an esoteric meaning in Tāntric Buddhism, particularly in the later phases of its development. In a Tāntric Buddhist work from Nepal, it is stated that the success *(siddhi)* of the mode of worship through the five means *(pañcha ma-kāra)* depends on the proper *āsana.*[7] The latter has been explained there as symbolizing the three spheres *(trikāya)* thus[8]: *ākāreṇa nirmāṇākhyaṃ sākāreṇa cha saṁbhogaṃ/ dharmākhyaṃ nakāreṇeti chāsanastrikāyakaḥ//,* meaning that the word *āsana* embodies the three *kāyas* (bodily qualities of the Buddha) thus: the letter *ā* stands for *nirmāṇakāya* (ascetic quality), *sa* for *saṁbhogakāya* (Supreme Happiness), and *na* for *dharmakāya* (abstract quality). Thus in the Buddhist devotion, particularly in its Tantrayāna system, *āsana* or the systematic disposition of the lower body of the devotee was considered to be very important. In this mode of devotion, the devotee was required to comprehend the characteristics of the deity in his body, which had to be transformed, for the time being at least, into the corporeal presence *(kāya-rūpa)* of the deity concerned. The transformation of the body of the devotee into the temporary form of the deity was possible, according to the Tāntric Buddhist belief, through the proper application of the *āsanas* or the wilful manipulation of the lower parts of the body. These *āsanas* are also ascribed to the images of the deities, which are the external manifestations *vis-a-vis* the articulations of the appearance of the divinity. The body of the devotee during worship and the image of the deity are the mutual replicas *(pratirūpa),* and, therefore, both should show the same *mudrā* and *āsana* in order to serve as the divine form *(divyarūpa)* of the deity concerned.

Various works on Tāntric Buddhist iconography and rituals refer to several *mudrās* and *āsanas.* The *Sādhanamālā* and the *Nishpannayogāvalī* mention many of them in connection with the iconographic description of various deities and also while giving prescriptions for the worship. But although the definitions of a few *mudrās* are given in them, mostly in enigmatic expressions, in neither of the above-mentioned works one can find any definition, even of the similar nature, of the *āsanas.* But there are several other works on Buddhist rituals, still lying in their manuscript form, which contain a mine of information regarding the meaning of the most important *āsanas* and *mudrās* that find frequent mention in the celebrated *Sādhanamālā, Nishpannayogāvalī,* and similar other works. In this paper, an attempt is made to bring out the literary definitions of some of the important *āsanas* contained in a very authoritative Tāntric Buddhist work which remained unpublished so long.

II

The most comprehensive account of the *āsanas* is contained in the unpublished Tāntric Buddhist work, the *Vajrāvalināma-Maṇḍalopāyikā* of Abhayākaragupta. Abhayākaragupta, who flourished during the reign of the Pāla ruler Rāmapāla, is known as the author of several Tāntric Buddhist works[9] including the celebrated

[6] *Sādhanamālā,* ed. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1925, p. 280

[7] *Pūjārchanavidh,* Ms. No. *ca.* 436 of the Nepal Government Archives, Kathmandu, fol. 29B

[8] *ibid.,* fol. 30A

[9] In the Introduction to the *Nishpannayogāvalī,* there is a list of 24 titles authored by Abhayākaragupta (the list is quoted by Bhattacharyya from p. 88 ff. of Bose's *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*).

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Nishpannayogāvalī which was published by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in 1949 under the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda. The *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta has not been published as yet,[10] and thus a mine of information pertaining to various aspects of Buddhist iconography and rituals has remained unutilised by scholars in the field.

The work concerned is entitled *Vajrāvalīnāma-Maṇḍalopāyikā* or *Vajrāvalī-Tantra*. The author's name invariably is given as Abhayākaragupta who is frequently styled as a great scholar *(mahāpaṇḍita)*. The present writer has been able to study as many as four manuscripts of the work: two (Nos. G. 3855 and G. 4835) belonging to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and one each from the collections of the University Library, Cambridge and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Two of these, *viz.*, the Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 3855 and the Oriental Institute Ms. No. 13189, do not contain any date. The Cambridge Ms. No. Add. 1703 is dated in the Newari era 249 (—A.D. 1129), and the Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 4835 has the figure 250 written on the colophon. This might be the date of the Ms., obviously in the Newari era, which will come to A.D. 1130. Thus both these dated manuscripts seem to be contemporary to the period of Rāmapāla, and as such also of Abhayākaragupta who flourished during the period when this Pāla ruler was in power.[11]

The basic objective of the *Vajrāvalī*, as defined in its introduction, seems to be to discuss briefly *(saṁkshiptaṃ)* the rules and systems *(vidhi)* pertaining to the *maṇḍalas*. But it deals with numerous other topics pertinent to Buddhist worship and rituals. Among these, the most important is the account of the *āsanas* that it gives. It will be of much use to take note of this account here. Of the four manuscripts consulted by the present writer, the text contained in the Ms. No. G. 4835 of the Asiatic Society seems to be the least corrupt. The definitions of the *āsanas* contained in this manuscript, therefore, will be quoted here. These quotations are from the folios 12B-13A.

There are the definitions of as many as ten *āsanas* given in this section of the text, and, it is significant that these ten *āsanas* are the ones that find frequent mention in the iconographic description of the Buddhist deities. The following is the textual account:

VAJRAPARYAṄKĀSANA:

Dakshiṇajaṅghorumadhye vāmaṃ pādaṃ nyasya tadupari vāmajaṅghorumadhye dakshiṇaṃ nyasediti vajraparyaṅkaḥ ||

When the left foot is placed on the right thigh, and over this is brought the right foot to be placed on the left thigh, the sitting posture known as *vajraparyaṅka* is formed.

VAJRĀSANA:

Tatra vajraparyaṅkabhūsparśamudrāvandhanādvajrāsanābhinayaḥ ||

The attitude of *vajrāsana* involves sitting in the *vajraparyaṅka* pose with the hands disposed in the gesture of touching the earth *(bhūsparśamudrā)*.

DHYĀNĀSANA:

Samādhimudrāvandhanāddhyānābhinayaḥ ||

The attitude of *dhyānāsana* is exhibited with the disposition of the hands in the gesture of meditation *(samādhimudrā)*, while sitting in the *vajraparyaṅka* pose.

PADMĀSANA:

Dakshiṇajaṅghāyāṃ vāmajaṅghāṃ kṛitvāvanataṃ jānudvayaṃ kuryāditi padmāsanaṃ ||

When the left thigh is placed on the right, so that the two knees are brought one above the other, the *padmāsana* is formed.

SATVAPARYAṄKĀSANA:

Vāmorūpari dakshiṇaṃ pādaṃ vinyasya vāmaṃ dakshiṇorutale sthāpayetsatvaparyaṅkaḥ ||

When the right foot is placed on the left thigh, and the left is placed below the right thigh, the *satvaparyaṅka* attitude is formed.

VĪRĀSANA:

Vāmacharaṇenārdhaparyaṅkamāvaddhya tatsamīpe dakshiṇajānu ūrddhapraguṇaṃ sthāpayediti vīrāsanaṃ/ vāmārddhaparyaṅkaṃ kṛitvā tadupari dakshiṇajānu patitaṃ saṁsthāpya dakshiṇapādaṃ vāmorumūle uttānaṃ sthāpayediti vīrāsanamiti kechit ||

(i) The left foot should be half-way *paryaṅkāsana*.[12]

[10] The present writer has recently contributed a paper containing the textual account of thirty *maṇḍalas* that it describes, for the *Professor Stein Felicitation Volume* to be published by the University of California, Berkeley.

[11] Apart from the other evidences regarding this, it has to be mentioned that the Asiatic Society, Calcutta has the manuscript of another work (Ms. No. G. 3827) of Abhayākaragupta, entitled *Buddhakapāla-Tantra-Ṭīkā*. The last colophon of the manuscript states that it was authored by Abhayākaragupta *(kṛitiḥ paṇḍitasthavirābhayākaraguptapādānāmiti)*, and also, the colophon of the 14th *paṭāla* states that it was composed in the 25th year of the reign of Rāmapāla *(rājyābde rāmapālasya pañchaviṁśe' karodimāṃ)*.

[12] The expression used is '*ardhaparyaṅka*' which can be taken in the sense of one-half of the lower body being in the seat or *paryaṅka* that means, one of the legs being raised up or dangled down the seat, or in the sense that it is partially *(ardha)* the form of a sitting on a couch or seat *(paryaṅka)*.

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Near this, the right thigh should be placed tangentially upwards. Thus the *vīrāsana* will be formed.

(ii) The left foot should be disposed half-way *paryaṅkāsana*. On this let the right thigh be placed. The right foot should be placed inverted over the left thigh. Thus is sometimes *(kechit)* formed the *vīrāsana*.

BHADRĀSANA:

Ṛijucharaṇadvayamuchchhāsanastho dhārayediti bhadrāsanaṃ ||

In the *bhadrāsana*, the two legs should dangle down straightway from a raised seat.

UTKUṬUKĀSANA:

Vitastyantaritaṃ pādadvayamāsanenyasyotkuṭukastishṭhedityutkuṭukāsanaṃ ||

The sitting posture with both the feet on the seat, but placed apart from one another, is known as the *utkuṭukāsana*.

SALĪLĀSANA:

Dakshiṇa pādaṃ satvaparyaṅkena saṁsthāpya vāmaṃ salilaṃ prasārayediti salilāsanaṃ ||

In the *salilāsana*, the right foot should be disposed like that in the *satvaparyaṅkāsana* (that means, the right foot should be placed on the left thigh), while the left should be gracefully stretched (downwards).

SVASTIKĀSANA:

Pādadvayaṃ saṁpuṭīkṛitvopaviśaṃ svastikaṃ ||

In the *svastika* mode of sitting, the two feet should be joined together.

III

The above-quoted textual extracts give us not only valuable information about the nature of some of the most important Buddhist *āsanas*, but also dispel much of the misconception that exists on the subject. With regard to the interpretation of the term *satvaparyaṅkāsana*, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya mistook it first as meaning "seated on an animal",[13] and then as "seated on a man".[14] But none of them fits in well with the sitting mode of many images described to be in the *satvaparyaṅkāsana*. It has, however, to be pointed out that the prefix *satva* in the term *satvaparyaṅkāsana* means neither a "man" nor an "animal". It has perhaps the same meaning as that of *satva* in the words like Bodhisatva or Vajrasatva, *viz.*, mercy or *karuṇā*. In other words, the term *satvaparyaṅkāsana* refers to a relaxed or benign *(satva|karuṇā)* attitude of sitting on a *paryaṅka* or seat. Mallmann has explained it as a mode of sitting in which the legs are placed one upon the other, the sole of the right foot being visible (fig. 432).[15] Although Mallmann does not cite the authority for her interpretation, it is of much interest to note that the definition of the term concerned as given in the *Vajrāvalī* supports it.

Bhattacharyya has taken *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, *vajrāsana*, and *dhyānāsana* as synonyms.[16] But we know now from the *Vajrāvalī* that the former refers to a mode of sitting in which what is important is a particular placement of the legs, whereas in the remaining two the additional requirement is the disposition of the hands in the *bhūmisparśamudrā* and the *samādhimudrā* respectively. It has to be mentioned that there is a Buddhist deity named Vajrāsana who is described as seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* pose *(vajraparyaṅkanishaṇṇaṃ)* with the right hand in the earth-touching pose and the left placed on the lap *(savyakaraṃ bhūsparśamudrānvitaṃ avasavyamutsaṅgasthitaṃ)*.[17] The definition of *vajrāsana*, as given in the *Vajrāvalī*, contains, in fact, the iconographic formulation of the deity Vajrāsana. Although in a general sense, we take *vajraparyaṅkāsana* as referring to a sitting posture in which the two legs are firmly crossed on the seat with both the soles turned upward, it has to be noted that, according to the *Vajrāvalī*, in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* this crossing of the legs requires to be made in a specific manner: in this posture, the right leg should come to the top (fig. 431).

Most interesting is the definition of *padmāsana* as given in the *Vajrāvalī*. This *āsana* is assigned to the Buddhist deities quite frequently in their textual prescriptions. But hardly any image of a Buddhist deity is known to us which is shown seated in the manner defined as the *padmāsana* mode of sitting in the *Vajrāvalī*.[18] This mode of sitting, however, can often be seen in the sitting posture of the Tāntric sages of whom mention could be made of the celebrated Lokanātha Brahmachārī, who is shown in his well-known representations in a mode of sitting that has been referred to in the *Vajrāvalī* as the *padmāsana*.

Of the two definitions of *vīrāsana*, as given above,

[13] Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, first ed., Oxford, 1924, p. 132

[14] Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, second ed., Calcutta, 1958, p. 306

[15] Mallmann, M. T. de, *Introduction a l'etude Avalokitecvara*, Paris, 1948, pp. 258-260

[16] Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 435

[17] *Sādhanamālā*, p. 20

[18] In the iconographic descriptions found in the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Nishpannayogāvalī*, the term *padmāsana* may not always have a technical sense of a particular mode of sitting. In many cases it probably was used in the literal sense of a lotus serving as the seat of the deity.

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the first one seems to be the same as applied to the mode of sitting (fig. 433) known also as *mahārāja-līlāsana* or simply *līlāsana*. The *salīlāsana* of the *Vajrāvalī* seems to differ from it. The second definition of the *vīrāsana*, as given in the *Vajrāvalī*, approximates to the concept of *satvaparyaṅkāsana* of the same text. *Bhadrāsana* refers to a posture (fig. 434) that is noticed even in the images of Buddha in some caves of Ajanta.[19] *Utkuṭuk-āsana* seems to be an unusual sitting posture, particularly for Buddhist images. But J.N. Banerjea has illustrated an image of Danturā from Jajpur[20] which shows a mode of sitting that answers to the definition of the *utkuṭukāsana* given in the *Vajrāvalī*. In the *svastikāsana*, according to the *Vajrāvalī*, the feet are to be joined together; the word *samputīkṛita* should not necessarily imply that the soles of the feet are to be joined. In several Buddhist images we notice a mode of sitting (figs. 435-36) in which the feet are shown very close to each other : the legs crossed near the ankles. *Svastikāsana* of the *Vajrāvalī* may have reference to such a mode of sitting.

The above-mentioned ten *āsanas*, which are referred to in the *Vajrāvalī* as the *vajrapadas* or adamantine postures, have to be accompanied by a corresponding look *(vajradṛishṭi)* in the eyes of the sitter, so that the overall effect of the postures amounts to the evocation of the respective *rasas*.[21] In each case, the eyes should have a combination of the inward and outward look *(purato vīkshaṇamabhimukhaṃ pṛishṭhataḥ parāṅmukhamiti vīkshaṇadvayaṃ)*. In the light of this prescription of the *Vajrāvalī*, the aesthetics of the *āsanas* of Buddhist images, and of Buddhist iconography as a whole, can perhaps be better *appreciated*. In the Buddhist iconography, the *āsanas*, and *mudrās* stand for meaningful disposition of feet and hands. They are the visual symbols of the actions of the body and mind. That is why some of the *āsanas, viz.*, the *vajrāsana* and the *dhyānāsana*, and many of the hand-gestures[22] have been referred to in the *Vajrāvalī* as *abhinaya* or the acting. In the acting, not merely the hand-gestures and the sitting or standing postures are involved, there is the requirement of an appropriate *(yathāyogaṃ)* look in the eyes in order that the proper sentiments or emotions *(rasas)* are evoked. The *Vajrāvalī* prescription in the above lines, thus, seems to be quite significant. According to this, a Buddhist image is virtually a modelled transcript of an actor *(naṭa)* who, with his acting ability, can evoke the various *rasas* in the mind of the spectator. The traditional Indian concept of the inherent relationship between dance and drama *(nāṭya)* on one hand, and painting and sculpture *(chitra)* on the other, as expressed unequivocally in the *Vishṇudharmottaraṃ: yathā nṛitte tathā chitre*,[23] seems to have been the keynote of the aesthetics even of the art of Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna Buddhism.

[19] Zimmer, H., *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1960, vol. II, pl. 179

[20] Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, fig. 1

[21] Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 4835, fol. 13A: *eshu vajrapadādishu yathāyogaṃ vajradṛishṭibhyāṃ purato vīkshaṇamabhimukhaṃ pṛishṭhataḥ parāṅ-mukhamiti vīkshaṇadvayaṃ śṛiṅgāravīravībhatsaraudrahāsyabhayānakakaruṇādbhutaśāntarasāṅśchāmnāya...*

[22] E.g., fols. 11B-12A of the above-mentioned Ms. refer to many such hand-gestures *(abhinaya)*, of which an instance can be cited here. The gesture of drawing the sword *(khaḍgābhinaya)* has been defined thus : *vāma vajramushṭi kośāddakshiṇavajramushṭimākṛishya khaḍgābhinayena dhāra-yediti khaḍgābhinayaḥ*, meaning, in the gesture suggestive of drawing the sword has to be disposed this way : one should act like drawing the fist of the right hand out of the fist of the left hand suggesting the act of drawing the sword (out of the scabbard).

[23] *Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, part III, ed. P. Shah, Baroda, 1958, ch. 35, verse 5

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DONALD M. STADTNER

A Gupta Frieze from Kandavā

In the small village of Kandavā, two or three miles behind the Banaras Hindu University campus, is a fourteenth-fifteenth century temple known as Kardameśvara. The dedication of the temple has been recorded in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (ch. 12, 62-69) in which a Śaiva devotee, Kardama, is granted a boon by Śiva which allows Kardama to found a temple in his own name. Built into the plinth of the Kardameśvara temple is a late Gupta period frieze bearing four *gaṇa* images (figs. 437-39).[1]

The fragment measures 1.25 metres long, 15 cm. high and 30.5 cm. deep. The square bosses which contain the *gaṇas* are 15 × 15 cm. and protrude 7.5 cm. from the background. The frieze is broken on the left hand side but enough of the stone remains to show that a metal clamp would have been used to fasten this piece to its neighbour.

Each of the *gaṇas* is in a spirited dancing pose and each has a heavy waist-band (except for the one on the far right), a lozenge-shaped neck pendant, and a sash placed above or draped around the shoulders. The figure on the far right holds a snake *(nāga)* in his left hand and bears the face of a boar *(varāha)* on his stomach (fig. 439). The association between *gaṇas* and various animals finds textual confirmation in at least one source, the *Mahābhārata*, where in the *Śalyaparvan*, Śiva's hosts *(pārishadas)* attending Skanda's coronation have the faces of a dog, hare, boar, elephant and lion, etc. *(kūrmakukkuṭavaktrāścha śaśolūkamukhāstathā|kharoshṭravadanāścaiva varāhavadanāstathā)*.[2] However, in this reference and a similar *Skandābhisheka* scene described in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the *gaṇas* are described as bearing actual faces of animals rather than animal representations on their stomachs.[3] Gupta representations of *gaṇas* with lion-faced stomach and animal heads are found among the friezes at the Śiva temple at Bhūmarā.[4] Large *gaṇas* come from Nāchnā-Kuthārā where they were once part of the now destroyed exterior wall of the Śiva temple.[5] To my knowledge, however, this example at Kandavā is the only representation of a boar-bellied *gaṇa*.

To judge from the disposition of roof members in the recently discovered temple of Maṛhiā and the analogies which that shrine has with the *śikhara* at Bhūmarā as Pramod Chandra has noted, the *gaṇa* frieze from Kandavā would probably have formed part of the temple roof.[6] If Chandra's reconstruction is correct, this piece from Kandavā would then have been one horizontal member in a temple *śikhara*. In its projecting bosses alternating with panels of foliage, the piece from Kandavā relates most directly in type to what R.D. Banerji labelled as Class I type of frieze from Bhūmarā and to the first story or *bhūmi* at Maṛhiā.[7]

The figures at Bhūmarā are framed by ornamented pilasters and are separated by panels of foliage and an occasional *kīrtimukha*, whereas in the Kandavā example and at Maṛhiā only the unadorned edges of the square projections are found. At Kandavā, two floral panels intersected by crossed diagonal lines are present, as in at least one panel from Bhūmarā. The three-quarter lotus motif also occurs frequently at Bhūmarā.[8]

[1] I wish to thank Dr. Anand Krishna for drawing my attention to the relief in Kandavā. Over a period of many years both Dr. Krishna and Rai Krishnadasa have tried without success to secure the frieze for the Bharat Kala Bhavan; although the piece belongs only to the plinth of the temple, it nonetheless figures in part of the temple's daily *pūjā* ritual. I was unable to locate any other Gupta fragments in the village or in the surrounding fields.

[2] R. N. Dandekar, ed., *The Mahābhārata*, Poona, 1961, 9.44.70 ff. pp. 326 ff.

[3] Major B. D. Basu, *The Sacred Books of the Hindus, The Matsya Purāṇam*, vol. XVII, part I, CLIV, 530-36, pp. 104-05

[4] R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara, MASI*, no. 16, 1924, pl. IX, a-c

[5] The *gaṇas* from Nāchnā-Kuthārā do not have animal faced bellies, although there seem to have been two *gaṇas* with animal faces. One, with a lion's face, remains at the site and another, with a ram's head, is in a private collection in New York. The original provenance of the latter piece is not definitely known, but the style and dimensions indicate that it is probably from Nāchanā-Kuthārā or at least from the Panna district.

[6] Pramod Chandra, "A Vāmana Temple at Maṛhiā and some reflections on Gupta Architecture", *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXXII, 2/3, 1970.

[7] *ibid.*, pls. 7-8. Chandra does not give measurements for these roof members. See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pl. X, a. For the dimensions of the Bhūmarā roof fragments now in Allahabad, see Chandra's, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, 1970, pp. 79-87, pls. XVII-XIX. The height of the fragments from Bhūmarā vary between .190 and .330m.

[8] Banerji, *op. cit.*, pls. 9c, 10a

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Inasmuch as the chronology of Gupta sculpture is controversial, a precise date for the Kandavā frieze will not be suggested in this short note. It is enough to say that while the figures share the buoyancy and finesse of the *gaṇas* at Bhūmarā the foliage is moving away from the boldness present among the floral designs at Bhūmarā. If Bhūmarā is to be placed in the last quarter of the fifth century, then the *gaṇa* frieze from Kandavā may be placed sometime in the first quarter of the sixth century.

The Rājghāt terracottas and sculptures, such as the marvellous Karttikeya in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, as well as the numerous images found within the city limits of Banaras, indicate that the city must have been a flourishing center of Hindu sculpture during the Gupta and post-Gupta period.[9] In the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* are descriptions of numerous *tīrthas* in and around Banaras. The figural style and the form of architectural fragments at Kandavā demonstrate that the temple type found within the Parivrājaka and Uchchhakalpa realms was not limited to the Panna area and was current in the Gupta heartland. Moreover, it is to be expected that temple types and sculptural motifs would have originated within the large urban centers under Gupta hegemony and in time spread to outlying territories.

[9] R. C. Agrawala, "Brahmanical Sculptures in the Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi, (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Bharat Kala Bhavan)*, 1971, pp. 173-77

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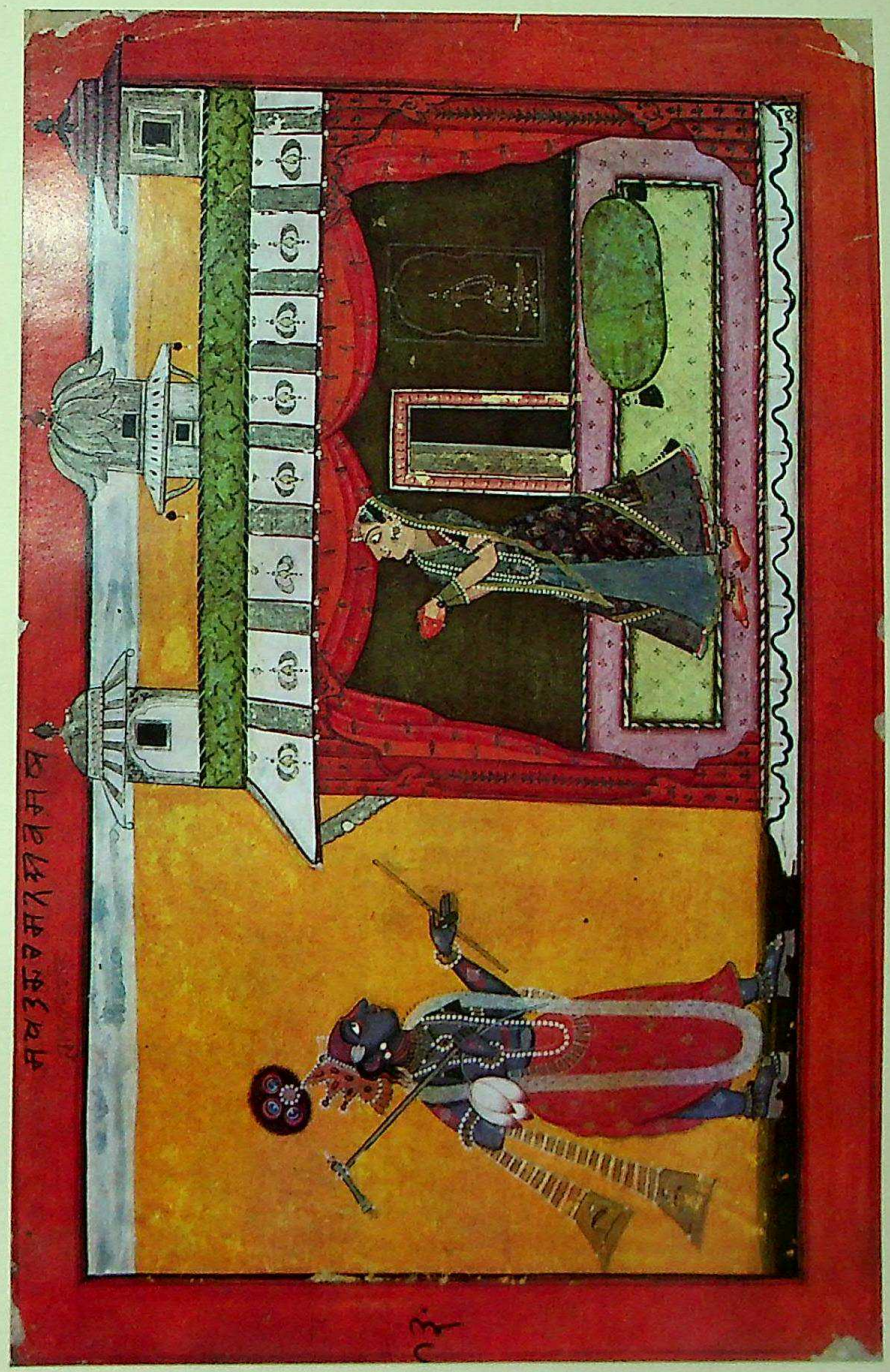

Pl. 21. A scene from *Rasamañjari: Sākshāt* darśana, Basohli, dated 1694-95

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Pl. 22. *Rāga* Kumbha, Basohli (Mankot), *ca.* 1710

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Pl. 23. *Gopis* searching Krishna, Mewar, *ca.* 1710

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Pl. 24. Mṛityunjaya Śiva (Conqueror of Death), Basohli (Mankot), *ca.* 1715

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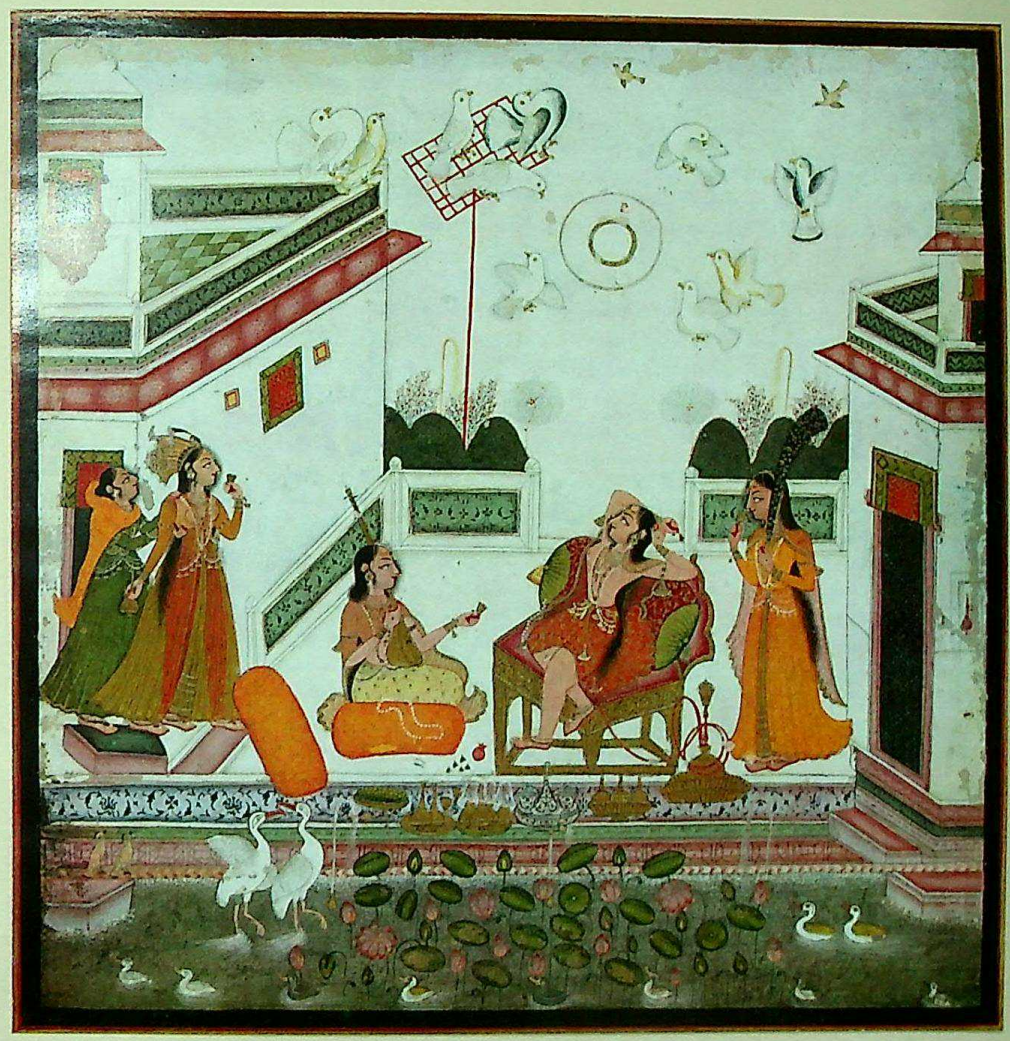

Pl. 25. Youthful *Bhaṅgimā* of the lady and the pigeons, Bundi, *ca.* 1725

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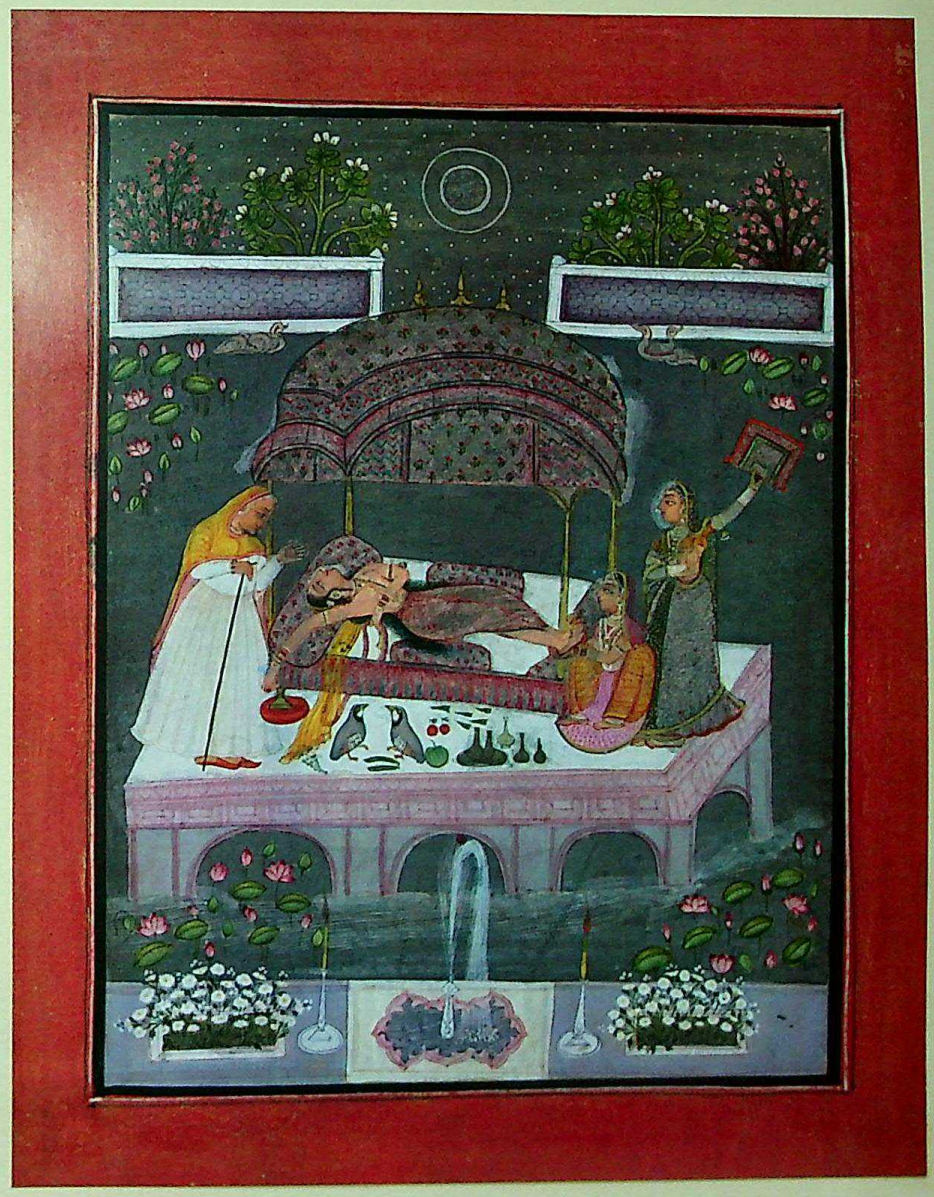

Pl. 26. *Virahiṇī Nāyika* (anguished lady), Bundi, *ca.* 1750

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Pl. 27. A scene from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa: Gopas* demanding food from Vedic Brahmins, Guler, *ca.* 1760

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Pl. 28. Krishna slays the Agha demon, Guler, *ca.* 1760

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Pl. 29. Sulemana with his entourage, Mughal, *ca.* 1760

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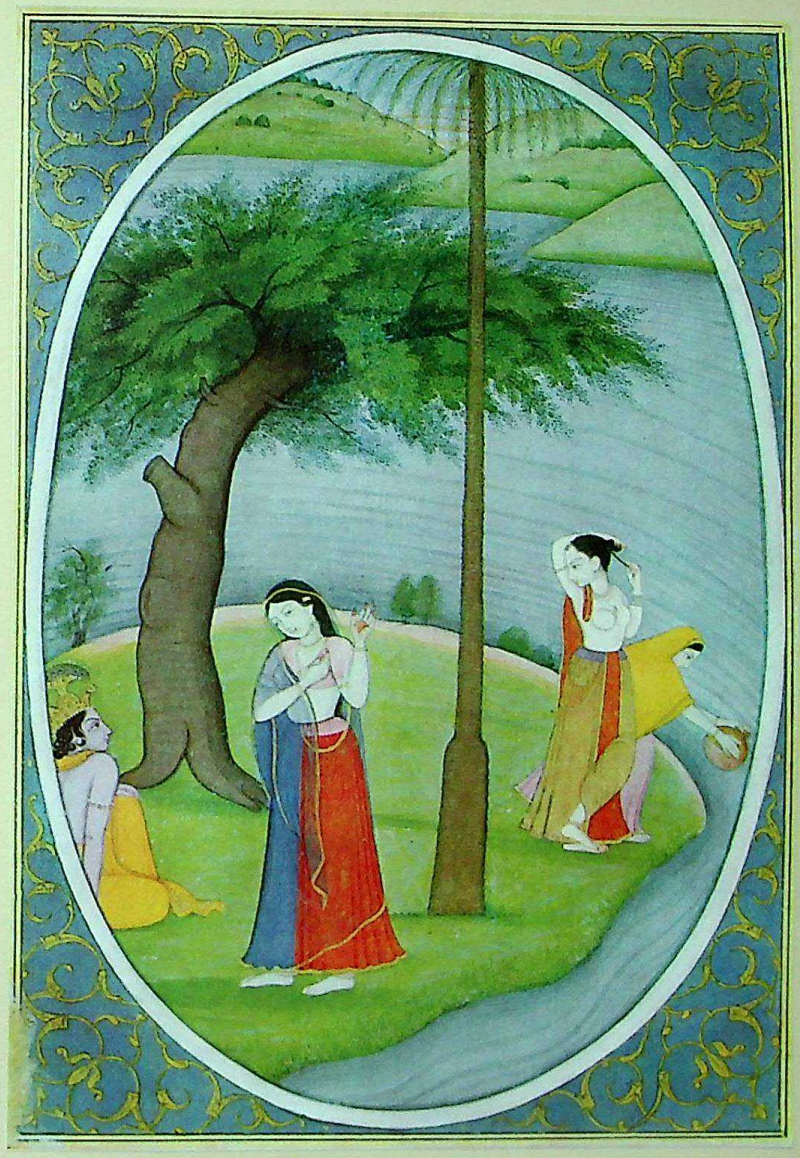

Pl. 30. Krishna captivated by a girl who is tying her hair; a leaf from Bihari's *Satsai*, Guler, *ca.* 1770

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R. K. TANDAN

Deccani Influence on Early Pahari Painting

Part I

Background

Rulers of several erstwhile hill states are known to have patronised painters from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. These hill states were ruled by Rajput princes belonging to the aristocratic Kshatriya caste. Governing, and providing protection to their subjects, were the two main functions enjoined on them by the holy scriptures, and these they did fairly well. In their spare time, they engaged themselves in other worthy pursuits befitting their rank, such as the chase, women, wine, music, painting, sports, religious ceremonies and constant feuds with the neighbouring states. Miniatures from this broad region are known as Pahari painting.

Paintings from Basohli

The earliest Pahari miniatures which, incidentally, are also among some of the greatest ones in Indian painting, belong to the second half of the seventeenth century. The crowning achievement of Pahari painters is the Basohli style of painting, designated after a small fortress-town by that name. Now in ruins, Basohli has been immortalized by its painters. A distinguished *Rāgamālā* series (figs. 440-45) shows a right point of this school.

Kusum, *putra* (son) of Dipak *rāga*, is one such miniature (fig. 445, *ca.* 1695) from a splendid Basohli *rāgamālā*, six examples from which are reproduced here. There is stark precision, and the draughtsmanship shows no hesitancy. The approach is direct and the atmosphere is surcharged with emotion. Kusum knows exactly what he wants; she too, the way she is encouraging him by her bold looks, and the intimate manner in which she has caught hold of his left hand so as not to let it go. Women in Basohli painting have a disturbing quality, disturbing because the mixture seems to suggest a kind of ideal. The volatile mixture of power and passivity is both the source of their mystery and their irresistible appeal. Such a responsive attitude on their part would have shocked Keśavadasa whose *nāyikās* are supposed to have been coy and reticent, and it is perhaps as well that the poet is now no more.

The lovers explore each other with large, intense eyes. If there was any initial shyness on her part, it has quickly receded under his passionate gaze. Two erect green cypresses, and the diagonally piercing arrow, only make the scene more erotogenic.

We are more than satisfied with the intensity of the situation; not so yet the artist. He wants to prepare us for greater shocks and, accordingly, sets the whole background ablaze by painting it an intense burnt-orange, thus bringing the hot sun of the Jaisalmer desert right to your door. In the mirage thus created, the figures vibrate against the shimmering, flame-coloured background. The effect is awesome, and is further heightened by daring colour contrasts.

The treatment of stylised trees in the early Basohli miniatures is indeed very charming. The extraordinary foliage of a tree, with a tender creeper climbing over it, as seen in the case of *rāgaputra* Varvala (fig. 442), creates the illusion of a bunch of multicoloured kites sailing in the sky against a strong wind. No wonder! for the rhetorician Kshemakarṇa[1] has compared the music of Varvala to the sound of flying kites. Some of these early Basohli miniatures have a compelling, trance-like quality; washed by a cold, stellar light, they seem to obey a mysterious logic which flows from another universe.

Basohli gallants are remarkably handsome (fig. 441, Malkosa *rāga*), and they seem to have been modelled on rājā Kripal Pal (1678-1693), and his son Dhiraj Pal (1693-1722), both reputed for their good looks. One is not disappointed in Malkosa *rāga*. His beauty is extraordinary. To begin with, you are struck by his air of pride; next you notice the moonlight paleness of his skin, his splendid dark eyes, the perfect line of his eyebrows. His crown and ornaments, studded with fragments of green beetle's wing, appear iridescent in the changing light. The surge of energy, verging on hysteria, seems to be barely contained by the borders of the miniature.

Seldom has Indian painting reached the height

[1] Kshemakarṇa compiled his well-known treatise on the *rāgamālās* in 1570 A.D., based on a system of six *rāgas*, each with five *rāgiṇīs* and eight *putras*, thus making a total of eighty-four in the set. This classification is used virtually throughout the few known Pahari *rāgamālās* but rarely elsewhere.

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of such Basohli masterpieces. Some of the earliest Malwa *rāgamālās*, such as those in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi,[2] are equally wild, though perhaps their colours are not so hot. Something of the same barbaric magnificence is also to be seen in the miniatures of the *Chaurpañchāśikā* group,[3] in the *Hamza-nama* paintings[4] and in a few early Kota *rāgamālās*.[5] But there the *nāyikās*, unlike their Basohli sisters, are coy and demure in keeping with the idealised creation of poets.

What, however, surprises one most is that right at the very beginning we should come across a style which is endowed with such perfection and disturbing vigour. There is, however, not a single positive clue which can help us in tracing the origin of Basohli painting with any exactitude.

Scholars differ widely in regard to the origin of Basohli painting. It has been suggested that they are influenced by contemporary works from any one of such widely distributed geographical areas as Tibet, Nepal, Bundelkhand, Malwa, Mewar or Delhi. According to some others, the Basohli style developed from the earlier folk paintings which might have existed in the hill states at one stage, but are now totally extinct. Stylistically, the influence of *Chaurpañchāśikā* group of miniatures, or of the so-called early Malwa *rāgamālās*,[6] or of the seventeenth century Mewar school, or of the Mughal school of Aurangzeb, has been variously suggested. Mention must be made here of the recent discovery of a *Devī Mahātmya* manuscript, in the late *Chaurpañchāśikā* style, in one of the hill states. In the absence of any specific colophon, it will be unreasonable to consider it as the earliest known document of Pahari painting. What is more likely is that it was commissioned somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh and subsequently found its way to one of the hill states, possibly from, or via Haradwar, which was frequented by several hill chiefs for religious purposes. One wonders why Deccan or North Deccan has been excluded from the arena of influence when its claim appears to be as good, if not better!

It must be remembered that a number of Rajput princes were in command of the Mughal armies in the Deccan. There they spent long years in the service of the emperor, taking with them not only their families, but also all the essential trappings of their courts, including the painters. Members of the royal household naturally depended on the imperial studio. Also available, and looking for new patrons, were the unemployed painters from Ahmadnagar and Berar which states, by now, had already been annexed to the empire. Bijapur and Golconda were under constant pressure from the Mughal armies and were soon to lose their independence. A happy synthesis of Deccani, Mughal and Rajasthani painting, with a preponderance of Deccani and Mewar elements, accordingly, now takes place in the area around Aurangabad, resulting in the formation of a new style which will hereafter be referred to as the North Deccani or Aurangabad-Mewar school of painting.

In this connection, the discovery, by Saryu Doshi, of an illustrated *Rasamañjarī* manuscript[7] from a Śvetambara Jain temple in Udaipur is of utmost importance.

A careful examination reveals several features which are common to the illustrations to the Aurangabad *Rasamañjarī* and to a number of early Pahari miniatures. How is it that a large number of early Basohli miniatures are also illustrations to the *Rasamañjarī*? We know of at least three different late seventeenth century *Rasamañjarī* series, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, from Basohli[8] alone. Have we then solved the mystery of the origin of Pahari painting by establishing their North Deccani connection? Perhaps? Much work, however, remains to be done before one can pronounce any definite judgement.

There are a number of interesting paintings of the Sikh Gurus in the collection of Mahant Indresh Charan Das of Gurudwara Ram Rai, Dehradun, which were first brought to our notice by Randhawa. Of these, the portraits of the sixth Guru, Hargobind (1606 to 1644) need special mention.[9] In all these miniatures the Guru (born 1595) appears to be about forty-five years old. The three-quarter view of the body, with the face in profile, sweeping dresses, pneumatic shoulders and chest, straight, long swords, loose turbans, horses with long neck, small and narrow head, and heavy diagonal action, monochrome background full of blossoming creepers and plants, and their overall feel, brings these portraits very close to the mid-seventeenth century Deccani miniatures.

[2] Krishna, Anand, *Malwa Painting*, 1963, pls. 8 and 9, *ca.* 1600
[3] Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C., *Gods, Thrones And Peacocks*, 1965, fig. 3b, p. 56
[4] *ibid.*, pl. 4, p. 14
[5] Beach, M.C., *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, 1974, pl. LIX, fig. 62
[6] Krishna, Anand, *op. cit.*, pls. 8 and 9
[7] Doshi, Saryu, "An Illustrated Manuscript from Aurangabad—A.D. 1650", *Lalit Kala*, no. 15, New Delhi, 1972, pp. 19 to 28
[8] Archer, W.G., *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Basohli srls. 4(i) to 4(xvi), 10(i), 10(ii) and 15(i) to 15(v)
[9] Randhawa, M. S., "Paintings of the Sikh Gurus in the Collection of Mahant of Gurudwara Ram Rai of Dehradun", *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. XXXIX, nos. 1 and 2, 1969, figs. 8 to 12, pp. 13 to 20

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It is recorded in *Suraj Prakash* that Guru Hargobind had his portrait drawn by an artist at village Sur Singh near Kartarpur at the request of his relations. This could only have happened prior to his death in 1644. Stylistically, all these portraits belong to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, which not only makes them contemporary, but also corroborates the information given in *Suraj Prakash*. We have thus here, what may eventually turn out to be, the earliest evidence of an artist familiar with the Deccani style, operating well up in the north, and very close to the Punjab foothills.

Nanded, in Andhra Pradesh, was an important centre of Sikh pilgrimage and we know from the chronology of Guru Govind Singh's travels that he had lived there for a short time.[10] A number of eighteenth and nineteenth century Deccani portraits of various Sikh Gurus are also known.[11] We do not, however, yet know if this has anything to do with the migration of any seventeenth century Deccani painters to some of the important religious places of the Sikhs located in northern India.

Conclusion

An altogether new school of painting had developed in the area around Aurangabad during the second half of the seventeenth century, due mainly to the synthesis of Deccani, Mughal and Rajasthani elements. Since Deccani and Mewar elements are dominant, it is perhaps equally appropriate to designate the North Deccani style as Aurangabad-Mewar school of painting. As stated earlier, there is overwhelming evidence to support the view that the North Deccani or Deccani style of painting had a marked impact on the origin of Pahari painting.

Part 2

Brief Description of the Rāgamālā Illustrations

Fig. 440 **Ragini Vanagali of Bhairava Raga**

Pahari, Basohli, 1690-1700 A.D. 16.5×16 cm.

Takri and Hindi inscriptions at the top describe the *rāgiṇī* as Vanagali of Bhairava.

441 **Raga Malkosa**

From the same *Rāgamālā* set. 16×17 cm.

Takri and Hindi inscriptions at the top describe the miniature as *rāga* Malkosa.

442 **Ragaputra Varvala of Malkosa Raga**

From the same *Rāgamālā* set. 17×15 cm.

The Takri inscription at the top describes it as *rāgaputra* Varvala of Malkosa *rāga*.

443 **Ragaputra Chandrakaya of Malkosa Raga**

From the same *Rāgamālā* set. 16×15 cm.

Takri inscription at the top describes it as *rāgaputra* Chandra of Malkosa whereas the Hindi inscription describes it as *rāgaputra* Chamal of Malkosa. In Pahari *Rāgamālās*, Chandrakaya or Chandra is sometimes also described as Chamal.

444 **Ragaputra Bhramrananda of Malkosa Raga**

From the same *Rāgamālā* set. 16×15 cm.

Both the Takri and Hindi inscriptions at the top describe it as *rāgaputra* Bhramrananda of Malkosa.

445 **Ragaputra Kusum of Dipak Raga**

From the same *Rāgamālā* set. 17×16 cm.

The Takri inscription describing it as *rāgaputra* Kusum of Dipak *rāga* is correct and the Hindi inscription, which describes it as *rāga* Rama, son of Dipak, is obviously incorrect.

[10] Singh, Khushwant, *A History of the Sikhs*, vol. I, London and Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 95 and 101. Guru Govind Singh arrived in Nanded in September, 1707 and died there on 7th October 1708

[11] Two such group-portraits are in the author's Collection.

Note: All the six *rāgamālā* miniatures illustrated here are from the author's Collection.

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MICHAEL W. MEISTER

Darrā and the Early Gupta Tradition

The small temple in the Mukandarrā pass between Koṭā and Jhalawar in Rajasthan represents, though in a ruinous state, one of the earliest surviving structural temples of the Gupta period (figs. 446-447). Preceded at best by the small Gupta shrine at Sanchi, it has parallels at Udaigiri, and much precedes the temples near ancient Uchchhakalpa in Central India (Nāchnā, Bhūmarā, Khōh). The remains of the Darrā temple present, also, evidence that early in the fifth century stone temples had a rudimentary superstructure (some as well did not). An analysis of this temple demands also that other scant remains of the fifth century be put into some sort of tentative order.

I. DARRĀ

To the nineteenth century the Darrā temple was an odd example of early Hindu architecture—primitive, and so unlinked to other monuments that it seemed to stand alone. The fabric of Indian art history, then hardly set on the loom, was too little woven to show its pattern and the Darrā temple, linked occasionally to the Buddhist caves in the Western Ghats, had no proper place. The twentieth century has echoed such opinion, making of the temple an odd footnote, unexplained, shuttled about the dank recesses of early temple origins. Its obscurity has been complicated by the tendency of this century to repeat the words of the last, with little reappraisal and without revisiting the site. Only V.S. Agrawala, in his article "A New Gupta Temple at Darrā",[1] has added to our knowledge from first-hand experience.

Tod used the "Bhīmchaurī" at Darrā as the frontispiece to his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Volume II, in 1832.[2] Fergusson published a drawing in 1847 in his *Picturesque Illustrations of Indian Architecture*, dating the temple 450 A.D. "or earlier".[3] His description of this "detached *maṇḍapa* of some temple" still remains the finest appreciation the temple has received: "I do not know of any edifice anywhere in which simplicity of detail and largeness of parts and material have communicated to so small an edifice such an air of grandeur: for its pillars, though scarcely 10′ in height, look larger and nobler than many twice their dimensions."[4] To Burgess, and to Brown who followed him, the "heavy" nature of the *chaurī's* pillars had the massiveness of the Buddhist caves (for Brown, not to its favour).[5]

The temple, however, is not a *chaurī*, or open pillared hall, but had walls, either stone or brick built, which have been carried away.

Plan

The plan here published has been made from the ruins as they stood in 1969 and 1972 *(text fig. M)*. The relationship of remaining wall mouldings and remaining wall pilasters (carved facing the sanctum, rough behind where they were imbedded in the missing wall) makes clear the original construction.

The temple stands on a large *jagatī*-platform, approached by two stairways on north and south, each footed by a plain moonstone (fig. 446). The shrine is square with four central pillars, complimentary pilasters set against the walls (and quarter pilasters set in the corners; fig. 447). To the east is a shallow entry way with two central pillars, fluted slabs set to either side against the walls (fig. 448). The floor of this entry is slightly raised, the pillars shorter than those of the shrine.

Between the central four pillars is a low platform and above it, carved on the flat ceiling, is a delicate pattern of large lotus, four smaller lotuses set to the corners (fig. 464). The preserved slab ceiling of the southern bay also has a pattern of five small lotuses.

Some distance in front of this shrine once stood four pillars of different pattern which have now been thrown down. They are here placed on plan where their foundation seems still indicated at the site. Codrington has published a photograph which shows one of these

[1] V.S. Agrawala, "A New Gupta Temple at Darrā in Malwa", *JUPHS*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 196-7, reprinted in *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 226-227

[2] Tod discusses Darrā on pages 739-40 and, in addition to the frontispiece, gives an engraving, p. 741, of two columns of the *maṇḍapa*.

[3] London, 1847, pl. 5. See also *Imperial Gazetteer*, New edition, XVII, 1908, p. 17

[4] Fergusson, *ibid.*, p. 31

[5] Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 355

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pillars standing, but without the bracket capital Tod's engraving indicates.[6] An old photograph of the Archaeological Survey Western Circle, however, (fig. 449) shows the four pillars with brackets as they stood then. Whether these pillars formed part of a forward *maṇḍapa*, or were a *nandi* pavilion as has been suggested, the present remains do not allow us to say.

Mouldings and Elevation

Broken fragments of this temple lie about the site,

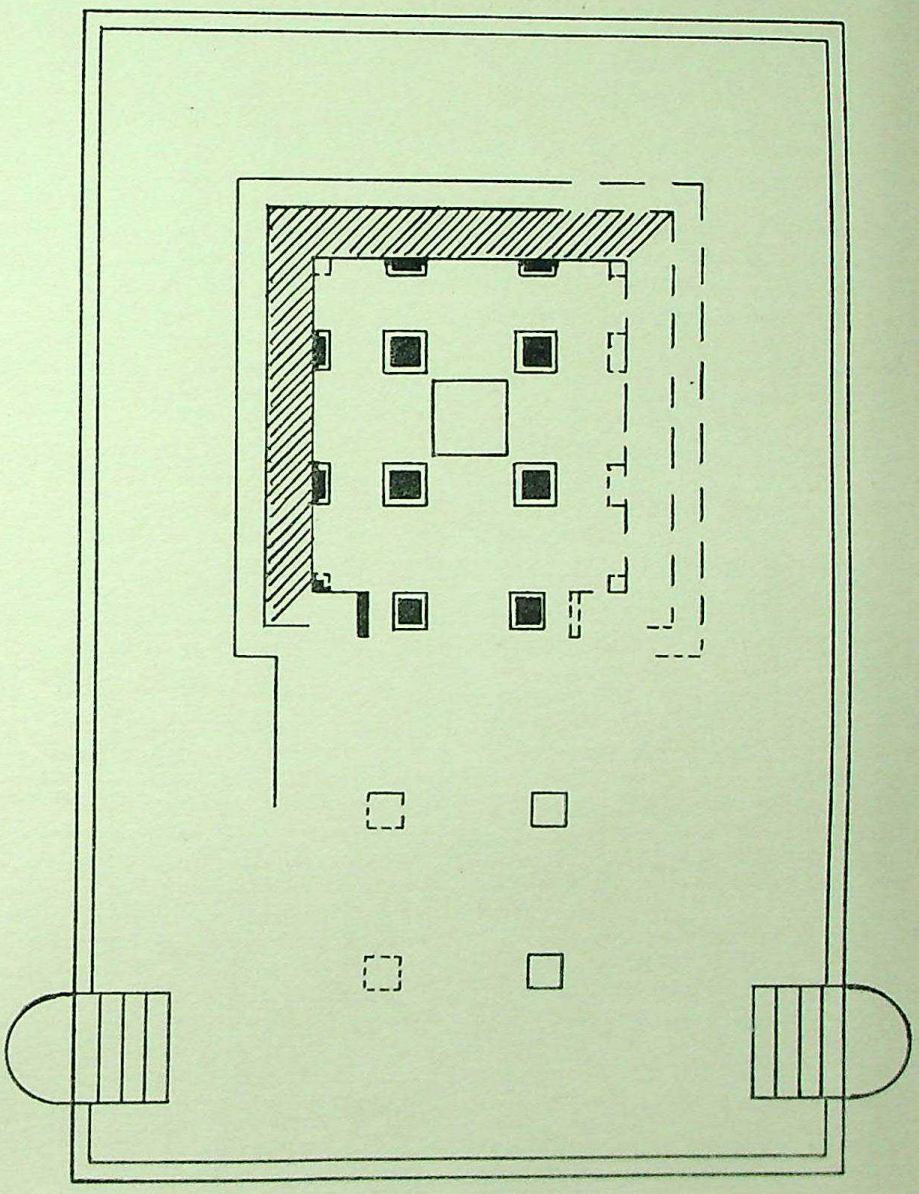

Fig. M

[6] Codrington, *Ancient India*, London, 1926, pl. 29B, Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 741

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and many more important fragments have been shifted to the Koṭā museum. A broken "Gaṅgā" figure (fig. 452) now is in the Ajmer museum. From these fragments it is possible to make certain statements concerning the mouldings and elevation of this temple.

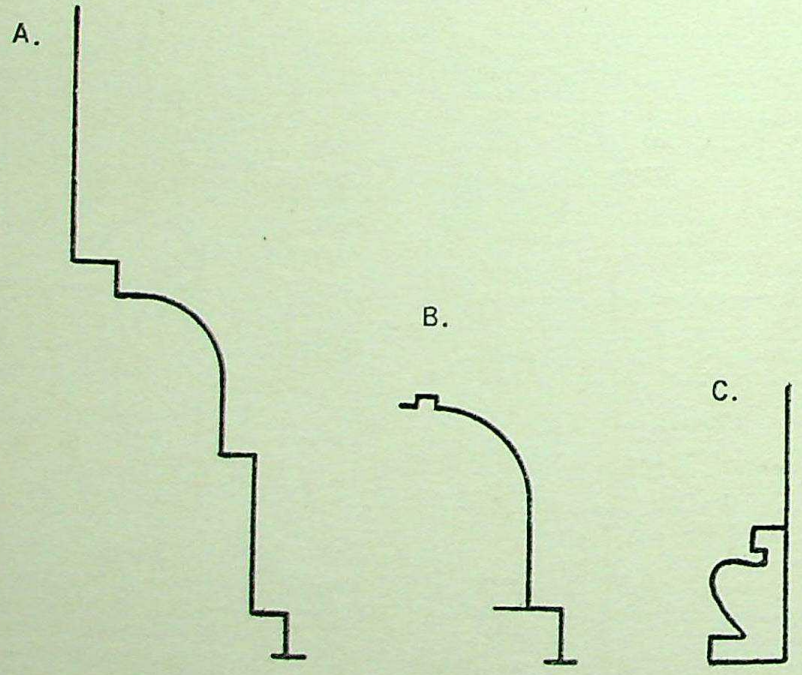
The *jagatī* is built on a rough stone bed. Only a simple *kuṁbha*-hoof moulding supporting a short wall remains. This may have in some fashion been capped by large rounded coping stones of which one remains half buried to the west of the *jagatī*.

Of the mouldings to the sanctum, only a simple curved moulding, similar to the curved segment of the *jagatī* remains *(text fig. N)*. On the west this curved stone shows a 5 cm. recession at its base, as if it were *kapota* moulding rather than *kuṁbha*. It is possible, but not certain, that this *kuṁbha* moulding was topped originally by *kalaśa* and *kapota* mouldings. At least one buried fragment of *kalaśa* seems present in the jungle nearby (fig. 456), showing also that clamps were used for binding the stones together.

The most remarkable piece from the site, a large *chandraśālā* (*ca.* 120 cm. across) with drummer (or cymbalist) surrounded by a flowering creeper issuing from the mouths of two *makara* monsters (fig. 450), now is in the Koṭā museum. It must originally have fronted the temple's superstructure. The stone against which this *chandraśālā* slab was originally mounted is still available, and indicates that the *chandraśālā* projected only slightly from the fabric of the superstructure (cf. also *text fig. O*).

A number of *kapota* mouldings are lying about the site. They vary in height, measuring 15.5–16.5, 22 and 25 cms. These in my opinion formed a stepped superstructure capped by an *āmalaka*, a supposition strongly supported by the existence of the topmost slab (fig. 460), its edges rounded into *kapota* form, its round socket equalling in diameter (*ca.* 43 cm.) the base pinnons of the large *āmalakas* also lying about (fig. 459).

Of these *āmalakas* (fig. 449) five (and possibly a sixth) remain. They are approximately the same size (varying from *ca.* 90 to 100 cms.); and, with extreme delicacy,



A. Mouldings of platform
B. Mouldings of temple
C. Base of pillars (square, into which the shaft is set)

Fig. N

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leaves set between the ribs, reproduce the complex curvatures of the *āmalā* fruit. One was set above the *phāṁsanā* pyramid of the superstructure, four most likely were set at the lower corners, as shown in relief carvings both from Bilsaḍ[7] and later from Deogarh *(text fig. P)*.

No evidence remains for the structure of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine, nor for further details of the shrine's superstructure itself. Among fragments remaining are several small bulls (figs. 453 and 458), a seated figure probably also originally within a *chandraśālā*-surround (fig. 458), some narrow slabs with alternating floral and checkerboard decoration (which may have been used to separate the *kapota* cornices making up the superstructure or in the *antarapatra* recess of the *varaṇḍikā*-cornice topping the wall), and an unusual four-sided stone, faced with *chandraśālās* (enclosing a head and a devotee on the two preserved sides), which may have acted as some sort of *kūṭā* (it has a square socket on top *ca.* 40 cm. across) or *chūlikā* (fig. 461). Several pieces of a cornice with small lion's head bosses beneath remain (fig. 457 to left), some showing that the lions' heads were on the outside of right angled corners. These cornices are not lintels, but are shallow capping stones of some sort, a flattened half-circle in shape, the bases with a sunk channel (31.5 cm. across) for mounting. It is not possible, however, to speculate where these may have been mounted, though perhaps above the *Nandī maṇḍapa*.

Inscriptions

One of the forward pillars is reported to have had an inscription, though neither Tod nor Fergusson knew of one, reported by Agrawala to have been "Gopavarman"

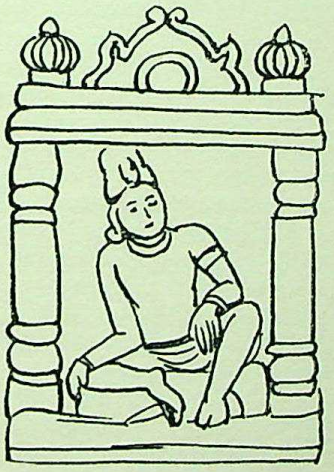

Fig. O

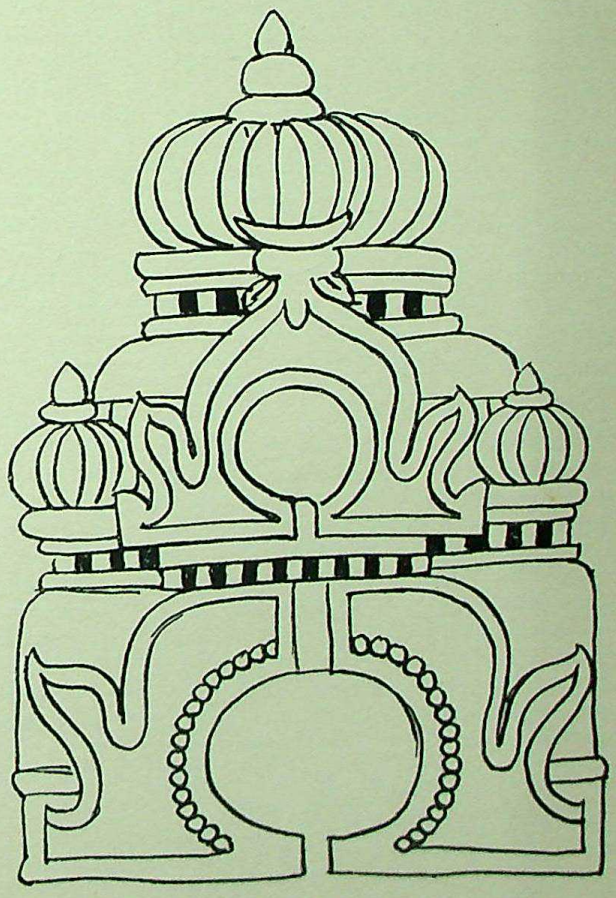

Fig. P

[7] Bilsaḍ : Photograph ASI, NC, Agra Neg. No. 52/1970. I thank Sri Krishna Deva for showing me this photograph.

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in Gupta script on the basis of observations by Dr. A. S. Altekar and by Dr. M. L. Sharma of Koṭā.[8] Burgess remarks that "a Gupta inscription has lately been found . . . (in the "*Chaurī* in Mokundra pass") limiting its date of the fifth century,"[9] but later writers seem not to have heard of it. A volume published by the Rajasthan State Archives in 1966, entitled *Rajasthan Through the Ages,* also on the basis of M. L. Sharma, reports the "Bhīmchaurī inscription of Koṭā area in which one Dhruvasvāmī, whose name is written in the Gupta script, is said to have fallen fighting against the Hūṇa army,"[10] but the accuracy of this information is perhaps to be doubted.

D. R. Bhandarkar, in the progress report, ASI, Western Circle, for 1904-05, reports a donor's inscription which, "from the form of the letters . . . cannot be ascribed to any date later than the seventh century," on a porch pillar. The list of collected inscriptions published in the progress report for 1905-06 gives three inscriptions from Darrā:[11]

2103: name: Achyaṇṭadhaja jogī
2104: letters: chhanasikamā chorai
2105: letters: Golasvāmināma (of about the seventh century)

At present, only the Achyaṇṭadhaja jogī inscription can still be traced. This inscription also is the inscription reported by Garrick in his rather inaccurate discussion of Darrā after his trip there in 1883-84.[12] The same name appears inscribed also on the much later temple at Menal between Koṭā and Chittor.[13] Bhandarkar's seventh century record cannot now be located.

Date and Decoration

The temple is of the early Gupta period, most probably of the first quarter of the fifth century. To support its early date a number of factors enter in. The platform and temple mouldings *(text fig. N)* are rudimentary compared even with Nāchnā or Bhūmarā, though they are exquisitely executed, as is the conception of stairways with moonstones and the carving of the pillars themselves. The simply chamfered pillars of the *Nandī maṇḍapa* had no bases, and the pillars of the shrine are set *through* square ring stones which act as "base", certainly signalling an early technique of stone construction.

The temple's plan, with no separate sanctum, but with a platform set between four central pillars, is paralleled by the Amṛita cave at Udaigiri (also with a platform set between four central pillars).

The exquisite floral and foliate work on the bracket capitals, lintels, door-frame fragments, and *chandraśālā* at Darrā also closely link this temple to the early Gupta period. A relatively clear development of Gupta foliage can be established: the simplicity of kelp-like designs at Udaigiri (simplest in cave 4, more complex in cave 19); somewhat developed designs on the mandorlas of the great Buddha images from Mathura and Sanchi; the electric exuberance of the complicated patterns at Nāchnā, Bhūmarā, or on the image-halos of the late fifth century at Sarnath; the slightly dry but still plastic elegance at Deogarh, or still later at Rajim; and finally, translated out from Gupta form, the early (seventh century) temples in Orissa on one side, or early "Pratīhāra" developments on the other. Into this chronology Darrā must fit very near the beginning. We here compare work from Darrā to the simple, elegant work on cave 4 at Udaigiri, and to the slightly more complex work on the Amṛita cave. The work at Darrā, to our mind, falls between these two (see figs. 453-55, 464).

The fragment of a "Gaṅgā" figure found from Darrā also compares well with the Gaṅgā to the side of the Varāha-*avatāra* relief at Udaigiri in its simplicity of dress and posture (figs. 451-52), and with the figure from Besnagar now in Boston Museum, also with attendants before and behind, which perhaps slightly follows the image from Darrā. The *dvārapāla* (fig. 453), though reduced from his prominent position beside the doorways of caves 4 and 6 at Udaigiri to his later position basing the door *śākhās,* still has much of the archaic and awkward posturing of Udaigiri cave 6 figures, and none of the svelte confidence of figures on Udaigiri cave 19 or later at Nāchnā. The fragment of a seated figure as well as the preeminent nude drummer remind one very much of the *vīṇā* player on the cornice to Udaigiri cave 4 (and of the probably slightly earlier stone reliefs from Padmāvatī).

The chamfered pillars of the forward *maṇḍapa* have some conceptual relationship to pillars at Bāgh and Ajaṇṭā (as do the fluted slabs at the entry), but in both

[8] *op. cit.*, p. 197
[9] Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 355
[10] (Vol. I to 1316 A.D.), General Editor Dasharatha Sharma, Bikaner, 1966, p. 61. The information given is based on a confusing passage in M. L. Sharma, *Kotā Rājya kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), p. 25 (not page 35 as noted in *Rajasthan Through the Ages*).
[11] *ASI, WC, Progress Report*, 1904-05, p. 45; 1905-06, "A Short Abstract of the Inscriptions Discovered during the Season 1904-05", pp. 56 ff., nos. 2103-05
[12] Cunningham, *ASI Reports*, XXIII, p. 131
[13] *ASI, WC*, "A Short Abstract. . ." no. 2188. This name is found inscribed on many temples in Rajasthan. See *The Researcher*, III-IV, Jaipur, 1963-4, p. 17, note 21

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cases the example at Darrā has a certain pristine simplicity absent in the later caves. The pattern of the square pillars of the sanctum, which reflects the medallion pattern of much earlier Buddhist pillars, has a subtlety and abstraction of rendering remarkable in Indian art (figs. 462-63). The simple roll brackets themselves have a subtle non-linear curvature more truly reflecting bulging ripe vegetation than they conform to the normal shape of early stone brackets (fig. 448). These pillars have led some scholars to place the temple in the seventh century, referring to the use of similar pillars in small shrines in central India (and at Sanchi no. 18) of that period. The type, however, has much earlier antecedents; it appears in miniature inside some of the *chandraśālā* fragments from Deogarh; and in the case of Darrā it is rendered with an originality and sensuousness suggesting workmen glorying in the texture of a new material. The Darrā pillars cannot be compared with hackneyed products of the seventh century.

Darrā architecturally provides the earliest example of a type of temple complex which runs throughout the history of North Indian architecture, from Nāchnā and Bhūmarā to the Harihara temples nos. 1 and 2 at Osiāñ, to the Lakshmaṇa temple at Khajuraho: a foundation *jagatī* set with sanctum, usually *maṇḍapa*, and in examples following Bhūmarā, usually subsidiary shrines. This organization of sacred space upon a platform forms a type; Darrā is typical in having side rather than front approaches as has the Gop temple in Saurāshṭra. Probably contemporary with, or only slightly later than, the Darrā temple, the now virtually non-existent structural temple on top of the Udaigiri hill was also built on an extensive platform.

II. THE EARLY GUPTA TRADITION

Doors

Of the doorway to the Darrā temple we have only a few fragments: the "Gaṅgā" now in Ajmer Museum (fig. 452), the small *pratihāra* set beneath checkerboard and floral pattern *śākhās*, and two fragments of floral decoration (fig. 453) which possibly formed a horizontal band above the door. We cannot readily reconstruct the Darrā doorway from these pieces, but we can perhaps surmise its relationship to the development, the clarification, and the final consolidation of the form of temple doorway characteristic to the Gupta period, and carried out, first at Udaigiri, and then in later temples (figs. 465-73).

The doorway to cave 4 at Udaigiri acts as prototype, around which the Gupta door frame took shape (fig. 465). The inner foliate band of decoration takes the shape of two uprights, an overbeam crossing them forming a "T" shape which persists in Gupta doorways through the fifth century, and continues as a variant type in central India through the eighth. Around this simple recessed "T" three further projecting and recessed bands of decoration are drawn, each reflecting and expanding that basic outline. The second projecting band supports a plain board decorated with *chandraśālās* (enclosing *vīṇā* players, *makaras*, and a lion bust) which seems to simulate a *kapota* cornice. To either side of this simple doorway stand life-size *dvārapālas*, and outside them large half pillars which supported the ceiling cross-beam and presumably an extended roof.

In such a doorway, the "T" decoration reflects wood or brick-and-wood construction, translated into the carved bands which surround and decorate a cave doorway.

In cave 6 at Udaigiri, the doorway follows the same "T" pattern, the second band substituting a twisted *mālā* for the rosettes of cave 4, the upper cornice showing stepped bosses beneath with small human faces (fig. 466). The two outer bands of cave 4 have been substituted by pillarettes with bell capital supporting first a square block with adorsed lions lightly embossed, then large *yakshīs* (female fertility divinities) both of whom stand under fruit-bearing trees and above *makaras*. These figures stand in *tribhaṅga* posture carved on "L" shaped blocks which bracket the "T" shape of the inner doorway.

In this conception, the inner decorated cave doorway has been combined with the *toraṇa* gateway with *śālabhañjikā*-brackets (a use first put to the *toraṇa* in Nasik cave 3)[14] though the conception here is still rudimentary, even weak compared with the simpler, but mature and maturely executed conception of cave 4. *dvārapālas*, somewhat reduced in size, still stand to either side.

The Sanchi Gupta shrine and cave 1 at Udaigiri (from which, or at least contemporary with which, the Besnagar "Gaṅgā" in Boston Museum certainly is) had doorways following the same basic pattern. Both were probably later than this cave, the first by ten to twelve years, the latter by perhaps twenty to twenty-five. (The Tigawā temple, whose doorway has moved away from this conception only to the extent that it substitutes clearly demarcated Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures for *yakshīs*, does not date before the end of the second quarter of the fifth century. In addition to Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures, the

[14] This point was first discussed by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, II, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 66-7. The early Gupta type of doorway, however, it should be pointed out, is characterized by its "T" organization, while the Vākāṭaka type, though it has pillars supporting *yakshīs*, does not reflect a "T" construction save, in a few instances, apparently under the influence of the later development of the "T" form in Gupta territory.

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pūrṇa-ghaṭa pillar capitals are later than Udaigiri cave 1 and Eraṇ pillars, and the adorsed lion blocks anticipate the Buddhagupta pillar at Eraṇ more than they reflect cave 6 or even Sanchi.)

Udaigiri cave 19 (the Amṛita cave) doorway perhaps more clearly takes the *toraṇa* form by placing an extended cross-beam above the *śālabhañjikās* (fig. 467). This doorway introduces a figural band *(rūpa-śākhā)* between the inner recessed "T" and the *staṁbha-śākhā* supporting *yakshīs,* and this band again further reflects the *toraṇa* by introducing *vyāla* brackets outside the "T". At the base of the *rūpa-śākhā* true river goddesses stand (carrying water pots, but with no vehicles indicated). *Pratīhāras* stand at the base of the *staṁbha-śākhā.*

A very similar doorway, also with long cross-beam above the (missing) *yakshīs,* and with river goddesses at the *śākhā* base, exists at Tumain (fig. 473). This doorway further modifies our basic "T" form, however, by placing two bands within the recessed band which marks the primal cross-beam and support; these inner *śākhās* take a rectangular plan, not reflecting the "T" plan which stands outside of them.

A further development can be seen in a very rudimentary form in the doorway to cave 4 at Bāgh.[15] There also inner *śākhās* are rectangular in form. The "T", however, no longer is formed by a recessed band, but by the *staṁbha-śākhās* which support a *kapota* cornice decorated with *chandraśālās.* The *yakshīs* which bracket the ends of this cornice are "supported" by a shallow band of foliage flush with the outer surface of the cave's front.

These tendencies are resolved most magnificently in the doorway to the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā (see fig. 479). The inner foliate band sways with a tentacular exuberance not present in earlier kelp-like creepers; but still twists and breaks like foamy waves, free from the static knobbling of Bhūmarā decoration, or the settled standardized forms at Deogarh and later work from Nāchnā itself. The *rūpa-śākhās* with Gaṅgā and Yamunā at their bases are paced and balanced for dramatic effect, the upper panel which crosses them showing *apsarās* couples flowing in to pay attendance to a sacred couple, sitting in truly regal ease, at the center. These two inner bands double the width of the door. Framed by a deep band of shadow, they are then framed in a true *toraṇa* of tall pillars supporting simple cornice. *Yakshī* figures stand outside this *toraṇa,* a broad *mālā* band, whose square markings parallel the decorated bands on pillar shafts, surround the *yakshī* and *toraṇa* composition, binding the doorway into a final "T".

The Nāchnā Pārvatī doorway has recently been dated later than the doorway at Deogarh Gupta temple, which it is not.[16] The Deogarh doorway is certainly a development from the Nāchnā type, more so than the simple reduction of the type of Bhūmarā, but it has also certainly moved away from the "classical", creative balance at Nāchnā. The acanthus *mālā* which substitutes for the earlier counter-twisted *mālā* at Nāchnā (and at earlier sites), seems first to have been introduced in the Bhūmarā temple, and otherwise is popular in the sixth century, its last appearance coming at the end of the seventh.[17] More significant conceptual modifications of the Nāchnā archetype at Deogarh are: a reduction in the separation between the inner bands and the outer *toraṇa,* the *toraṇa* pillars themselves half obliterated with figural work, female attendants and *dvārapālas* at the base of the door spread over both the inner bands and *staṁbha-śākhā,* the dwarf *yaksha* which now supports the pot from which the outer *mālā* springs itself adding and contributing to this new figural grouping; development of a more complete cornice structure topping the *toraṇa;* and the introduction of *lalāṭa biṁba,* the large block in the center of the over-door which breaks through three inner *śākhās* and carries an image of the tutelary deity.

A very mistaken interpretation has been placed on the presence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures in the upper corners of the Deogarh door, a mistaken conception flowing from Cunningham's original assumption that

[15] See *Marg,* XXV, 3, June 1972, fig. 23. The assumption in that article that cave 2 at Bāgh should date late in the fourth century so that a sufficient time for repairs to become necessary could elapse before the copper plate grant of Subandhu (*ca.* 416-17 A.D.) was issued (pp. 17-19) seems to me based on weak reasoning. The grant states that "this village has been granted . . . that it may be used for perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms house, for repairing broken and rent portions and for providing the community . . . with clothing, food, nursing (etc.) in the monastery called *Kalayana* caused to be constructed by Dattataka." There is no necessity to see this as implying any existing need for repairs. It rather anticipates the many future needs of the monastery including repairs. Similar foresight can be seen in the foundation inscription of "Śivagaṇa who built a temple to Śiva at Kaṇvāśrama (Kansuañ, near Koṭā, in 738-39 A.D. and who) for incense and so forth, perfumes and lights, (and) for repair of what may be broken or damaged gave two villages. . . ." (*I.A.,* pp. 55 ff., insc. line 10). Cave 4 seems to date midway in the fifth century.

[16] Walter Spink, "A Temple with Four Uchchakalpa (?) Doorways at Nāchnā Kuthāra," *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume,* Varanasi, 1971, p. 172. He, however, hedges his opinion. He also does not see that of his four doorways, several are of the sixth century, only one contemporary with the Pārvatī temple.

[17] This acanthus band is known earliest at Bhūmarā and at Nāchnā Chaturmukha Mahādeva temple doorway (Codrington, *op. cit.,* pl. 330). It appears at Muṇḍeśvarī (635-6 A.D.) and its latest appearance is at the Śiva temple no. 2 (with *śikhara*) at Mahuā in Central India which can be dated to the end of the seventh century.

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Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures stood in the upper corners of early Gupta doorways.[18] Partly on this basis, Spink places the Nāchnā doorway later than Deogarh, because at Nāchnā the Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures have "moved down" to the base of the *śākhās*. In fact, no doorway before Deogarh save Tigawā shows Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures in such a position.

The original and ancient conception has *yakshī* figures to either side of the doorway. Any confusion with Gaṅgā and Yamunā is certainly an introduction of the Gupta period, a confusion which the Nāchnā temple avoids by placing clearly demarcated Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures at the base of the door (as they had first been introduced in the Amṛita cave and the Tumain doorway), and by placing the upper *yakshī* figures on lotus mounts rather than *makaras* again to avoid confusion.

Tigawā first replaces *yakshīs* by Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The sixth and later centuries give prominence to Gaṅgā and Yamunā, reducing *yakshīs* to an unimportant position topping the *rūpa-(mithuna-)śākhā*. Deogarh proclaims the supremacy of Gaṅgā and Yamunā by placing them in the position so jealously preserved for *yakshīs* at Nāchnā, a replacement interesting culturally and iconologically, but which does not alter the doorway's structural conception; and the development of structural conception can best suggest date.

Certainly more significant then the ascendancy (or decendancy) of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the gradual focusing of the doorway on a central indication of dedication, not present at Udaigiri, Tumain, or Eraṇ, can be traced from that first faint central focusing of *vyāla* couples over the Pārvatī temple doorway, through the Śiva bust at Bhūmarā and the Vishṇu-on-Garuḍa at Maṛhiā, to the developed *lalāṭa biṁba* at Sakrai, Deogarh and the later doorways from Nāchnā.

Pillars

Cunningham had also suggested the development of the vase-and-foliage capital from the Aśoka bell capital used in the Sanchi shrine.[19] This also seems to me a mistaken conception. Pillars had, of course, been shown set in pots from the time of the early Buddhist caves, and the conception of *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* is one of the oldest symbolisms in the Indian *repertoire*. The transformation in the early Gupta period seems rather to have been from a ribbed "cushion" capital to a ribbed vase with foliage. Such ribbed cushion stones continue in that more southernly tradition which produced such forms as the fantastic cushion capitals at Elephanta, or later Pallava pillars, but in the Gupta world the cushion was transformed.

We can perhaps trace that transformation quickly, pointing first to fragments from the early Gupta structural temple on top of Udaigiri hill. Here one fragment (fig. 468), its decorative bands paralleling those on caves 4 and 6, shows one pilaster with bell capital, a second with a plain ribbed capital supporting adorsed lions. A second fragment (fig. 469) shows a similar ribbed capital supporting a square block covered with decorative foliage. The doorway to cave 1 at Udaigiri shows pilasters with ribbed capitals which have new curvatures, but no foliage turn-overs. The porch pillars, however, show the new conception, which sees the ribbed stone as pot, and foliage as growing out of it (fig. 470).

The same shaped pot, foliage and additional decoration further developed, can be seen in fragments from the Narasiṁha temple at Eraṇ (fig. 471). These Eraṇ pieces, later than the Tumain doorway, seem to date from the third or fourth decade of the fifth century (fig. 472).

On the road between Nāchnā and Lakhorabāgh some pillars have been built into a more recent structure (figs. 474-78). Some of them show a queeezy balance between ribbed-cushion and vase conceptions, the ribbed pot again supporting blocks decorated with seemingly early floral decoration (figs. 474-76). One, however, shows a more fully developed "vase-and-foliage" base, and shows the acanthus turn-ups beneath the upper ribbed vase which characterize the Pārvatī temple pillars and which are further developed later in the century (fig. 477). A second, slightly later pillar shows the out-flairing of the upper vase, and a more elaborately decorated shaft, which are paralleled on the Pārvatī doorway (fig. 479) but from which this pillar seems somewhat a development (fig. 476). The remarkable upper pillar capitals from Bhūmarā,[20] their vases widely flaired, the foliage dropping like orchids from hanging containers, are the final creative extension of this transformation, before the base pot, with its more staid decorative translation of *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, took over the upper position as well.

Early Gupta Chronology

For convenience, I should perhaps make clear my own conception of the development of early Gupta form. As often in Indian history, the development of the

[18] Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, also assumes that the *śālabhañjikās* "become" Gaṅgā-Yamunā, though he himself points out the Amṛita cave doorway which has both *śālabhañjikās* and Gaṅgā-Yamunā figures at the base of the *śākhās*.

[19] Cunningham, ASI Reports, X., pl. XXII and discussion.

[20] *MASI*, 16, pl. VI, b

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"dynastic" style lagged somewhat behind the establishment of political power, and only with grave misgivings could one speak of a "Gupta" style during the reign of Chandragupta I or Samudragupta. The recently discovered Jain images from the time of Rāmagupta (*ca.* 370-375 A.D.) still are "transitional" Kushāṇa-oriented images, even archaic compared with images from Devnimori.[21] Both Darrā and the earliest caves at Udaigiri suggest to this author that the "Gupta" style had its origins in more than the Kushanshahr, Padmāvatī under the Nāgas being one other possibility, but whatever its roots, it seems only under Chandragupta II that "Gupta" idiom began to consolidate into an imperial style, and only early in the reign of Kumāragupta, by extant remains, that it seems to have achieved a first full flowering.

The Udaigiri caves are bracketed by two inscriptions from Chandragupta's reign (one dated *ca.* 402 A.D.) and a single inscription from the middle of the reign of Kumāragupta (*ca.* 425-6 A.D.). An eleventh century inscription in the Amṛita cave refers to repairs to a Vishṇu temple built by Chandragupta. My own assumption has been that the two Śaivite caves (2 and 4) were slightly earlier than the Vaishṇavite caves dated by Chandragupta's inscriptions, but the sculpture connected with both show approximately the same sense of *pneuma*, an archaic form combined with a strong new sense of *prāṇic* modelling, and cannot be much separated in date. Cave 19 (the Amṛita cave), certainly latest in the series, is not, most probably, a "Chandragupta" cave but does seem from the second quarter of the fifth century during the reign of Kumāragupta, an assumption supported by its relationship to the Tumain doorway, the date of which can be suggested by the Tumain inscription of 436 A.D.[22] The exceptionally vital sculpted panels from Gaḍhwā most probably do date from the time of the Gaḍhwā inscriptions, three of which come from Kumāragupta's reign. Their more natural, almost soft, modelling relates well to the figures at the base of the Tumain and Amṛita cave doorways.

I have included in an APPENDIX my own personal ordering of early Gupta monuments, along with the inscriptions which, while helping suggest such an order, by no means fix it. Regional distinctions are hard to reflect from so fragmented a mirror, but they were important even in the Gupta period. The remains of Uchchhakalpa monuments show a unity of style which differs from Deogarh; Darrā or Tumain differs from Udaigiri. When we compare such monuments we must know that we are comparing generalities of style, not directly tracing development of a single school.

I have suggested that the Sanchi shrine need not be much before the earliest Gupta inscriptions from Sanchi of 413 A.D. It and the structural temple topping the hill at Udaigiri seem not distant in time. Cave 1 at Udaigiri seems to me to date from around 425 A.D.; the Tumain doorway, the Narasiṁha temple at Eraṇ, and the Amṛita cave at Udaigiri, from the second quarter of the fifth century; Tigawā probably not before the end of the second quarter or even into the third quarter of the century.

I should, on the whole, prefer to reserve the phrase "early Gupta" for the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta, though it does seem, again so far as extant remains can suggest, to have been only in the second half of the fifth century that this "early" tradition achieved a truly "royal" artistic consolidation. By "royal" I mean 'having a sense of order no longer tentative, a structure no longer groping, and form which unites, integrates and focuses expression. I, of course, have in mind doorways, of which the Nāchnā Pārvatī temple doorway must be for me the purest expression of "classical" Gupta order. One must recognize, however, that all axes of artistic development do not move at the same rate; that by late in the fifth century, for example, architecture was still groping toward a new order, decorative organization was passing its freshest and most "classic" stage, and sculpture, perhaps the earliest full development of Gupta achievement, was, relative to itself only, beginning to decline.

The Uchchhakalpa monuments of the late fifth and early sixth century are not easy to put in exact order, but I have, I hope, suggested that the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā must fall in the third quarter of the fifth century; though certainly not dated by the Nachne-ki-talaī inscription of Vyāghradeva, it probably was built by Vyāghra, father of Jayanātha of the Uchchhakalpa kings. Nāchnā as a site had many temples, of which some remains seem even earlier than the Pārvatī temple, while many seem later, spanning the rule of the Uchchhakalpa kings. Bhūmarā seems to this author to come from the end of the fifth century, not quite so late as the boundary marker of Hastin and Śarvinātha found at the same site. Maṛhiā, Sakrai, and such fragments as the Rūpni temple doorway at Nāchnā do certainly

[21] Rāmagupta images: *JOI*, XVIII, 1969, no. 247-253; Devnimori: R.N. Mehta, S.N. Chawdhary, *Excavations at Devnimori*, Baroda, 1966

[22] For inscriptions, see the APPENDIX to this paper.

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seem of the sixth century.[23] The Deogarh Vishṇu temple also falls in the sixth century, its sculptural idiom tending toward that of Yaśodharman's time. Other remains at Deogarh suggest continuing activity later in the sixth century, though a satisfactory epigraphic interpretation of inscriptional evidence so far has not been made.[24]

The Sikhara

Deogarh, with its confusing fragmentary evidence for an early *śikhara* (evidence itself which makes it difficult for the temple to precede 525 A.D.), brings us back to the Darrā temple, its early layered form preceding Deogarh by at least a century. To have suggested a superstructure for so early a temple shakes to the foundations Cunningham's assumption that in the Gupta period the stone temple developed from a flat-roofed structure to a curvilinear tower. While flat-roofed shrines imitating caves may have had a certain doctrinal function, they were not the origin of Hindu architecture.

At the same time, the probable layered construction of the Darrā superstructure does not immediately produce the *nāgara śikhara*. Such layered structures are shown in reliefs from Sārnāth,[25] where no corner *āmalakas* are shown, from Bilsaḍ, Mandasor (Khilchipura and Soṇḍanī) and Deogarh where *āmalakas* with *kalaśa*

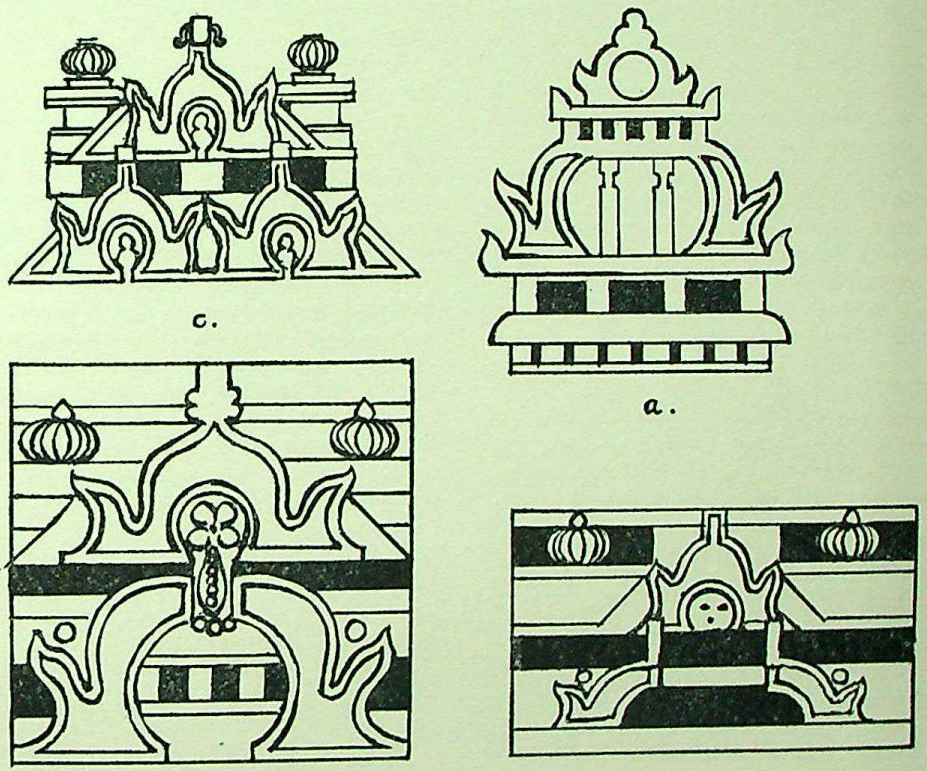

Fig. Q

[23] I would place the Rūpni doorway no earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century. Unfortunately there is little sequence to connect later Gupta doorways to "early pre-medieval" doorways of the late seventh and early eighth centuries; doors we now make early sixth century, because they suggest later developments but still seem linked to other, earlier remains in the same region, may themselves be later. Perhaps it should here be noted that to me the Dah Parbatiya doorway in Assam, often put in the early Gupta period (R.D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Banaras, 1933, pl. V, and p. 195) does not seem to me possibly before the seventh century, if that early.

[24] See APPENDIX. Also, for an inscription of the "sixth" century connected with a panel of the *Sapta Mātṛikās* from Nāhar Ghāṭī at Deogarh, see *EI*, XVIII, no. 15 "Deogarh Rock Inscription of Svāmibhaṭa".

[25] On the large lintel showing scenes from Kshāntivādin Jātaka. See Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, I, Calcutta, 1946, p. 181, fig. C; Coomaraswamy, *"Early Indian Architecture"*, *Eastern Art*, III, fig. 59 (see also figs. 72, 74)

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finials are shown at the corners, and at Nagarī where the *āmalakas* are shown resting on *kūṭa* bases similar to bases found at Bhūmarā and Sārnāth (see *text fig. Q*). Save possibly for the relief from Bilsaḍ, these representations come from late in the fifth or early in the sixth century.

Deogarh presents confusing evidence because only the wall's crowning *varaṇḍikā* cornice with its fragmentary awning, and one small segment of the very base layer of the *śikhara* remain. Any suggestion that this structure, as it now stands or as it stood in the days of Cunningham, gives clear evidence for a stepped or layered superstructure, or shows any indication of curvature, is a false suggestion. Some fragments of the superstructure do remain, however, which show *āmalakas* partly incorporated into the fabric; but that the fabric did take the form of the *nāgara* tower the evidence does not fully suggest. So far, our earliest certain evidence of the *nāgara* tower comes from early seventh century temples in Orissa and from the Lakṣhmaṇa temple at Sirpur (the latter also not clearly giving evidence for curvature, but clearly incorporating *āmalakas* into a layered tower). As evidence now stands, the Darrā formula would have to be designated "pre-*nāgara*", Deogarh at most can be called "proto-*nāgara*", and any suggestion that the *nāgara* tower developed before late in the sixth century must remain hypothetical.

Postscript

This article was completed late in 1972 and submitted in February 1973. Since then an article by O. Viennot has appeared ("Le temple ruine de Mukundara entre Malwa et Rajasthan", *South Asian Studies* 1973, Leyden, 1974) which deals with the temple at Darrā. As will be apparent to readers of both, my opinions concerning date, plan, and morphology differ from those of Mme. Viennot. I have seen no new evidence that alters my opinion. Nothing at Darrā would convince me that there were thin slabs of stone set between the pilasters as walls to separate the sanctum from an ambulatory path, as Viennot suggests.

The plan at Darrā seems to me more related to Udaigiri cave 17 than to the Nāchnā Pārvatī temple as Viennot suggests. Ornament also seems to me related more to Udaigiri than to Uchchhakalpa monuments at Nāchnā or Bhūmarā. I, therefore, continue to date Darrā in the first half of the fifth century, not in the sixth as does Viennot.

In 1973 I called the Gupta temple at Deogarh "proto-*nāgara*" and left Sirpur's Lakshmaṇa temple as the earliest *nāgara* shrine surviving. Sirpur I now would suggest also is not fully *nāgara* though still important evidence for the process by which the Latina tower was produced. Deogarh, on the other hand, perhaps even more strongly than I stated it in 1973, does suggest the early development of *nāgara* formula, though without clearly having had a Latina profile. I add here a drawing of the lower level of the Deogarh *śikhara* based on the few fragments of the superstructure preserved on the northwest corner *(text fig. R)*. The formula separating the *karṇa* from the center by a *Bālapañjara* recess, the centralizing of the central band, and the division of *karṇa* and central band into cornice layers are the most significant elements for our understanding of the development of the *nāgara* mode.

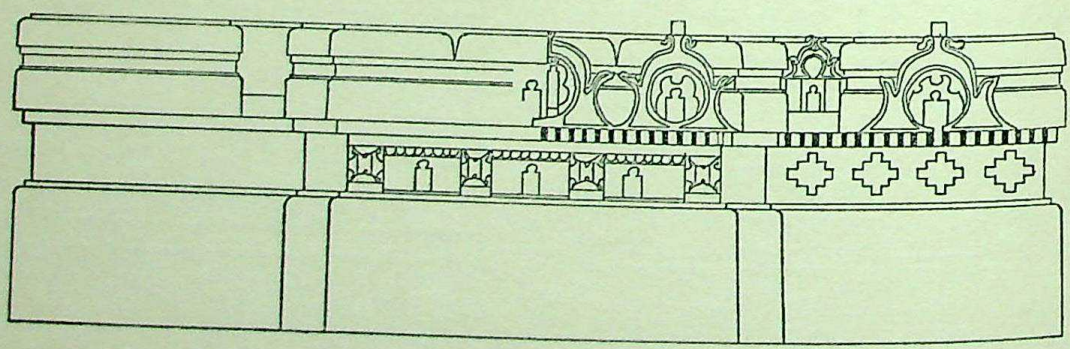

Fig. R Deogarh, "Gupta" temple, reconstruction of lower level of superstructure (using evidence from remains on the northwest corner).[26]

[26] Drawings have kindly been prepared by Karan Man Singh of the Kala Bhavan.

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APPENDIX

GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS AND REMAINS EARLY GUPTA PERIOD

G.E.	King	Inscriptions	Monuments and Remains	A.D.
	Samudragupta (*ca.* 330-370 A.D.)	Eraṇ: CII, III, 18; B.L. 1539		
	Rāmagupta (*ca.* 370-375 A.D.)	Vidiśā Jain-image inscs.: *JOI*, XVIII, 247	Vidiśā Jain images	(370-375)
	Chandragupta II (*ca.* 375-414 A.D.)	Udaigiri cave 6 insc.: CII, III, 35; B.L. 1541	Udaigiri caves 2, 4	
82		Udaigiri cave 7 insc. G. 82: CII, III, 25; B.L. 1260	Udaigiri caves 5, 6, 7	402
88		Gaḍhwā insc. G. 88: CII, III, 37; B.L. 1261	Sāñchī temple 17	
93		Sāñchī: G. 93: CII, III, 31; B.L. 1262	Udaigiri: structural temple remains on top of hill	413
		Bāgh cave 2 and Barwani plates of Mahārāja Subandhu: Barwani plate dated K. 167/416-17 A.D.: CII, IV, 1, 19	Bāgh cave 2 (?) Darrā	
96	Kumāragupta I (*ca.* 414-455 A.D.)	Bilsaḍ: G. 96: CII, III, 43; B.L. 1263		416
98		Gaḍhwā: G. 98: CII, III, 41; B.L. 1264		
		Gaḍhwā: G. 98: CII, III, 39; B.L. 1545		
		Gaḍhwā: G. 98: CII, III, 265; B.L. 1546	Udaigiri cave 1; Besnagar "Gaṅgā", BMFA	
106		Udaigiri cave 20: G. 106; CII, III, 258; B.L. 1265 (Udaigiri cave 19 insc.: V.S. 1093/1036 A.D., refers to Chandragupta Vishṇu cave repairs: I.A., XIII, 185; XIV, 352; B.L. 122)	Bilsaḍ and Gaḍhwā sculptural remains	426
116		Tumain (Tumbavana): G. 116; *I.A.*, XLIX, 114; B.L. 1269	Tumain doorway Eraṇ Narasiṁha temple remains Udaigiri cave 19 (Amṛita cave)	436
129 (or 108)		Mankuwar image insc. G. 129: CII, III, 46; B.L. 1273 (date corrected to G. 108, *JAIH*, III, 133-37)	Mankuwar Buddha Tigawā (?) Bāgh cave 4	449 (or 428)
131		Sāñchī: G. 131: CII, III, 261; B.L. 1274	Mathurā and Sāñchī Buddha images	451
135		Mathurā: G. 135: CII, III, 263; B.L. 1275		455
139		Kōsam: G. 139: CII, III, 267; B.L. 1277 (Bhandarkar suggests fourth cent., K. era)	Kōsam: Śiva-Pārvatī image	458-459
	Skandagupta (455-468 A.D.)	Bhitarī pillar insc. of Skandagupta: CII, III, 53; B.L. 1549	Bhitarī pillar and sculptural remains	

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LATER GUPTA PERIOD

G.E.	King	Inscriptions	Monuments and Remains	A.D.
148		Gaḍhwā Vaishṇava insc., G. 148: CII, III, 268; B.L. 1280		
		Nachne-ki-talaī: CII, III, 231; B.L. 1710		
		Gañj: *EI*, XXVII, 18; B.L. 1710		460
		(Inscs. of Vākāṭaka Pṛithvisheṇa and his feudatory Vyāghradeva. Sarkar, *Classical Age*, p. 179 note, suggests fourth cent., Pṛithvisheṇa I, as does Bhandarkar, Index p. 341)	Nāchnā Pārvatī temple	470
154	Kumāragupta II (*ca.* 472-475 A.D.)	Sārnāth Buddha, G. 154; ASIAR 1914-15, 124; B.L. 1281		474
157	Buddhagupta (*ca.* 475-496 A.D.)	Sārnāth Buddha, G. 157; ASIAR 1914-15, 125; B.L. 1283	Sārnāth and Vārāṇasī sculpture (beginnings)	477
159	Buddhagupta (*ca.* 475-496 A.D.)	Vārāṇasī (Rājghāt), G. 159; *JRASBL*, XV, 5		478-9
165	Buddhagupta (*ca.* 475-496 A.D.)	Eraṇ pillar insc., G. 165: CII, III, 89; B.L. 1287	Eraṇ Buddhagupta pillar	484-5
	Nṛipati-Parivrājika family			
156	Hastin (*ca.* 475-518 A.D.)	Khōh plate, G. 156: CII, III, 95; B.L. 1282		475
163		Khōh plates, G. 163: CII, III, 102; B.L. 1285	Khōh liṅgaṃ and other remains	482
209	Saṁkshobha	Khōh plates, G. 209: CII, III, 104; B.L. 1298		528
	Uchchhakalpa rājās			
	Vyāghra	(See also Nachne-ki-talaī and Gañj inscs. above for Vyāghra)		
174	Jayanātha	Kārītalai (Jabalpur dist.) plates issued from Uchchhakalpa; 174 (era now presumed to be G.E.) CII, III, 118; B.L. 1194	Bhūmarā	494
177		Khōh plates, 177; CII, III, 122; B.L. 1195		497
	Śarvanātha (*ca.* 510-534 A.D.)	Bhūmarā insc. of Hastin and Śarvanātha, marking boundaries; CII, III, 111; B.L. 1661	Maṛhiā	
193		Khōh plates, G. 193; CII, III, 126; B.L. 1197	Sakrai	
197		Khōh, G. 197; CII, III, 133; B.L. 1198	Nāchnā later temple doorways	
214		Khōh, CII, III, 130; B.L. 1702		
		Khōh, G. 214: CII, III, 136; B.L. 1201		534

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LATE GUPTA OR EARLY POST-GUPTA PERIOD

G.E.	King	Inscriptions	Monuments and Remains	A.D.
	Tōramāṇa	Eraṇ, boar *avatāra*, regnal year 1 : CII, III, 159; B.L. 1877	Eraṇ Varāha image	
		Deogarh, 2 line pillar insc.; dated by R.D. Banerji to *ca.* 575 A.D. (*Age of the Imperial Guptas* p. 147); by Chhabra to 475-525 A.D., MASI 70, p. 10.	Deogarh Vishṇu temple	*ca.* 525
	Aulikara kings			
	Yaśōdharman	Maṇḍasor: inscs. with the dates V.S. 461, 493, 524, 529 (B.L. 3, 6, 7, 8).		
		Maṇḍasor-Soṇḍanī: jayastaṁbha insc. V.S. 589/532 A.D.: CII, III, 152; B.L. 9.	Soṇḍanī pillars	532
		Also CII, III, 146; B.L. 1870	Khilchipura *toraṇa*	
		Nagarī (Mādhyamikā) "6th *ca*" insc., *EI*, XXXIV, 57.	Nagarī *toraṇa*	

Abbreviations:

ASIAR	*Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*
B.L.	"Bhandarkar's List of North Indian Inscriptions" (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vols. XIX to XXIII)
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta
JOI	*Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda
JRASBL	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Letters*
MASI	*Memoirs, Archaeological Survey of India*

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CHANDRAMANI

On Mandi Paintings

This study is based on the Mandi paintings in Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection though published material on the subject is also used. Mandi, capital of an erstwhile state of the same name in modern Himachal Pradesh, is considered a miniature Kāśī.[1] Like the other hill states Mandi was an active centre of painting from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. Portraits of Sūraj Sen (1637-1664, fig. 480), Śyāma Sen (1664-1679), Gur Sen (1679-1684) and a number of likenesses of Gur Sen's son Sidh Sen (1684-1727) indicate that painters flourished at Mandi and that there was an established *atelier* in that region during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The early phase of the history of Mandi paintings has not been studied carefully. Probably because of their dull and folkish nature, they have not attracted art historians as much as other Pahari miniatures. Though the history of the early phase of Mandi painting is not well established, its style would seem to be characterised by the predominance of muddy red, yellow, green, blue and brown colours controlled by bold drawing. The rulers of Mandi were so religious that Sūraj Sen (1637-1664) installed an image of Madho Rai, a form of Vishṇu and dedicated his entire state to the deity while he ruled as his regent. They were devoted to Śaivism[2] and many of the paintings produced under their patronage are based on Śaivite themes. These themes were so popular among the painters that even the compositions of Kṛishṇa subject were influenced by them.[3] Folk tales collected in Mandi have a tāntric orientation. Early Mandi pictures seem to confirm this interest in tāntricism (fig. 481, and pl. M).

It is not known whether the portraits of Raja Gur Sen (1679-1684) and Sidh Sen (1684-1727) represent the first attempts at painting in Mandi or are the result of a previously existing local tradition. On the basis of the earliest paintings in the Mandi style, it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion. But artists must have been working there to meet the ceremonial and decorative requirements of people, temple and the court. And it seems the needs of the court, which were developed mostly during the seventeenth century, brought a change in the patrons' outlook. The result was that the patrons took more delight in their likenesses and the artists found new subjects in portraiture and other themes instead of monotonous and traditional religious representations.

A painting showing Raja Gur Sen (1679-1684)[4] might be accepted as a contemporary likeness and, therefore, could be an earlier work of about 1680; if so, it would prove the existence of a local art style in the Mandi Court. In this painting the Raja is portrayed in a conventional pose; seated on a rug while two attendants stand behind him holding *morchhal* and a fan. The bold drawing and "comparatively rich colouring"[5] suggest an early date for the painting. The top of the picture shows a convention of Mandi probably borrowed from the Mughal Court: parrots flying in the sky (which is represented by a white stripelike band). The turban type is Jahāngīrī in style.

We may cite here a standing portrait painted in Mandi style[6] and described by the colophon as a likeness of the Emperor Jahāngīr. We can at best say that this portrait is an interpretation of an unknown Mughal original by local artists. Still, the character of the Emperor remains somewhat abstract, and the careful

[1] J.C. French, *Himalayan Art*, London, 1931, p. 19

[2] Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art*, London, 1968, pl. no. 65, on p. 146. Kālī Devī, Triloknāth Temple, Mandi thirteenth-fourteenth century.

ibid., pl. no. 2 on p. 10, Pañchānana Śiva, Pañchavaktra Temple, Mandi, fourteenth century.

ibid., pl. no. 61 on p. 137, Śiva Ardhanārī, Ardhanārī Temple, Mandi, sixteenth century.

[3] A composition showing Kṛishṇa with *gopīs*. *The Arts of India and Nepal*, The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Boston, 1966, no. 181

[4] Robert Skelton, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, pl. 51

[5] "Such features as the comparatively rich colouring, the light green background, and the broadly designed floral scroll of the rug support an early date in the series, though the flying bird has already hardened into a lifeless convention". Robert Skelton, *ibid.*, p. 69

[6] *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. It is difficult to say if at all it is a likeness of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. The man in the painting has a *tilak* on his forehead and has no resemblance with authentic portraits of Jahāngīr.

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Pl. M Śiva manifests Himself before Kṛishṇa and chief priest, Mandi, *ca.* 1790

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[4] Robert Skelton, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, pl. 51

[5] "Such features as the comparatively rich colouring, the light green background, and the broadly designed floral scroll of the rug support an early date in the series, though the flying bird has already hardened into a lifeless convention". Robert Skelton, *ibid.*, p. 69

[6] *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*. It is difficult to say if at all it is a likeness of the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr. The man in the painting has a *tilak* on his forehead and has no resemblance with authentic portraits of Jahāngīr.

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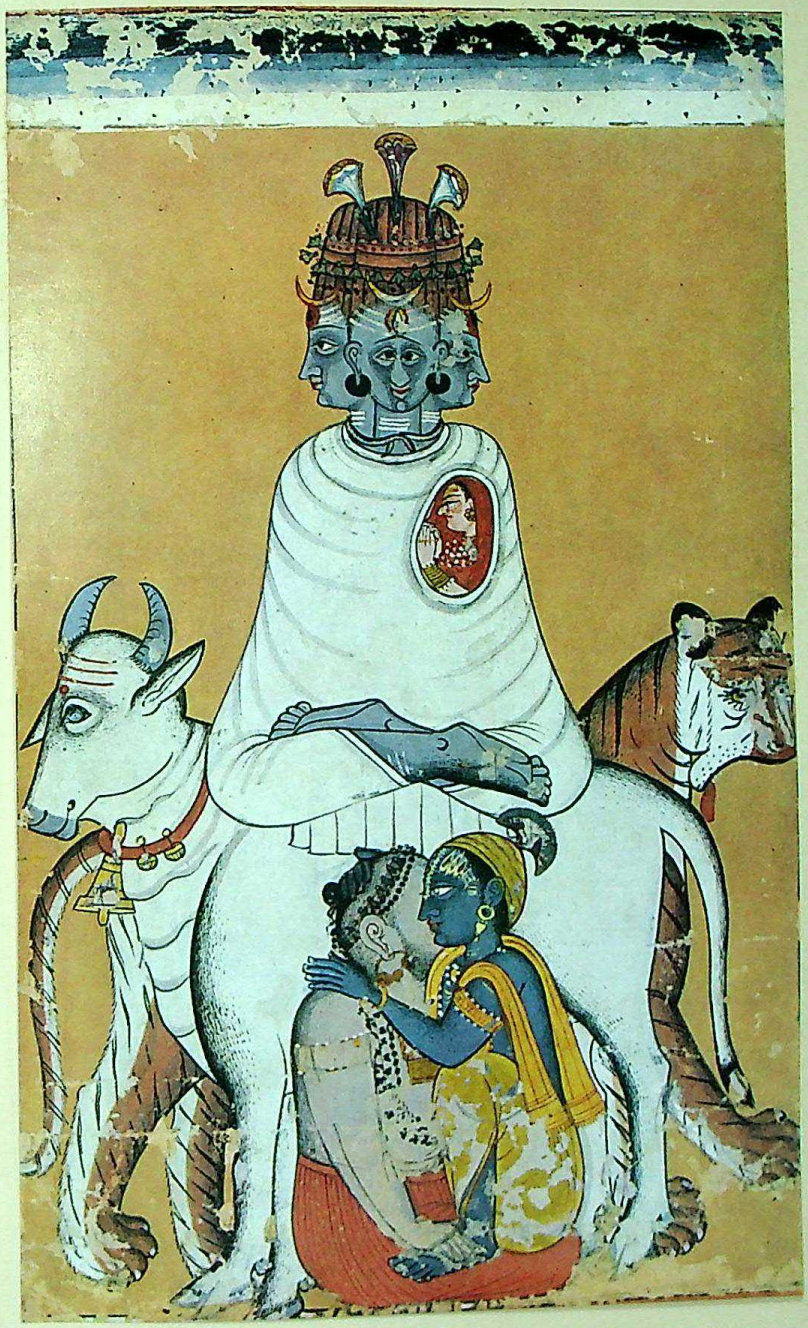

Pl. M Śiva manifests Himself before Kṛishṇa and chief priest, Mandi, *ca.* 1790

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modelling is, perhaps, a result of Mughal influence. We can ascribe this to *ca.* 1700.

If we compare Gur Sen's portrait to the portraits of Sidh Sen of the next generation, we can see a definite change in style. Gur Sen's portrait is clearly a more refined work, while that of Sidh Sen is less so. Gur Sen's portrait is a sensitive production in every detail; while the artist of Sidh Sen's period did not possess such an eye for detail and indeed, seems to have purposely avoided them. Thus, the portrait of Raja Gur Sen seems to be removed considerably in date from Sidh Sen's portraits—the former can be ascribed in 1680 and therefore, is among the earliest known works from Mandi.

Gur Sen's portrait is a careful fusion of several characteristics. The Mandi traditions are present in the distortion of trees, the heavy shading, the treatment of the sky filled with floating birds and the rendering of the foreground (which consists of deep green dashes against pale green). Although these features continued in Mandi paintings, some of them such as the floating parrots with their tilted heads, are more successful in this painting than in the later examples. The drawing of the palms and long tapering fingers of the attendants, who gently bow while fluttering the fan or the *morchhal*, is remarkable. The artist has created a purposeful distortion of perspective by showing the carpet intruding over the attendant's legs. The hawk perched on its seat with its head to the side would be a credit to any Pahari painter: its naturalism is distinct from that of the Mughal tradition, and foreshadows Nainsukh's work. The treatment of the carpet with its *chauphuliā* border is close to Kirpāl Pāl's (1678-93) bold and fluent style at Basohli. All of these characteristics suggest *ca.* 1680 as the date of this painting.

A painting from the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection (fig. 482) might also be assigned to Gur Sen's period. Set in an oblong format, the picture shows a *yogī*, possessing such Śaiva features as the third eye and the crescent moon, sitting on a deer skin against a light pink halo. He might be a tāntric representation of Śiva sitting on *kṛishṇa mṛiga* skin. He is flanked by two other *yogī* figures having Śaiva emblems: one of them has a white complexion; the other is dark. These two figures can be identified as the dark and fair skinned *Bhairavas*. A rich and characteristic dark reddish ochre background highlights the *yogic* feeling of the scene.

Many of these portraits depict Raja Sidh Sen engaged in various day to day activities. If they would have been later works, such a vivid account of his daily life could not have been recorded. Moreover, his extraordinary physiognomy is well represented in all of his portraits. It is said that he was a man of giant stature, and his clothes, preserved in the Mandi palace collection, certainly prove that he had a "King-size" form. He is known in the hills as possessing occult power: a local belief is that he to used fly every morning to the river Gaṅgā to have a holy dip.

Numerous portraits which depict him engaged in religious activities have come to light. Sometimes his court and family life is also recorded. Two of his portraits "Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi and female attendants"[7] and "Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi and attendants on the bank of the Ganges"[8] were published by J.C. French in 1931. Two other portraits in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection[9] depict him as a *yogī* (fig. 483). Here he is four-armed, dressed in tiger skin and holds a trident. He also decked himself with a rosary made of *rudrāksha* berries and a garland. It is interesting to note that he has a turban on his head, probably to indicate royalty. The picture is painted against a cream colour background and is marked by its economy of colour. In the other portrait from the same collection (fig. 485), the King, with four female attendants, is shown walking towards his place of worship. He is carrying a plate with ritual utensils and is again clad in a tiger skin. He is wearing a pair of wooden sandals. This Raja, said in the folklore of the area to be endowed with magical power, appears again in a portrait from a private collection,[10] where he is shown seated on a boldly designed carpet. An attendant stands behind him with a *morchhal*. A damaged *Tākarī* inscription at the top of the border reads, *"Śrī Dambā . . . Sidh Sen"*.

A painting in the Collection of the National Museum, New Delhi is important for this study, since it shows in addition to the Raja, a group of persons from the contemporary court. The picture is divided into two panels and depicts a meeting held after a victorious campaign. Sidh Sen's General Vīr Singh is also represented.

Another example of this type, now in a private collection,[11] is a portrait of Śīva Jwālā Sen, son of Sidh Sen, who died before his father in 1727. The prince is

[7] J.C. French, *op. cit.*, pl. IVa

[8] *ibid.*, pl. IVb

[9] These pictures are not inscribed, but this identification is based on two facts: stylistically these could be attributed to Sidh Sen's period and the other is their resemblance with Raja Sidh Sen's inscribed portraits.

[10] Robert Skelton, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 56

[11] *ibid.*, pl. 57

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portrayed standing. He wears narcissus flowers in his turban, a contemporary fashion in the hills. The early Mandi convention of flying birds is used on the top of the picture.

These four portraits are marked by their impressive drawing and sombre colouring. Mandi painters used a strange palette which included sombre colours not seen in other Pahari miniatures of the same period (last quarter of eighteenth century). This colour scheme is quite distinct from that of the contemporary bright miniatures of Basohli. Early Mandi paintings are known for their bold line and economical use of such colours as brown, red, slate blue and dull green. The colours are coarsely applied and they are not as refined as those from Guler or Jammu. Though there is certain abstractness in their use of colour and line, the Mandi artists did not fail to capture the individual character of the persons whom they portrayed.

The facial type that the Mandi artists used, is clearly quite distinctive and seems to be more closely related to Kulu, Bilaspur and Nurpur paintings than to those from the Jammu, Guler and Kangra group. The female facial type is distinguished by its large and sloping forehead and jutting and pointed nose, the nostrils of which are emphasized. In the case of lighter complexioned women, opaque white is used. The modelling is bold: deep pinkish shading appears below the eyes, on the nose, or on the arms etc. The lips are thick, small, and tightly closed. The lower halves of the female figures are elongated so that in spite of their heavy faces, the women look tall. In many examples the background is plain, and is usually painted in sombre tones. These backgrounds would, in later example, invariably be painted red. The upper portion of the painting uses layers of dull blues and whites to represent the sky which is full of birds depicted by single crosses. Here and there, however, birds hovering over the main figures are more naturalistically rendered. This characteristic is found in many portraits of Sidh Sen. Still the movements of even these birds are jerky.

Many portraits have survived from the first half of eighteenth century. These miniatures tend towards a greater refinement. A portrait in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection (fig. 484) illustrates how the colour scheme in Mandi paintings changed to more sombre tones while the portraiture has become unusually successful. The Raja is shown mounted on a horse with his retinue walking beside him. The picture is inscribed in *Nāgarī* characters: "Diwān Śamasera". It is difficult to say why this prefix "Diwān" is used here,[12] as Raja Śamasera Sen came to the throne as a full-fledged king at the age of five in 1727. The riding figure in the centre of this painting is undoubtedly his portrait and could be dated *ca.* 1780. A plausible explanation for this word "Diwān" might be that many Rajput rulers, who were religious, dedicated their kingdoms to their presiding deities and took the title of "Diwān".

Portraiture was not the only subject in which the painters took delight; they also painted Śaivite subjects.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a change came over the Mandi style. The usual sombre colour scheme was replaced by a bright palette of yellows, greens, and reds. The application of colour is coarse and opaque patches were preferred. This group is mainly represented by the portraits of Surmā Sen (1781-1788, figs. 486 and 487). Although the style maintains such old characteristics as heavily shaded eyelids and jerkey movement, new features were also introduced. Some of the innovations might be Mandi interpretations of Sansār Chand's style at Kangra. For example, such compositions as seen in fig. 487, which show the prince surrounded by his courtiers, distantly resemble portraits of Sansār Chand. Even the Mandi headgear seems, with the addition of a *Kullah*, to have changed under Sansār Chand's influence. The pointed beard, summarily rendered as a black patch, is another feature held in common by the Mandi and Kangra styles.

Yet Mandi painting did not completely merge its identity with the Kangra school of Sansār Chand. Surmā Sen's painters continued the abstraction and distortions peculiar to the Mandi school. The colour scheme is flat and a painting is divided into several opaque colour patches. The expressions are bold and decorativeness is introduced in the swollen *dupaṭṭās* and *oḍhanīs* and in the curving smoke of the *huqqā* puffs (which became a characteristic of Mandi painting during the period).

The impact of Sansār Chand's style on the painters, as we have said, was limited during this period. It may well have been the result of Surmā Sen's taking refuge at Sansār Chand's court for about a decade, during his uncle's occupation of the throne. However, during the time of Raja Iśwarī Sen (1788-1826) of Mandi, the Mandi style underwent a full scale "Kangraization". Doubtless, when Iśwarī Sen was a captive of Sansār Chand at Kangra for twelve years he developed a taste for the Kangra style of painting—a preference that is amply evidenced in his portraits as well as in his paintings of

[12] It can be stated here that Indra Dev of Bandralta also used this prefix "Diwān" with his name. See V.C. Ohri, "Four Pahari Portraits", *Lalit Kala*, No. 14, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 21-23

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other subjects rendered after his release in 1805.

Although Karl Khandalavala has suggested that Surmā Sen (1781-1788) was responsible for the introduction of a full Kangra style at Mandi, a dated portrait of Iśwarī Sen[13] and a series illustrating *Hamīr-Haṭh*[14] show the prevalence of the Kangra style in Mandi not earlier than the first decade of the nineteenth century.

A portrait now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (acc. no. 392) depicts Iśwarī Sen of Mandi before a shrine of Śiva and Pārvatī. This painting is important because it gives a date equivalent to 1808 and was painted by the artist Sajnu. It very clearly demonstrates that the style of the Sansār Chand school of Kangra was adopted without modifications by outlaying centres like Mandi.[15] In its treatment of human figures, the modelling of its landscape, and its weak colour this painting corresponds with the portraits of Sansār Chand.[16] A painting in a private collection illustrating the five-headed *Sadāśiva* being worshipped by the deities is an example of Sajnu's style.[17] Although the painting is not signed, its style closely resembles to the portrait mentioned above. A signed painting of Sajnu in the Panjab Museum,[18] Chandigarh, depicting a house on fire, is dated 1808.

Two other portraits of Iśwarī Sen of Mandi are also known.[19] They are of mediocre quality and show the gradual decline of the Mandi style.

Our study would remain incomplete if we did not mention the monumental work of Sajnu: a series illustrating the *Hamīr-Haṭh*. This series was presented by Sajnu to his royal patron in the year 1810.[20] The pronounced influence of Kangra style is especially felt in this series, particularly in its elaborate architecture and solid, squattish figures. Its colours are bright. The artist has lost directness in narrating the story. Instead, he has more confidence in his drawing, which tends to be slightly crude. Pure decoration is the Mandi artist's chief concern during this period.

The set seems to have been based on a much earlier series—a practice generally followed in later Pahari schools and elsewhere. If we examine Khandalavala's no. 186,[21] we cannot fail to see the traces of Manaku-Nainsukh style in the treatment of the main figure on the throne and courtiers. The facial type is retained in this example and at times even the old headgear appears. The process of copying the old series must have brought a change in this local style as already suggested. The artist, however, has made certain alterations to meet nineteenth century demands. For example, he uses a detailed repertoire of architecture—a nineteenth century feature—instead of the simple eighteenth century backgrounds. On the other hand, the lively human expression in no. 186,[22] or fleeting forms in the hunting scenes (no. 185),[23] recall eighteenth century works.

Solely on the basis of his portrait of Iśwarī Sen, which is to some extent a copy of Sansār Chand's portrait, we would not expect Sajnu to execute such a work as the *Hamīr-Haṭh*. It seems that Sajnu was inspired while working from earlier sets, but his own compositions were rather stereotyped and dry.

Iśwarī Sen ruled for a long time (twenty-one years), after he was released from Sansār Chand's court. William Moorcroft, who visited Mandi in 1820, has left a vivid account. He described the Raja as "a short, stout man about thirty-five, of limited understanding and extreme timidity. In his infancy he was either a ward or a prisoner to Sansār Chand and he was indebted to the Gurkhas for restoration of his rule. He assisted them in their invasion of Kangra and also aided Ranjit Singh in his operations against Kangra and Kulu. This has not preserved him from the fate of the other Hill Rajas. He is tributary to the Sikh and treated by him with contumely and oppression."[24]

Iśwarī Sen's son Balbir Sen, who came on the throne in 1840 had a taste for painting and maintained an *atelier* of painters. But the art was dying in the hills and artists, perhaps for lack of a patron, slipped once again to the status of craftsmen. Chemical pigments with loud tonalities were introduced and may have been

[13] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, Bombay, 1958, no. 187

[14] *ibid.*

[15] It is quite possible that an artist like Sajnu took refuge in the rival court of Mandi after Sansār Chand's downfall.

[16] M.S. Randhawa, "Maharaja Sansar Chand—the patron of Kangra Painting", *Roop-Lekha*, vol. XXXII, no. 2, December, 1961, fig. 27

[17] Robert Skelton, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to XIXth centuries*, Venice, p. 106
"Śiva worship was especially prevalent in Mandi and according to J.Ph. Vogel images of the five-headed Śiva were numerous in this state", vide H.A. Rose, *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier*, vol. 1, p. 261

[18] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, no. 184

[19] A portrait of Iswari Sen—Herman Goetz, *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, 1944-45, vol. 2, pt. 1
A portrait in the Collection of late N.C. Mehta, Ahmedabad.

[20] Hiranand Shastri, *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, October, 1915, vol. 17, no. 132

[21] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, no. 186

[22] *ibid.*

[23] *ibid.*, no. 185

[24] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, p. 233

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partly responsible for the loss of colour sense among the artists.

Karl Khandalavala mentions two portraits of Balbir Sen in the late N.C. Mehta Collection.[25] One of these is inscribed and informs us that the portrait was painted in the year 1840 by Vaikuṇṭha from Nurpur.

A painter Fattu worked for Raja Balbir Sen and presented a painting illustrating *Gaja Lakshmī*[26] to his royal patron in 1843.

Another series in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Collection, which is probably the last major project of the Mandi painters, illustrates *Durgā Saptaśatī*. This series was presented by Raja Balbir Sen to his guru at Banaras in 1848.[27] N.C. Mehta has published two leaves from this series.[28] Though the series is interesting in its own way, the stunted and static human figures show a lack of sensitivity; the treatment of landscape is dry; and the colours are bright, but unattractive. Probably no important work was created after this series. It appears that the style shared the fate of other hill styles in the mid-nineteenth century and gradually died out due to lack of patronage.

[25] Karl Khandalawala, *Pahari Miniature Painting* p. 234

[26] *ibid.*, fig. 50

[27] Mandi probably had close relations with Kāśī : the holy place. Rai Krishnadasa kindly informs me that certain *Ustad Muhammad Baksh*, a painter from Banaras was called by Mandi chief to work there. A portrait of Raghunath Singh of Guler, painted by this artist is in the Panjab Museum, Chandigarh.

[28] N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, pls. 56 and 57

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CATHERINE B. ASHER

The Qal'a-i Kuhna Mosque
A Visual Symbol of Royal Aspirations

The Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque (fig. 488),[1] situated within the Delhi Purānā Qal'a, the imperial citadel of the Sultān Sher Shāh (reigned 1538-45), overlooks the Jamuna river to the east and the Baṛā Darwāzā or main entrance of the fort to the west. An exquisite structure, the Qal'a-i Kuhna justly can be called the finest sixteenth century mosque in Delhi. There are many aspects of this mosque that remain unresolved, but all questions regarding it depend on an understanding of its patronage and date. Once these are determined, then the significance of the mosque's links with much earlier Delhi architecture and the programme of the inscriptions selected to embellish its facade will become apparent.

I

The Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque traditionally is considered to be Sher Shāh Sūr's royal chapel.[2] However, Vogel, at the beginning of the century, suggested that the Qal'a-i Kuhna was not entirely constructed by Sher Shāh.[3] Recently, J. Burton-Page and R. Nath have suggested that none of the Delhi monuments traditionally ascribed to Sher Shāh were actually built during his reign, much less patronized by him.[4] While I will not reproduce their arguments in full, it is necessary to review them in part for a proper understanding of these scholars' disagreements with the traditional view.

In the absence of historical inscriptions on the Qal'a-i Kuhna, the traditional view of the mosque's patron is based on the near-contemporary histories of the Sultān Sher Shāh Sūr. Both the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhi* by 'Abbās Khān and 'Abdulla's *Tārikh-i Dā'ūdi* state that among the very first of Sher Shāh's accomplishments upon assuming the Delhi throne in 1540 was the destruction of Humāyūn's capital in Delhi and the construction of his own capital, which included two fortified areas, the city walls and the royal residence, the area known today as the Purānā Qal'a.[5] The erection of a magnificent *Jāmi'* mosque within the Purānā Qal'a is cited by both *Tārīkhs*. Moreover, 'Abdulla in the *Tārīkh-i Dā'ūdī* states that this mosque was completed quickly, implying its full construction during Sher Shāh's reign. The Qal'a-i Kuhna is equated with the mosque mentioned in these histories by scholars following the traditional viewpoint.

However, Burton-Page and Nath feel that the Qal'a-i Kuhna should not be associated with the mosque mentioned in these histories and thus, cannot be attributed to Sher Shāh. One of Burton-Page's arguments is that the description of the mosque in the texts does not correspond to the appearance of the extant mosque in the Purānā Qal'a.[6] But as I have pointed out elsewhere, the fault lies with the English translation of the texts, and the Persian original corresponds closely with the Qal'a-i Kuhna's actual appearance.[7]

Burton-Page feels that the Qal'a-i Kuhna was constructed under the patronage of either Akbar or Humāyūn, and Nath attributes this mosque to Humāyūn. Yet, if either Mughal were the patron, it

[1] As detailed descriptions of the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque are available, I have not included one here. For the most thorough descriptions see: J.A. Page (ed.), *Delhi Zail*, vol. II of *Delhi Province: List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Calcutta, 1919, pp. 98-102; J. Ph. Vogel, "The Qil'a-i Kuhna Masjid at Delhi", *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-03, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 77-9; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*, 5th ed. revised; Bombay, 1968, pp. 86-7. The name of the mosque, meaning the mosque of the Old Fort, of course, is modern.

I should like to thank Dr. Jerrilynn D. Dodds and Anita Gold for their guidance and help at various stages in the development of this paper.

[2] Brown, p. 86; Page, p. 98; James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II, ed. James Burgess and R. Phené Spiers, revised ed., London, 1910, p. 286; and Ziyaud-din A. Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 45

[3] Vogel, p. 79

[4] John Burton-Page, "Indo-Islamic Architecture: A Commentary on Some False Assumptions", *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, VI, December 1974, 18; R. Nath, *History of Sultanate Architecture*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 113

[5] 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Tārtkh-i Sher Shāht*, vol. I, ed. S.M. Imamuddin, Dacca, 1964, p. 219; vol. II, translated and ed. S.M. Imamuddin, p. 173; 'Abdulla, "*Tarikh-i Dāūdī*", vol. IV of *The History of India as Told by Her Own Historians*, translated and ed. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, London, 1872, p. 477

[6] Burton—Page, 18

[7] Catherine B. Asher, "The Mausoleum of Sher Shāh Sūrī", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXIX, 3-4, 1977, 297-8

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would seem unlikely that 'Abbās Khān, who was commissioned by Akbar to write the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī*,[8] would attribute the mosque within the Purānā Qal'a to Sher Shāh if the actual patron were either Akbar himself or his father, Humāyūn.

The only other literary reference that might appear to contradict the identification of the Qal'a-i Kuhna with Sher Shāh's mosque is equally invalid. The mosque described in the *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī* is designated a *jāmi'* or congregational mosque.[9] As the Qal'a-i Kuhna is a relatively small structure (measuring 168 feet north by south and 48 feet 9 inches east by west),[10] it might be assumed at first the 'Abbās Khān's description of Sher Shāh's mosque could not refer to the extant building. However, there is an interesting and important precedent to this ambiguity. The Baṛā Gumbad mosque in Lodi Gardens, dated by inscription to 1494, which is considerably smaller than the Qal'a-i Kuhna, is inscribed as the *masjid-i Jāmi'* of Sikander Lodī.[11] Thus, while the term *Jāmi'* appears to be incongruous with the size of the mosque, it suggests that by the Lodī period, when large scale mosques were no longer constructed, *Jāmi'* probably referred to the locale of the reading of the *khuṭba* rather than a single mosque where the entire population gathered for Friday prayer. In light of this, the Qal'a-i Kuhna still may be equated with the *Jāmi'* mosque of Sher Shāh mentioned in the histories. Hence, the literary evidence referring to Sher Shāh's patronage of the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque is hard to dispute. The mosque, then, must have been built soon after 1540 when Sher Shāh ascended the Delhi throne.

II

The evidence presented in the medieval histories is supported by the actual appearance of the Qal'a-i Kuhna itself, as it shares a number of features in common with a known Sūrī structure. This building is the tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr in Narnaul (fig. 489), whose patron is clearly identified as the Sultān Sher Shāh in an inscription over the east doorway.[12] Among the features shared in common by the Qal'a-i Kuhna and the Narnaul tomb, constructed by Sher Shāh, and their similar *miḥrābs* (figs. 493-494), the contrasting coloured stone used throughout, very fine and ornate carving on individual blocks of masonry in all parts of the structure, engaged jamb colonnettes, and the six-pointed star motif. Of these features, some such as the six-pointed star, have been considered evidence for the Qal'a-i Kuhna's Mughal date;[13] its appearance, however, on the Narnaul tomb attests to its use in Sher Shāh's time. Other features shared by the two buildings seem to be revived from Delhi's earlier Islamic architecture after a lapse of approximately 200 years. They are borrowed particularly from structures dating to the Khaljī period. In this same manner, Sher Shāh introduced into his own government many of the practices and regulations of 'Alā ud-dīn Khaljī.[14] That was obviously purposeful, but it remains to be seen whether the revival of archaic motifs was comparably intentional.

One motif adopted from the architecture of the Early Sultanate and Khaljī periods,[15] dating at least 200 years earlier, are the engaged jamb colonnettes in the doorways of the three interior bays of the exterior of the Qal'a-i Kuhna's east facade. Previously, engaged colonnettes on the exterior of a monument were standard on Early Sultanate and Khaljī architecture, for example, on the entrance into the Khaljī 'Alā'-ī Darwāzā of 1311 (fig. 490), but these were not used again on any mosque in the Delhi region until the construction of the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque (fig. 491).[16] This exterior jamb colonnette is also used on other monuments of Sher Shāh's time, for example, the tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr (fig. 492) and the Kābulī Darwāzā near Kotla Firuz Shāh, which is traditionally considered to be the northernmost limit of

[8] 'Abbās Khān, II, p. 1

[9] *ibid.*, p. 173

[10] Page, p. 98

[11] Zafar Hasan, "Inscriptions of Sikander Shāh Lodī in Delhi", *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1919-20, 2-3

[12] G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s. III, 8, August 1907, 585. It is worth noting that the *guldustas* and dome finial, which appear to belie a Sūrī date, are modern reconstructions. For a view of this tomb before restoration, see: W.H. Nicholls, "The Tomb of Ibrahim Shah at Narnaul in Patiala State", *Progress Report of the Northern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, Lahore, 1906, pl. VIII

[13] Burton-Page, 18. The six-pointed star motif appears in both the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque and in the tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr on the spandrels above the central *miḥrāb*. This same motif is also found in two other inscribed Sūrī structures, the tomb of Sher Shāh and the tomb of Hasan Khān Sūr in Sasaram.

[14] Abu-l Fazl, *Akbar nāmā*, vol. I, translated H. Beveridge, reprint ed.; Delhi, 1972, p. 399

[15] The term Early Sultanate is used in this paper to cover the period from 1193 until 1290, that is from the time that Aibak established himself in Delhi until the beginning of the Khaljī dynasty. The term Khaljī refers to the period of this dynasty's rule, that is from 1290 to 1320.

[16] Engaged colonnettes appear on the exterior facade of two Delhi tombs and one gateway after the Khaljī period, the tomb of Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughluq (*ca.* 1320; Tughluqabad), the tomb of Kabīr ud-dīn Auliya (*ca.* 1397; Malaviyanagar), and the Lodī Baṛā Gumbad of *ca.* 1494 in Lodi Gardens. However, they do not appear on any mosque dating between the close of the Khaljī period and the reign of Sher Shāh.

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Sher Shāh's city.[17] Hence, this motif, which was dominant during the Early Sultanate and Khaljī periods, appears after a hiatus of 200 years. After Sher Shāh's time the motif becomes more popular and appears on the mosque of 'Īsā Khān (Humāyūn's Tomb Complex),[18] which was built in 1547 by an important noble of Sher Shāh's court, and the entrance portal of the Khair al-Manāzil mosque, dated to 1561, near the Purānā Qal'a.[19]

The designer's awareness of Delhi's earlier architectural heritage is also indicated on the Qal'a-i Kuhna by the rectilinear bands of Quranic verses that frame the three interior bays of the facade. Sikander Lodī's *Jāmi'* mosque of 1494 in Lodi Gardens[20] is the only other mosque in Delhi dating after the Khaljī period to use calligraphy on the facade as a major decorative device. On this Lodī structure the archivolts are weighted down with Quranic verses carved from stucco, and the calligraphy is dominated by a plethora of stucco geometric and floral motifs. However, at the Qal'a-i Kuhna bands of Quranic verses frame the individual bays of the facade, just as at the Iltutmish screen dated to 1229 at the Quwwat ul-Islām mosque in Mehrauli[21] and the Khaljī 'Alā'-ī Darwāzā of 1311. Also the calligraphy on the Qal'a-i Kuhna, unlike that on the Lodī mosque, adheres closely to the Iltutmish and Khaljī models, that is a clear *naskhī* script whose background is largely devoid of extraneous decorative devices.

Perhaps the most striking revival of pre-Lodī motifs can be seen in the carved red sandstone juxtaposed with white and black marble that covers the facade of the Qal'a-i Kuhna like a textured fabric. This recalls the contrasting use of red sandstone and white marble seen on the Khaljī 'Alā'-ī Darwāzā. The same treatment is applied to the tomb that Sher Shāh built for his grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, in Narnaul. There the alternating red and light coloured stone of the extrados of the facade's cusped arches probably also was drawn directly from Khaljī sources such as the Ukha mosque (1320) in nearby Bayana.[22] While the use of contrasting coloured stones on the facade of a building makes a reserved reappearance as decoration on the exterior of a building somewhat earlier, for example, on the Bāgh-i 'Ālam dated to 1501 (Hauz Khas Forest Preserve)[23] and on the entrance portal to the Moṭh-kī-masjid datable to *ca.* 1510 in Masjid Moṭh,[24] it is not until the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque that the entire facade is covered with coloured stones. There the ornately carved and inlaid surfaces of polychromatic stone recall not only the juxtaposed colours but also the highly textured surfaces of Early Sultanate and Khaljī monuments in Delhi such as the Aibak screen at the Quwwat ul-Islām mosque,[25] which is generally recognized as the earliest extant mosque in India.

The use of coloured stone, revived from the Early Sultanate and Khaljī monuments, is especially important as it supports the view that the Qal'a-i Kuhna was built by Sher Shāh. For example, the concave soffits of each of the Qal'a-i Kuhna's five *miḥrābs* are divided laterally by bands of coloured marble or by ribs. In North Indian architecture this is an unusual feature, occurring only at a few Sultanate structures of Bengal such as the Chhoṭā Sonā mosque in Gaur,[26] the Sharqī monuments in Jaunpur such as the *Jāmi'* mosque of 1465,[27] Sher Shāh's tomb in Sasaram, Ibrāhīm Sūr's tomb in Narnaul, and the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque. The manner in which the soffits of the two outermost *miḥrābs* of the Qal'a-i Kuhna[28] are divided parallels that at the *miḥrāb* in Sher Shāh's tomb in Sasaram.[29] In these two examples, the soffit is simply broken into an unaccented tripartite division. A second manner of ribbing is also used at the Qal'a-i Kuhna, for example, in the two centrally flanking *miḥrābs* (fig. 493). There the soffits are ribbed with white marble to contrast with the red

[17] Page, p. 68-9

[18] Freidrich Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten In Indien Aus Der Zeit Der Soldatenkaiser*, 1330-1540, reprinted.; Osnabrück, 1970, pl. 55, fig. 256

[19] Percy Brown, "Monuments of the Mughal Period", vol. IV of *The Cambridge History of India*, ed. Wolseley Haig, Cambridge, 1937, pl. VI, fig. 11

[20] Nath, pl. CXXXVIII. It is commonly called the Baṛā Gumbad mosque.

[21] J.A. Page, *A Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, no. 22 of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, reprinted.; Delhi, 1970, pl. 4, fig. a

[22] John Marshall, "The Monuments of Muslim India", vol. III of *The Cambridge History of India*, ed. Wolseley Haig, Cambridge, 1928, pl. XXV, fig. 72

[23] Nath, pl. LXXXII

[24] *ibid.*, pls. CXLI-CXLII

[25] *ibid.*, pl. V

[26] Ahmed Hasan Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, Dacca, 1961, pl. XXXVII, fig. 57

[27] A. Führer and Ed. Smith, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, vol. XI of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, reprinted.; Delhi, 1970, pl. LIX

[28] Nath, pl. CXLVIII. This plate is erroneously labelled as the *miḥrāb* in the Jamālī-Kamālī mosque.

[29] Asher, pl. 8

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sandstone background. Similar red ribbing set off against the contrasting ground of the *miḥrāb's* soffit also appears at the Sūrī Narnaul tomb (fig. 494). Hence, the two techniques of ribbing utilized in the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque are also used in two other structures that are inscribed as Sūrī. Elsewhere in North India, this technique is used predominantly on the architecture of Jaunpur, the city where Sher Shāh spent much of his early adulthood, and in Gaur where Sher Shāh first crowned himself Sultān.

III

Quranic verses inscribed on the facade of a mosque were most unusual in India after the Khaljī period. Besides the Qal'a-i Kuhna, there is in Delhi only one mosque constructed in the post-Khaljī and pre-Mughal period whose facade is richly embellished with Quranic verses, the *Jāmi'* mosque of Sikander Lodī built in 1494. However, on this mosque inscriptions are intermingled with other motifs and appear cluttered, whereas on the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque the calligraphy is extremely clear and conforms more closely to models of the Early Sultanate and Khaljī periods. Both the interior and exterior of the Lodī *Jāmi'* mosque are covered extensively with verses pertaining to a wide variety of themes.[30] In contrast, there are only three *sūras*, one partial and two complete, on the Qal'a-i Kuhna's exterior, and this suggests that they were chosen carefully and didactically, all the more so since Quranic verses in this location had been used so rarely during the preceding 200 years. These *sūras* are placed on the three central bays of the facade, and the themes of these three *sūras* provide insight into the concerns of the Qal'a-i Kuhna's patron. The most notable of these *sūras*, found on the central bay of the facade, is the first 14 lines of the Victory Sūra (al-Fatḥ, XLVIII).[31] The Victory Sūra had been placed in this particular location on only one other mosque in North India,[32] the Quwwat ul-Islām, the first mosque erected in Delhi and subsequently the *Jāmi'* of all the earliest Sulṭāns through the Khaljī period. Hence, it seems likely that the location of this *sūra*, like several other architectural features that have been observed, was adopted from a monument that had tremendous importance to Delhi's earliest Islamic rulers.

The opening of the Victory Sūra reads:

> Lo! We have given thee a signal victory, That Allah may forgive thee of thy sin that which is past and that which is to come, and may perfect His favour unto thee, and may guide thee on the right path, And that Allah may help thee with strong help—(1-3)

and further down:

> Those who swear allegiance unto thee, swear allegiance unto Allah. . . (10).

These powerful lines over the central entrance of the *Jāmi'* mosque of a newly self-appointed Sulṭān were most likely selected to legitimize Sher Shāh's ultimate right to be Sulṭān, that is, his usurpation of power from Humāyūn. This theme, divine appointment of kings, is further buttressed by verses in the mosque's interior. One reads, ". . . O Allah! Owner of Sovereignty! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. . ." (III :26). Immediately following is the line, "And Allah was predominant in his career, but most of mankind know it not" (XII : 21), referring to the prophet Joseph's advancement to kingship through God's intervention. The combination of these lines on the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque, all pertaining to God's selection of kings, implies that Sher Shāh's conquest of the Mughal Humāyūn was controlled by divine will, and not merely by military strength. Another Quranic chapter carved on the interior, the Elephant Sūra (al-Fīl, CV :1-5), referring to the miraculous salvation of the highly vulnerable Ka'ba against the enemy's fortified army, may be interpreted as symbolic for the Sūrs. It is possible that the Sūrs, whose army was much smaller than that of the Imperial Mughals, viewed their sudden rise to power and defeat of the Mughals in a parallel manner.

Similar themes regarding royal authority are espoused in many of the Persian texts on kingship that were widely read in India during Sher Shāh's time. For example, the opening lines of Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāmā* speak of the divine appointment of kings: "In every age and time God chooses one member of the human race and having adorned and endowed him with kingly virtues, entrusts him with the interests of the world and the well-being of His servants."[33] Al-Ghazālī in his *Nāṣiḥat al-Mulūk*, too, concurs that kings are divinely chosen and as his authority even cites the verses, "Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou

[30] Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *A Record of All the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in Delhi Province*, no. 47 of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 33-46

[31] This and all the inscriptions on the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque are cited in *ibid.*, pp. 6-9. Translations of the Quranic verses cited in this paper are drawn from M. Marmadike Pickthall, *Holy Quran*, 7th ed.; Delhi, 1978

[32] Husain, p. 10

[33] Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāmā*, translated Hubert Darke as *The Book of Government or Rules For Kings*, New Haven, 1960, p. 9

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wilt. . . ,"[34] the very lines that Sher Shāh selected for the interior of his *Jāmi'* mosque, the Qal'a-i Kuhna. Furthermore, authors such as Ẓiā ud-dīn Baranī in his *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* give a king much the same status as a prophet,[35] an analogy also implied by the selection of the lines referring to Joseph on the Qal'a-i Kuhna. Many of the anecdotes found in Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and *Būstān,* which Sher Shāh knew by heart according to Badāyunī and to Aḥmad in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī,*[36] stress that it is the Sultān's duty to guide his subjects on the path of righteousness and to protect them.[37] The verses, "I am a plain warner unto you . . . serve Allah . . . and obey me," (LXXI :2-3) are but two of many (XXXVI : 3-6; III :4-5; XLVIII :8-9; LVII :2; LXXIII :15) implying this theme of righteous leadership selected for the interior of the Qal'a-i Kuhna. These lines also advocate the obligation of the subjects to obey authority, a theme stressed by Persian writers on political thought.[38] There can be no doubt that Sher Shāh was well aware of these writings, as his biographers not only tell of his preference for texts such as the *Gulistān* and *Būstān,* but also underline his fascination with the practices of earlier idealized Sultāns as described in much Persian literature concerning kings.[39]

Another major aspect of the mosque's inscriptional programme, personal piety and justice, is found in the *sūra* entitled the Enshrouded One (al-Mazammil, LXXIII :1-20), flanking the Victory Sūra on the right. Two passages from this *sūra* read :

> So remember the name of thy Lord and devote thyself with a complete devotion (8) . . . Recite then that of the Quran that which is easy for you. . . establish worship and pay the poor-tax and so lend unto Allah a goodly loan. Whatsoever good ye send before you for your souls, ye will surely find it with Allah, better and greater in the recompense (20).

These lines can be seen as a reminder to the faithful of personal piety in the form of duties to God. Taken in context with the mosque's verses pertaining to royal authority, these verses, too, may be seen as a direct reference to the Sultān. This interpretation is buttressed by other verses in the mosque's interior and seems especially appropriate in light of the texts on kingship. The obligation to pay the poor-tax cited in *sūra* LXXIII is further reiterated by the inclusion on the Qal'a-i Kuhna's interior of the *sūra,* entitled, Small Kindnesses (al-Mā'ūn, CVII :1-7). This Quaranic chapter stresses the need for charitable behaviour on the part of the true believer, who here is probably the Sultān. The need for charitable and magnanimous acts on the part of kings is often cited by Persian writers, in particular by Sa'dī in his *Gulistān* and *Būstān.*[40] Morevoer, Sher Shāh, in his own government was renowned for his kind treatment of the poor and needy.[41]

Most political theorists believed that the king who led a good and pious life would in turn be endowed with the ability to rule justly.[42] This is also implied, though on a secondary level, by the following lines from *sūra* LXXIII :

> Keep the vigil the night long, save a little (2). . .For We shall charge thee with a word of weight. Lo! the vigil of the night is (a time) when impression is more keen and speech is more certain (5-6).

Ostensibly the lines refer to prayer, but the relationship between justice and a vigil is suggested by Sa'dī, Niẓām al-Mulk and other political thinkers. According to these writers, the king, whose vigil is constant, will remain awake to all affairs, and hence, justice will prevail.[43] A further allusion to justice, which is the ultimate goal of the ideal Islamic ruler, is found in a couplet, not a Quranic verse, on the interior of the Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque. It reads, "So long as this world is populated, may this place be populated, (and) may the people of the world in it be happy and cheerful." While this reference may at first seem obscure, again an understanding of the political thought of the time renders it clear. Theorists such as al-Ghazālī state that the Sultān's deeds reflect directly on the citizens, so that if the ruler is just and benevolent, then his subjects will be happy.[44]

[34] al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk,* translated F.R.C. Bagely as *Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings,* London, 1964, p. 46

[35] Mohammad Habīb and (Mrs.) Afsar Umar Salim Khan, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate (Including a translation of Ziauddin Barani's Fatawa-i Jahandari,* circa, *1358-9 A.D.,* Delhi, nd., p. 39

[36] al-Badāoni, *Munrakhabu-t-Tauārīkh,* vol. I, translated George S. A. Ranking, reprint ed.; Patna, 1973, p. 467; Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad *The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* vol. II, translated B. De, Calcutta, 1936, p. 142

[37] Sa'dī, *Gulistān,* translated Edward Rehatsek, London, 1964, pp. 96, 98-9; Sa'dī, *Būstān,* translated G.M. Wickens as *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Būstān of Sa'dī,* Toronto, 1974, p. 17

[38] Erwin I.J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam,* 3rd ed. revised; Cambridge, 1968, p. 65

[39] Abbās Khān, II, p. 161. Badāoni, p. 467 cites his knowledge of Nizāmī's *Sikander-nāmā.*

[40] Sa'dī, *Gulistān,* p. 102; Sa'dī, *Būstān,* pp. 41-2

[41] 'Abbās, Khān II, p. 169

[42] Rosenthal, p. 83

[43] Sa'dī, *Būstān,* pp. 30-2; Nizām al-Mulk, pp. 78-9, 86

[44] Ghazālī, p. 69

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In addition to the above mentioned themes, there are in *sūra* LXXIII and in many of the other *sūras* chosen to embellish the Qal'a-i Kuhna's interior, continual reminders of the paradise that awaits the faithful believer and the doom that awaits the non-believer (XVIII:107-8; XXVI:1-2; LXXI:1-20; VI:1-2). A parallel to this theme is found in many Persian texts including the *Būstān* and the *Gulistān*, works known to be favourites of Sher Shāh. But added in these texts is a correlation between the believer and the execution of justice and similarly between the impious man and unjust leadership. In *sūra* LXXIII the rewards and doom that will meet the believer and unbeliever are exactly the same as for the just and unjust official in these secular texts.[45] With this in mind, it is possible to interpret another Persian couplet placed within a *miḥrāb* of the mosque: "Make manifest (Thy) guidance properly for in our own work we have little wisdom", and on other *miḥrābs* similar Quranic verses (I:5-7; III:5). In a royal mosque such as the Qal'a-i Kuhna, these lines represent not just the plea of any believer; they must serve as the Sultān's request for continuing divine guidance in the execution of his responsibilities.

Our study of the Qal'a-i Kuhna's inscriptional programme so far suggests that not only was Sher Shāh, the mosque's patron, expressely chosen by God to rule, but that this ruler presented himself as an ideal Sultān. The *Tārikhs*, too, corroborate this view, for in these texts, Sher Shāh is consistently portrayed as a genuinely pious man who was deeply concerned with maintaining justice and tending to the needs of the common man.[46]

None of the themes mentioned above, however, would be viable without an expression of the omnipotence of Allah. This important aspect of the thematic nature of the Qal'a-i Kuhna is presented in the remaining *sūra*, Sovereignty (al-Mulk, LXVII:1-20), on the exterior facade, flanking the Victory Sūra on the left. The theme of this *sūra*, extolling God's greatness, is not unusual and is reiterated in many places in the interior (III:255; II:284; LIX:22-24; III:17-18; CXII:1-4), but its position here flanking the Victory Sūra is significant. In this location the *sūra* appears to bolster the adjacent Victory Sūra and thus seems to support the view implied by other verses in the interior as well that Sher Shāh's accession to the throne was willed by God. Although such a suggestion runs contrary to the basic tenets of Islam, it fits well with the workings of the political theory of the time. Thus it can be considered as a viable explanation for the selection of these *sūras*, all apt for a dynasty that had just come to power. For as E. Rosenthal has suggested, the marriage of political power and religion was well within the confines of practicing orthodox Islam. A strong ruler was the only practical insurance for the maintenance of Islam and justice, and hence, in turn, for the welfare of the citizens.[47]

With an understanding of the Quranic programme in mind, the Qal'a-i Kuhna, Sher Shāh's *Jāmi'* mosque, can be seen as a visual manifestation of the newly established Sūrī Sultān's belief that he was chosen to rule and, even more importantly, to rule justly as an ideal Sultān. In only a few years, Sher Shāh, maintaining his capital in Delhi, was able to place all North India under one strong centralized rule, and according to the *Tārikhs*, his rule was just and the citizens were happy. However, when Sher Shāh came to the throne, Delhi had lost much of its political and cultural prominence, and it was clearly Sher Shāh's aspiration to restore this capital city to the paramount position it had held under the earliest Sultāns. This he accomplished with remarkable success. What remains for us to recognize is that his *Jāmi'* mosque, the Qal'a-i Kuhna, serves as a symbol of his aspirations. The Quranic verses were selected with care to present Sher Shāh as the ideal Islamic ruler, while the motifs adorning this building recall with nostalgia the days of the earliest Sultāns. They bridge the dimmer days of Delhi's history that had intervened and imply a return to the splendour of great days gone by.

[45] Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, pp. 85, 96, 99; Sa'dī, *Būstān*, pp. 45-9
[46] 'Abbās Khān, II, pp. 158-9; 'Abdulla, p. 476; Aḥmad, p. 175
[47] Rosenthal, pp. 39, 83

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JOSEPH M. DYE, III

Notes on a Gandhāran Relief in the Bharat Kala Bhavan

A fragmentary Gandhāran relief (fig. 495) in the Bharat Kala Bhavan merits more than passing attention because of an interesting refinement that it adds to our knowledge of Gandhāran narrative iconography.[1] Carved in gray schist and measuring 18 cms. × 27 cms., it depicts a haloed male riding a bridled ram, surrounded by several subordinate figures. The haloed male, who wears a scarf and a *dhotī*, has his far hand raised in *abhaya mudrā;* his near hand holds the reins. Although his head is largely obliterated, traces of dangling earrings and a halo identify this figure as Prince Siddhārtha. His beautifully rendered ram mount has curled horns and tight, stylized fleece. Its rear legs and the very top portions of its front legs (fig. 496) are still intact: behind and between them appear the upper parts of a fifth ram's leg (fig. 497) carved in low relief.

Four figures in various states of preservation encircle Prince Siddhārtha. Turned towards the young Lord's right are the almost completely obliterated head and damaged torso and arms of a male wearing a scarf and jewelry. The positions of his arms seem to repeat those of the Bodhisattva's though they are placed at a different angle to the relief's rear plane. Further to this damaged male's right are the shoulder, arm, and hand of another man. He carries a closed folding chair seen from the side: the fabric (or leather?) seat that hangs down loosely from its top, would become taut once the chair was unfolded.[2] The rest of the figure is missing and/or obliterated.

On the Bodhisattva's left appear two figures. The first is Vajrapāṇi: only his much worn chest and the lower portions of his body, garbed in a tunic, remain. He bears a *vajra* in both hands. The second figure is a Tyche-like female who holds a large peacock feather fan in her left hand, and a writing board, partially obscured by the ram's tail, in her right (fig. 498). Appearing on top of her now effaced head is a knot of hair, or, perhaps, the tower frequently associated with Tyche figures. Since she follows the Bodhisattva and carries a fan—an object generally associated with subordinates in Gandhāran reliefs—this figure must act as an attendant,[3] whatever her precise identity may be.

The narrative panel's right side is bordered by a complete countersunk panel filled with an amorino standing, beneath four tree branches, on a pot. Since the empanelled amorino is a standard Gandhāran framing device, we may be certain that the panel's right terminus is preserved. The distance between the top of the countersunk panel and the molding running across the relief's bottom indicates the narrative panel's original vertical extent. Finally, the remains of a pilaster from another narrative panel on the far right of the relief suggest that the Bharat Kala Bhavan fragment once belonged to a series of panels, each illustrating an episode in the life of the Buddha and separated from one another by countersunk panels.[4]

The presence of (1) the young Lord mounted upon (2) a ram, surrounded by subordinates, one of whom carries (3) a writing board, assures us that our panel illustrates a scene usually identified as the "Bodhisattva Riding to the Writing School": Gandhāran reliefs depicting this episode always contain these basic ico-

[1] Although cited in a helpful check list of the Bharat Kala Bhavan's Gandhāran sculpture made by Dr. N.P. Joshi and R.C. Sharma in *their Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculptures in the State Museum*, Lucknow (p. 50, no. 18), this relief (acc. no. 2-750) has not been hitherto published: I would like to thank Shri Raikrishnadas, Dr. Anand Krishna, and Mr. O.P. Tandon for their generous permission to do so.

[2] At least two Gandhāran reliefs illustrating the same scene as that in the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief use such folding chairs (either in the narrative panel itself or in a flanking countersunk panel): one in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 499) and another in the Peshawar Museum.

[3] Tyche or Tyche-like figures frequently appear in Gandhāran reliefs, particularly those depicting processions, where a civic "presence" may have been felt appropriate. In scenes of the Great Departure, a city goddess is often represented and she is mentioned in Sanskrit texts. However, in scenes where her presence is not called for in surviving texts, such as the Four Encounters, she (or a Tyche-like figure) is occasionally represented [see Joseph M. Dye, "Two Fragmentary Gandhāran Narrative Reliefs in the Peshawar Museum: A Study of Gandhāran Representations of the Four Encounters", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVIII, 2/3 (1976), pl. 2]

[4] Such relief sequences are exceptionally common in Gandhāran sculpture (see Islay Lyons and H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1957, pls. 10, 18, 22, 29, 30, 34, 44, 48, etc.)

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nographic elements.[5] In most Gandhāran examples, possibly influenced by "profile" representations of the Great Departure, the Bodhisattva is the only figure depicted mounted upon a ram.[6] In some others, however, a second ram ridden by an unidentified male (perhaps his cousin Devadatta?) is placed in single file directly behind that of the Bodhisattva's.[7]

Several diverse features of the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel suggest that it represents yet another and hitherto unknown arrangement of these basic iconographic components. To coordinate these disparate pieces of evidence into a coherent picture, one must first assume that the Bodhisattva once occupied the center of our relief as he does in other representations of this subject. The width of the panel's missing portion, therefore, must have been *roughly* equivalent to the distance from the young Lord to the empanelled amorino. Secondly, the presence of the fifth ram's leg (fig. 497) in low relief and, therefore, *behind* the legs of Siddhārtha's ram, quite strongly suggests that a second ram appeared *beside* that ridden by the Bodhisattva; and that, the relief originally depicted two rams, moving side by side, the far ram slightly ahead of the near one. If so, then, it seems highly likely that the figure (damaged torso and arms and completely obliterated head) on the Bodhisattva's right rode the second ram: his left hand is lowered, like the Bodhisattva's, presumably to hold the reins; and his torso is turned towards the young Lord as if conversing with him. The lower portion of his body was undoubtedly covered by the head and neck of the Bodhisattva's ram. Similarly, nothing more than the torso, shoulders, and hands of the man carrying the folding chair were probably represented, for the remainder of his body would have been covered by the second ram. Finally, if the relief's iconography more or less conformed to other Gandhāran examples, then the procession was probably headed by a relatively small walking figure: sufficient room would remain on the lower left for such a figure who, together with the man bearing the folding chair, would offset the compositional weight of the female attendant on the right.[8] Taking these diverse observations into account, it would appear, then, that the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief depicted two rams being ridden by the young Lord and an unidentified man, not in single-file, but side by side: as such, it would represent an uncommon and hitherto unknown arrangement of this scene's essential iconographic elements.

Although the chronology of Gandhāran sculpture remains too uncertain to date the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief precisely, its style places it in the Romano-Buddhist phase (second century to the third century, A.D.); and its freshness, relatively full classicism, and depiction of the Bodhisattva as a human youth rather than an aloof god suggest a very early date within that phase. To some degree confirming this early date is the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief's place within the iconographic development of Gandhāran scenes depicting the "Bodhisattva Riding to the Writing School". As reconstructed, the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel, I think, stands first in the progression. Following it is a Romano-Buddhist

[5] Only the *Lalitavistara's* tenth chapter, amongst extant and relevant Sanskrit texts, mentions a procession to the writing school, but its description of the event is not particularly distinguished from those of parades found elsewhere in the text; most importantly, riding a ram is not mentioned. Nonetheless, certain features of the reliefs themselves as well as logical inference suggest that the standard identification is most probably correct. In the first place, the ram-riding and the quite solidly identified (by text) writing school episodes are thematically and temporally related in Gandhāran sculpture: they are always contiguously placed in relief cycles; and they both prominently feature writing boards. Since reliefs of the Bodhisattva riding a ram invariably appear in *pradakshiṇā* order before writing school scenes, to which they are thematically and temporally related, and inasmuch as they depict a parade, it seems reasonable to assume that these scenes depict a procession to the writing school.

[6] For example, see Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran* (1957), pl. 23; N.P. Joshi and R.C. Sharma, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculptures in the State Museum*, Lucknow: The State Museum, 1969, fig. 4, etc.

[7] This type appears in a relief now in the Lahore Museum, Lahore (acc. no. 1326). In another example from Chatpat [see A.H.Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat", *Ancient Pakistan*, IV (1968-69), pl. 59a], an elephant, rather than a ram, serves as the mount for the second figure. The quality of both the Lahore and the Chatpat reliefs is low and their iconographies, in most respects, are confused: I should think them very late and/or provincial productions.

[8] If other Gandhāran reliefs of the Romano-Buddhist phase depicting this scene are proper guides, this figure might be a nude youth or a clothed man or woman.

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relief in the Peshawar Museum[9] that exhibits an important transformation of the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel's iconography: in the Peshawar relief, the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel's second ram has been removed, but its rider, remaining in the same place (to the Bodhisattva's right), is now reduced to the position of an attendant standing in the panel's rear plane. In most other respects, the Peshawar relief resembles the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel. After this transitional relief all numerous Gandhāran panels (for example, fig. 499) that depict only one, increasingly horse-like ram ridden by the Bodhisattva in a formal, stately procession; a few figures with writing boards and oftentimes a *chhatra* bearer comprise the crowd of attendants. It would seem that these many later reliefs have been altered under the influence of the more important and traditionally established scenes of the Great Departure[10]: similar progressions have been observed in at least one other Gandhāran scheme,[11] and are part of a larger move in Romano-Buddhist iconography from earlier, more finely differentiated iconographies to later, more uniform and repetitive ones. The previously mentioned single-file scenes, found in reliefs of very low quality and confused iconography, seem to be the work of inferior and/or much later sculptors.

A possible iconographic prototype for the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief as well as another example of its unusual scheme, might be furnished by a relief excavated at Butkara in Swat and identified by Taddei as "Siddhārtha Rides to School."[12] The Swat relief's rather crude style contains many features that recall works of the Śaka-Parthian period that immediately preceded the Romano-Buddhist phase.[13] Like the Kala Bhavan relief, it depicts the Bodhisattva and another youth riding rams side by side, surrounded by attendants (in this case, two women, one of whom holds the remains of a fan). Unfortunately, the absence of writing boards prevents a truly conclusive identification of the Swat piece's iconography. If it does represent the Bodhisattva riding to school, so much the better: we would have yet another (and complete) example of the variant represented in the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief, and, possibly, a partial iconographic prototype[14] that would neatly fit into the above mentioned progression. If not, then, we at least know that depictions of two rams ridden side by side by Siddhārtha and another youth, whatever the specific subject matter, were depicted by Gandhāran sculptors. In either case, the validity of our reconstruction of the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief is greatly strengthened.

[9] Illustrated in Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran* (1957), pl. 23. One must remember that while this relief appears to depict a self-contained scene, there are no framing devices remaining to assure us of its original extent: for this and other reasons, the very general iconographic progression traced in our text must remain tentative.

The iconography of the Victoria and Albert Museum's widely published relief (illustrated in *The Art of India and Pakistan, a commemorative catalogue of the exhibition held at The Royal Academy of Arts, London*, 1947-8, edited by Sir Leigh Ashton, London: Faber and Faber, n.d., no. 111, pl. 19—lower) depicting Siddhārtha riding to school in a ram cart (as opposed to the bridled ram seen in the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief, fig. 495, or in another relief from the Victoria and Albert Museum, fig. 499, etc.), surrounded by figures with writing boards, ink pots (?), etc., differs in many respects from that of other Gandhāran examples discussed in our text: it, therefore, stands outside our iconographic progression. This strange relief's unique (in terms of the other examples) iconography, numerous iconographic "errors" (appearance of a monk-like figure and a very mature, Buddha-like Bodhisattva in a scene presumably depicting a rather early moment in Siddhārtha's life, etc.) and eclectic, illogical style suggest that it may not be genuine. However, it is also possible that the relief is simply a very individual piece; that the scene which it depicts is not the same as those that we have entitled "Siddhārtha Rides to the Writing School"; and that it refers to some episode in the Bodhisattva's later life as yet unknown to this writer.

[10] Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran* (1957), pls. 45, 48, etc.

[11] Dye, "Two Fragmentary Gandhāran . . ." p. 234

[12] Illustrated in D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara (Swat, W. Pakistan)*; descriptive catalogue by Maurizio Taddei. Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro Studi e Scavi Archaeologici in Asia. Reports and Memoirs, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Rome: Instituto dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1962), pl. CCXXXIV

[13] The Swat relief's large-headed, solid figures with their wig-like hair, staring eyes, stiff poses, and utter lack of psychological interaction, are far removed from the sophisticated warmth and polish of the Bharat Kala Bhavan panel's figures.

[14] Romano-Buddhist sculptors, it would seem, very self-consciously combined certain features of earlier regional iconographies with newer (and later) Roman elements to create psychologically manipulative schemes: it seems likely, therefore, that more than one prototype accounts for the Bharat Kala Bhavan relief's specific form.

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R. S. MISHRA

Bharat Kala Bhavan[1] *Copper-Plate Grant of Rājyapāla*

(REGNAL YEAR 2)

The copper-plate grant (figs. 500 & 501) studied in this article is unique in the sense that it happens to be the first known grant issued by the early Pāla King Rājyapāla. The other inscriptions of Rājyapāla are known from Bargaon[2] (Patna dist., Bihar, of Regnal year 24), Kurkihar[3] (image inscriptions of Regnal years 28, 31, 32) and Bhaturiya[4] (undated, from Rajshahi dist., Bangladesha). These inscriptions do not furnish any significant information regarding Rājyapāla except that they were engraved in his reign-period.

The PROVENANCE of the present copper-plate is unknown, except that it was purchased by Bharat Kala Bhavan (Banaras Hindu University Museum) in 1969-70 from an antiquity dealer Mr. Pandu Rao Rohe and bears the accession no. 22346.

This is a single copper-plate inscribed on either side, measuring 38.7 × 30.8 cm. with almost uniform thickness of 0.6 cm.

The weight of the plate is approximately 4 kg. The seal originally affixed to the top middle portion of the plate is missing, of which the traces are visible in the photograph. The plate is in well preserved condition with deep-cut letters and the edges are upraised to prevent effacement.

The inscription runs in 56 lines (30 on the obverse and 26 on the reverse). The top corners on the obverse have the letter *ni*—an abbreviation for *nibaddha* (registered) or *nirīkshita* (seen or approved). The engraved lines are straight with proper spacing and the letters are almost uniform in size except in line 30 which is a subsequent insertion, after the completion of the grant.

The LANGUAGE of the record is Sanskrit in a mixed (verse and prose) style. The metres used are as follows :

Sragdharā—verses 1, 11
Śārdūla-vikrīḍita—verses 2, 4, 6, 8
Indravajrā—verses 3, 16
Vasantatilakā—verses 5, 9
Āryā—verse 7
Mandākrāntā—verse 10
Anushṭubh—verses 12, 13, 14
Pushpitāgrā—verse 15

Generally the rule of re-duplication of consonants following the superscribed *ra* is observed, e.g., in °*pārjjitā* (l.7), *dharmma* (l.17), *Karṇṇāṭa* (l.38) etc. The exceptions to this rule, however, can also be seen in *maryādā, śauryālaya* (l.6). The indiscriminate use of *va* and *ba* is the other peculiarity which is common characteristic of the east Indian records during this period.

The CHARACTERS belong to the proto-Bengali script of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D. Half and full stops *(virāma)* are shown by a single and double vertical strokes respectively. The final consonants *(halanta)* are depicted in modern Devanāgarī style, i.e., with a down slanting stroke appended at the bottom of the letter, e.g., in *vibhaktān* (l.15), *vibhramāt* (l.24), *samvat* (l.49), *vaset* (l.51) etc. The sign for *avagraha* occurs in *daśabalo-(a)nyaścha* (l.5), °*(a)smādbhū*° (l.6) and *sāmānyo(a)yaṁ* (l.55). The medial sign for long *ā* is generally attached to a consonant as a vertical stroke to the right, e.g., in *kāruṇya* (l.1), *rājatanayā* (l.18) etc. In a few cases, it is added to the top right end of the consonant as an upward slanting stroke such as in *guṇān* (l.15) and *śrīmān* (l.28) etc. In medial signs for *ai* only one stroke is added at the top of the letter, the second stroke is downward slanting and added to the top left of the letter, e.g., in *maitrīṁ* (l.1), *pālanaika* (l.6). The medial sign *au* also has a downward slanting stroke added to top left corner, e.g., in *śaulkika* (l.35), *pautrāya* (l.45), etc. This style of medial signs is also used in the Badal pillar inscription[5] of Nārāyaṇapāla and in other early Pāla records. Initial vowels *a, ā, i, e,* and *au* appear in *achāṭa, akiñchit* (l.42), *ato* (l.47), *āsāñchakre* (l.13), *ārādu*° (l.22), *iti* (ll.18, 49, 53), *Ishgaṇikā* (l.45); *etat* (l.56); and *Aurvva* (l.45).

[1] The author is deeply indebted to Prof. Anand Krishna who invited him to examine this copper-plate and supplied the impressions. Acknowledgements are also due to Mr. P.P.P. Sharma, Research Fellow, B.H.U., for his help in the preparation of this article.

[2] *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. XLII, 1918, p. 111 ff.

[3] *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, vol. XXVI, 1940, p. 246 ff.

[4] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 21-31 and re-edited by D.C. Sircar in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXXIII, 1959-60, pp. 150-54 and pl.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 161 ff. and pl.

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The DATES known from this record occur in ll.49-50 as *samvat 2 vaiśākha dina 18* (the 18th day of April-May in the year 2, which should be the regnal year of Rājyapāla), and in l.56 as *etat-samvatsara śrāvaṇa dvāviṁśa divase* (in the same year on the 22nd day of July-August). It appears that the grant was awarded to *brāhmaṇas* on the second date, after including the second village Marālikā and also after due corrections in the original engraving. The traces of corrections by erasing and over-engraving are seen in ll.40-43 where *sāmra-madhukaḥ, sagarttosaraḥ* etc., grammatically all denoting the singular number, are made double as *sāmra-madhukau, sagarttosarau* etc. This was done undoubtedly to incorporate the second village Marālikā (l.30) under the jurisdiction of this grant, in addition to the village Ṭeruvāka (l.29) for which this record was originally intended.

The PURPOSE of this inscription is to record the donation of two villages Ṭeruvāka and Marālikā situated in the Dūtikā *vishaya* (district) within Tīrabhukti[6] (l.29, northern part of modern Bihar) to a *brāhmaṇa* Śālavāhana Śarmā who is said to have been the grandson of Bhaṭṭa Śrīgarbha born in Ishgaṇikā village and son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. The donee is described as belonging to the *Vājasaneyi* branch of the *Veda*. The donation was made on the occasion of *vishuvat saṁkrānti*. The grant is issued from the victorious camp *(jaya-skandhāvārāt)* stationed at Bhadragośālī and is addressed to a host of officials such as *rāja-rājanaka, rājaputra* (ll.31-39) etc., and tribes like Meda, Āndhra and Chaṇḍāla for their approval of this grant.

The GENEALOGY of Pāla rulers can be reconstructed on the basis of this plate as follows:

1. Gopāla
   - 2. Dharmapāla
     - 3. Devapāla
   - Vākpāla
     - Jayapāla
       - 4. Vigrahapāla(I)
         - 5. Nārāyaṇapāla = Mammā (Daughter of Govindarāja)
           - 6. Rājyapāla

The imprecatory and benedictory verses along with the entire prose section of this grant are conformed to the stereotyped formulas of Pāla copper plate grants. Besides this, the first 8 verses of the present grant are similar to the Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla,[7] the Amgachi plate of Vigrahapāla III,[8] the Banagada plate of Mahīpāla I[9] and the Manahali plate of Madanapāladeva.[10]

The significant political events are described in verses 3 and 6; the rest, being a customary eulogy of the personal valour of the kings, is hardly of any use for political considerations. Verse 3 mentions the conquest of Mahodaya (Kanauja) and the reinstallation of Chakrāyudha by Dharmapāla; whereas verse 6 enumerates the exploits of the Utkala (Orissa) and Prāgjyotisha (Assam) kings by Jayapāla on behalf of Devapāla.

The most significant information furnished by this record is the mention of the queen Mammā, the daughter of Govindarāja and wife of Nārāyaṇapāla whose son is described as Rājyapāla. Mammā appears to be a southern or the Deccani name and Govindarāja reminds us of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It may be conjectured that Govindarāja was a Rāshṭrakūṭa chief. Surprisingly, verse 9 of the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla which mentions his mother Lajjā, the Haihaya princess, is missing not only in this record but also in all the known subsequent Pāla copper plate grants. Similarly, verse 8 of this grant which mentions Mammā as the queen of Nārāyaṇapāla is missing in later Pāla grants.

This conspicuous phenomenon indirectly reflects an interesting episode in the history of Rāshṭrakūṭa diplomacy with special reference to matrimonial alliances with the Pālas. During the post-Harsha period, the Pālas in Bengal and the Pratīhāras in Mālavā and Rajasthan rose to power under the martial leadership of Dharmapāla and Vatsarāja respectively. Kanauj, the imperial seat of northern India during the preceding period became the bone of contention between the two dynasties. Vatsarāja seems to have taken the lead and succeeded in annexing Kanauj and appointing Indrāyudha there under his tutelage. Vatsarāja is said to have 'easily appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍas (Dharmapāla) and carried away Gauḍa's umbrellas of state'.[11] At this stage of the political scene

[6] Tirhut of later times.

[7] *Jr. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. XLVII, pt. I, p. 404 ff. and pl.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XV, p. 305 ff.; Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 50 ff.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIV, pp. 166-68; *ibid.*, vol. XXI, pp. 97-101; R.R. Mukherji, *Corpus of Bengal Inscrs.*, p. 192, ff.

[9] *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 91 ff.; R.R. Mukherji, *Corpus of Bengal Inscrs.*, p. 197 ff.

[10] R.R. Mukherji *Corpus of Bengal Inscrs.*, p. 209 ff.

[11] Majumdar, R.C.: *The Age of the Imperial Kanauj*, p. 45. 'This fact is based on a casual verse in a poetic work composed four centuries after the event'; *ibid.*, p. 55, fn. 8

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in the Gangetic Doab, we see the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva, a third power from the Deccan, actively intervening in the north Indian political warfare.

This Rāshṭrakūṭa intervention is quite meaningful. The rise of Pratīhāra power in Mālavā region was alarming to the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the Deccan. Dhruva was opposed by *Mālaveśa* along with other kings while he was trying to usurp the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne from his elder brother, Govinda II.[12] That this *Mālaveśa* was Vatsarāja, against whom Dhruva revenged, is substantiated by the expressions in Radhanpur and Wani epigraphs[13] of Govinda III, the son and successor of Dhruva. The conflict between the Pālas and Pratīhāras, thus, provided the right moment for Dhruva to undertake a northern expedition, in which he defeated not only Vatsarāja but also the Gauḍas (Dharmapāla), which is referred to in the Sanjan copper-plate[14] of Amoghavarsha I, the grand-son of Dhruva. Historians, generally agree that Rāshṭrakūṭa intervention in the Pāla-Pratīhāra struggle strengthened the cause of the Pālas. As a result, Dharmapāla succeeded in consolidating his empire and also by ousting Indrāyudha who was favoured by Vatsarāja[15] in reinstalling Chakrāyudha on the Kānyakubja throne as his protégé.

This interpretation is based on the belief that Dhruva having defeated the two rivals in northern India must have gone back to the Deccan. We have no convincing explanation as to why Dharmapāla achieved the significant success after this first phase of the so-called Tripartite Struggle. Without any evidence, it has been argued at one place that Dhruva captured the royal insignia (the white umbrella) of the Pālas from Vatsarāja.[16] From the circumstantial evidence, it is quite clear that Dhruva was opposed to Vatsarāja. Moreover, Dharmapāla is said to have married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of a Rāshṭrakūṭa king Parabala, who has not been identified with certainty. Discussing Dhruva's northern expedition, Majumdar[17] rightly observes that, 'Rāshṭrakūṭas not only freed him (Dharmapāla) from the Pratīhāra menace, but left in a harried and devastated northern-India a free field for his military ambitions'. Majumdar does not give the reason for this attitude of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It is plausible to argue that it was necessary for Rāshṭrakūṭa's political and diplomatic needs, to give the Pālas a free hand to establish their supremacy in the north, for which the matrimonial alliance with Dharmapāla was the first move on the part of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This becomes still clear, when in the second phase of the Tripartite Struggle, we find Govinda III defeating Nāgabhaṭa II (son and successor of Vatsarāja), and Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha bowing before him of their own accord.[18] Govinda III did not fight against Dharmapāla but saved the latter from the Prātīhāra onslaught.

The situation changed during the reign of Devapāla who inherited the consolidated Pāla empire. Himself being a militant ruler, Devapāla made elaborate conquests. It is not unlikely that he made certain successful advances in the Rāshṭrakūṭa territory, and the Drāviḍa king[19] defeated by him may be identified as Amoghavarsha I, who was a minor ruler at that time. The Rāshṭrakūṭas experienced an odd time after Govinda III due to internal rebels as is evidenced by their records. Devapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla for a short period. Vigrahapāla married Lajjā, a Haihaya princess, from whom was born Nārāyaṇapāla, who, after Vigrahapāla, ruled for a long period. During the reign of these two Pāla rulers, Amoghavarsha I made advances in the north. A Rāshṭrakūṭa record from Sirur[20] mentions that Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarsha I. At this juncture or a little earlier, we find the Rāshṭrakūṭas renewing the matrimonial alliance with the Pālas, which continues to the next generation also, where we find Rājyapāla (son of Nārāyaṇapāla) marrying Bhāgyadevī,[21] the daughter of Rāshṭrakūṭa Tuṅga, who has been equated with Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛishṇa II. Kṛishṇa II is also said to have defeated the Pratīhāras and the Gauḍas.

[12] *Śrī-Kāñchīpati-Gāṅga-Veṅgika-yutā ye Mālaveśādayaḥ prājyan=ānayati sma tān kshitibhṛito yaḥ prātihājyan=api.*—Bhore State Mus. Copper-plate of Dhruva (Śaka 702 = 780 A.D.); *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, no. 28, verse 21, p. 184

[13] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 248

[14] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 244. Here, Dhruva is said to have destroyed the Gauḍa king and snatched his 'white umbrella'—the royal insignia. *Gaṅgā-yamunayo=rmmadhye rājño Gauḍasya naśyataḥ. . . .śveta-chchhatrāṇi yo (a) harat.*

[15] Majumdar, R.C.; *The Age of the Imperial Kanauja*, p. 45

[16] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. XX, p. 84. See also R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 56, fn. 9

[17] *op. cit.*, p. 45

[18] *Svayam=ev=opanatau cha yasya mahata=stau Dharmma-Chakrāyudhau*—Sanjan Copper plate of Amoghavarsha I., *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 245 ff.

[19] *Kharvvīkṛita-Draviḍa-Gurjjara-nātha-darpam* (Garuda-Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, verse 13—R.R. Mukherji, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, p. 153

[20] *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 218

[21] Amagachi, Bangada and Manahali plates, *supra*, p. 210, fns. 8-10; *Rāshṭrakūṭa=ānvay=endo=stuṅgasy=ottuṅga-maule=rduhitari-tanay Bhāgyadevyāṁ prasūtaḥ.*

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Thus, the aforesaid discussions suggest the conclusion, howsoever tentative, that the so-called Tripartite Struggle was bipartite in spirit. It seems that the Rāshṭrakūṭas realized the geostrategic significance of Pratīhāra power and, to keep them in balance, intervened at right occasions in Pratīhāra-Pāla struggles, by supporting the cause of latter, as is corroborated by the epigraphical evidences of the three dynasties. This they did to produce a temporary check on the Pratīhāra expansive attitude. As a stable check, they cemented cordial relations with the Pālas through matrimonial ties. The diplomatic alliance between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pālas apparently arose from bilateral needs and was used against the Pratīhāras. The policy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, however, failed for some time during the reign of the ambitious Devapāla, who did not miss a fair opportunity even against the Rāshṭrakūṭas. But the rift thus caused was soon patched up by Mammā's marriage with Nārāyaṇapāla. Inscriptions of Amoghavarsha I and later Rāshṭrakūṭa records, claiming repeated conquest over the Pālas, undoubtedly produce a different picture, showing a rivalry between the two dynasties. But such expressions should not be interpreted in a literal sense. They may be conventional. Also, the ill gestures of Devapāla, who exploited the minority of Amoghavarsha I and the internal rebellious conditions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, could be regarded as sufficient explanation for them. The total evidence seems to suggest that the early Pālas remained in close ties with the Rāshṭrakūṭas till the Pratīhāras stood as a menacing force in central and western-India.

TEXT[22]

(**Obverse**)

ni[23] ni[23]

1. om[24] svasti | maitrīṁ kāruṇya-ratna-pramudita hṛidayaḥ
2. preyasīṁ sandadhānaḥ
samyak=sambodhi-vidyā-sarid=a-
3. mala-jala kshālit=ājñāna-paṅkaḥ |
jitvā yaḥ kāma-
4. kāri-prabhavam-abhibhavaṁ śāsva(śva[25])tīṁ prāpa śāntiṁ
sa-śrī-
5. māṁllokanātho jayati daśabalo=[26]anyaś=cha Gopāladevaḥ || [1*][27]
Lakshmī-janma-niketanaṁ sama-karo voḍhuṁ kshamaḥ kshmā-
6. bharaṁ
pakshachchheda-bhayād=upasthitavatām=ekāśrayo bhūbhṛitāṁ[28] |
maryādā-paripālan=aika-nirataḥ śaury=ālayo=[29] asmā-
7. d=abhū-
d=dugdh=āmbhodhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā-śrī Dharmmapālo nṛipaḥ || [2*]
jitv=endrarāja=prabhṛitīn=arātīn=upārjjitā yena
8. Mahodaya-śrīḥ |
dattā punaḥ sā balin=ārthayitre Chakrāyudhāy=ānati-vāmanāya || [3*]
Rāmasy=eva gṛihīta-satya-tapa-
9. sas=tasy=ānurūpo guṇaiḥ
Saumitrer=udapadi[30]-tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām=ānujaḥ |
yaḥ śrīmān=naya-vikram=aika-pra-

[22] From the original Copper-plate.
[23] Contraction of *nibaddha*(registered) or *nirīkshita* (seen, i.e., approved); cf. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, 1965, pp. 125, 150 and 328
[24] Expressed by a symbol.
[25] Letter or syllable in parentheses indicates the correction of engraving error in the original copper-plate.
[26] Letter *a* in *anyaścha* is expressed by *avagraha*.
[27] Figures, letters or words with asterisk mark in crochets are supplied by us and not engraved in the original copper-plate.
[28] Read *bhūbhṛitām*.
[29] *a* in *asmād* is expressed by *avagraha*.
[30] Read *Saumitrer=uday=ādri*.

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10. sava-bhūr[31]=bhrātuḥ sthitaḥ śāsane
śūnyāḥ śatru-patākinībhir=akarod=ekātapatrā diśaḥ ॥ [4*]
tasmād=upendra-cha-
11. ritair=jjagatīṁ punānaḥ
putro babhūva vijayī Jayapālanāmā ।
dharmmadvishāṁ śamayitā yudhi Devapāle
yaḥ pūrvvaje
12. bhuvan-rājya-sukhāny=anaishīt ॥ [5*]
yasmirnbhrā(nbhrā)tur=nideśād=balavati paritaḥ prasthite jetum=āśāḥ
sīdan=nāmn=aiva dūrān=ni-
13. japuram=ajahād=Utkalānām=adhīśaḥ ।
āsāñchakre chirāya praṇayi-parivṛito bibhrad=uchchena mūrdhnā
rājā Prāgjyoti-
14. shāṇām=upaśamit-samit=saṅkathāṁ yasya ch=ājñāṁ[32] ॥ [6*]
śrīmān Vigrahapālas=tatsu(sū)nur=ajātaśatrur=iva jātaḥ ।
śatru-
15. vanitā-prasādhana-vilopi-vimal=āsi-jala-dhāraḥ ॥ [7*]
dikpālaiḥ kshiti-pālanāya dadhataṁ dehe vibhaktān guṇān
16. śrīmantañ=janayāṁ(m)=babhūva tanayaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ saprabhuṁ[33] ।
yaḥ kshoṇī-patibhiḥ śiromaṇi-ruch=āśliṣṭ=āṅghri-pīṭh=opa-
17. laṁ
nyāy=opātt=amalañ=chakāra charitaiḥ svaireva dharmm=āsanaṁ[34] ॥ [8*]
Mamm=eti tasya mahishī mahitā babhūva Govinda-
18. rāja-tanayā kula-śīla-bhūmiḥ ।
yasyām=babhūva tanayo vinay=ābhirāmaḥ śrī-Rājyapāla iti-madhyama-lo-
19. kapālaḥ ॥ [9*]
kaly=āpāya-jvalanam=atulen=āhatam=mārutena jvālā-jālaiḥ kavalita-diva-nirjjayasy=[ā*]sya
20. tejaḥ ।
paśyantībhir-bbhiyam=iva parām=bibhratībhir[35]=purast=āttrāntaṁ nyastāḥ svam=ava=
nibhṛitas=tuṅga-śṛiṅgāḥ ka-
21. kudbhiḥ ॥ [10*]
tuṅgān=āruhya śailān=amara-pur-vadhū-pāda-padm=āvataṁsān
viśvasy=ātāla-paṅktīn=timira-pari
22. gatāmvyakta[36]-śobhāṁ[37]=bidhāya ।
ārād=ullaṅghya prithivīm=api khalu chaturas=toyadhīn=eka-kālaṁ
prakrāntam=mātum=ā-
23. sīn=niravadhi-nabhaso vaibhava(vaṁ) yasya śobhiḥ ॥ [11*]
sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānā-vidha-nau-vāṭaka saṁpā-
24. dita-setu-baṁdha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śreṇī-vibhramāt[38] niratiśaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamāna-
vāsara-la-
25. kshmī-samārabdha-santata-jalada-samaya-sandehāt[39] udīchīn=āneka-narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit=āprameya-haya-
vāhinī-kha-
26. ra-khur=otkhāta-dhūlī-dhūsarita-digantarālāt=parameśvara-sevā-samāyāt=āśesh-Jambūdvīpa-bhūpāl=
ānanta-pādā-

[31] cf. *vasatiḥ* in place of *prasavabhūḥ* in Bhagalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 305 ff.
[32] Read *ch=ājñām.*
[33] Read *saprabhum.*
[34] Read *dharmm=āsanam.*
[35] Read *bibhratibhiḥ.*
[36] Read *gatāṁ vyakta.*
[37] Read *śobhāṁ vidhāya.*
[38] Read *vibhramān=niratiśaya.*
[39] Read *sandehād=udīchīna.*

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27. ti-bhara-namad=avaneḥ | Bhadragośālī-samāvāsita-śrīma=jjayaskandhāvārāt parama-saugato mahārāj=ā-
28. dhirāja-śrī-Nārāyaṇapāla-deva-pād=ānudhyātaḥ param=eśvaraḥ parama-bhaṭṭārako mahārāj=ādhirājaḥ śrīmān
29. Rājyapāla-devaḥ kuśalī | Tīrabhuktau | Dūtikā-vaishayika-sva-sambaddh=āvichchhinna-tal=opeta-Ṭeruvāka-grāme |
30. sva-sambaddh=āvichchhinna-tal=opeta-Marālikā-grāme [cha*][40] |

(Reverse)

31. sam=upagat=āśesh-rāja-purushān rāja-rājanaka | rā-
32. ja-putra | rāj=āmātya | mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika | mah=āksha-
33. paṭalika | mahā-sāmanta | mahā-senāpati | mahā-pratī-
34. hāra | mahā-karttā-kṛitika | mahā-dauḥsādha-sādhanika | mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka | mahā-kumār=āmātya | rājasthānī-
35. y=oparika | dāś=āparādhika | chaur=oddharaṇika | dāṇḍika | dāṇḍa-pāśika | śaulkika | gaulmika | kshetrapa | prā-
36. nta-pāla | koṭṭa-pāla | khaṇḍa-pāla | tad=āyuktaka | viniyuktaka | hasty=aśv=oshṭra-nau-bala-vyāpṛitaka | kiśora[41] | ba-
37. ḍavā[41] | go-mahishy=aj=āvik=ādhyaksha | dūta-preshaṇika | gam=āgamika | abhitvaramāṇa | vishaya-pati | grāma-pati |
38. tarika | Gauḍa | Mālava | Khaśa | Hūṇa | Kulika | Karṇṇāṭa | Lāṭa | chāṭa | bhaṭa | sevak=ādīn nyāṁś=ch=ākīrttitān[42]
39. rāja-pād=opajīvinaḥ prativāsino brāhmaṇ=ottarān mahattam=ottama[ḥ][43]-puroga-med=āndhra-chaṇḍāla-paryantān
40. yath=ārhaṁ mānayati bodhayati | sam=ādiśati ch(cha) matmastu bhavatāṁ[44] || yath=oparili[khi*]ta-grām [ā]vetai-[45]sva-sīmā-tṛiṇa-
41. yūti-gochara-paryantau[46] | satalau[46] | s=oddeśau[46] [| *] s=āmra-madhukau[46] [| *] sajala-sthalau[46] [| *] sa-gartt=osarau[46] | s=oparikarau[46] | sa-daś=opachārau[46] |
42. sa-chaur=oddharaṇo(ṇau)[46] | parihata-sarvva-pīḍau[46] | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-praveśo(śau)[46] | akiñchit pragrāhyau[46] | samasta-rāja-bhāga-bhoga-kara-
43. hiraṇy=ādi pratyāya-sametau[46] | bhūmi=chchhidra-nyāyen=āchandr=ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat=mā (n=mā)tā-pitror=ātmaṅś=cha puṇya-ya-
44. ś=obhivṛiddhaye | bhagavantaṁ Buddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya | ch=ānya-sagotrāya | Bhārggava | Chyavana | Āpnuvāna | Jāma-
45. dagna | Aurvva-pravarāya [[47] Vājase(sa)[ne*]ya(yi)-śākh=ādhyāyi]-sabrahmachāriṇe Ishgaṇikā vinirggata-Bhaṭṭa-Śrīgarbha-pautrāya | Bhaṭṭa-Divāka-
46. ra-putrāya | Bhaṭṭa-putra-Śālavāhana-śarmmaṇe | viśu(shu)vat=saṁkrāntau | snātvā | vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā | śāsanīkṛitya
47. pradattaḥ(ttau) | ato bhavadbhiḥ sarvair=ev=ānumantavyaṁ[48] | bhāvibhir=api bhū-patibhiḥ[49] bhūmer=dāna-phala-gauravād=apaharaṇe cha

[40] The entire thirtieth line is inscribed in comparatively smaller letters just in the middle which is undoubtedly a later addition. It appears that before the grant was finally completed, a correction was made by inserting this line which adds the second village Marālikā in the donation. Consequently there are corrections on the reverse of the plate making all singulars as duals, e.g., *satalaḥ-satalau, sagarttosaraḥ-sagarttosarau*, etc. (see lines 40-43)

[41] Vertical strokes are superfluous.

[42] Read *sevak=ādīn=anyāṁś=ch=ākīrttitān.*

[43] *Visarga* is correctly erased in the original copper-plate.

[44] Read *bhavatām.*

[45] Read *grāmāvetau*, traces of overwriting are clear.

[46] In all the cases, the *visarga* sign is erased and the final letter of each word is converted to *au* (i.e., *taḥ-tau, laḥ-lau, saḥ-sau*, etc.) so as to include the second village Marālikā mentioned in line 30

[47] Here again traces of corrections are visible. From the blurred letters it appears that originally the branch of the *brāhmaṇas* was mentioned as Chhāndogya which later on was corrected as Vājasaneyi. Owing to paucity of space letter *ne* could not be engraved.

[48] Read *mantavyam.*

[49] Read *bhū-patibhir=*

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48. mahā-naraka-pāta-bhayād=dānam=idam=anumodya pālanīyaṁ prativāsibhiḥ kshetra-karaiś=ch=ājñā-
śravaṇa-vidh(dhe)-
49. yībhūya yathā-kālaṁ samuchita-bhāga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇy=ādi-sarvva-pratyāy=opanayaḥ kārya iti | samvat 2
50. Vaiśākha-dine 18 tathā cha dharmm=ānuśaṁśinaḥ[50] ślokāḥ ||
bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar=ādibhiḥ
yasya
51. yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ[51] || [12*]
shashṭhi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svargge modati bhūmidaḥ |
āksheptā ch=ānumantā
52. cha tānyeva narake vaset || [13*]
sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ=vā[52] yo hareta vasundharāṁ[53] |
sa vishṭhāyāṁ kri(kṛi)mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ sahapa-
53. chyate || [14*]
iti kamala-dal=āmbu-bindu-lolāṁ
śriyam=anuchintya manushya jīvitañ=cha |
sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha
54. buddhvā
na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayo vilopyāḥ || [15*]
sarvvān=etān bhāvinaḥ pārthiv=endrān
bhūyo-bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=esha
55. Rāmaḥ |
sāmānyo=[54] ayaṁ dharmma-setur=nṛipāṇāṁ
kāle kāle pālanīyaḥ krameṇa || [16*]
Marālikā-grāmasya[55] eta-
56. t=samvatsara-Śrāvaṇa-dvāviṁśa-divase | śāsana-paṭṭako nibaddha iti ||

(Translation)

(l. 1) Hail!

(v. 1)

May (Lord) Daśabala (Buddha)—He, who attained the eternal tranquility by conquering the humiliation caused by the act of *kāma* (sinful desire)—(who is) glorious, Lord of the universe, with heart delighted, with the jewel of compassion, sustaining beloved amity (and who) has cleansed thoroughly the mire of ignorance by the pure waters of the river of enlightened knowledge— (so) also another, the king Gopāla, be victorious!

(v. 2)

From him (Gopāla) was (born) king Dharmapāla, (who was) the abode of valour, capable of bearing the burden of the earth, engaged scrupulously in maintaining the bounds (of conduct), equalling the ocean (birth place of the goddess Lakshmī) as the only shelter to the mountains approaching (him) in fear of (their) wings being clipped off (by Indra)—(but whose) fame laughs at the grandeur of the milky ocean.

(This verse has a literary pun. The word *samakaraḥ* means one who levies equitable taxes; *bhūbhṛitām*—the kings; and *pakshachchhedabhayāt*—for fear of being snatched a part of territory. Thus the verse carries a different meaning, that Dharmapāla provided shelter to the kings, who approached him being afraid of losing their territories to other invading powers. This allusion becomes more explicit in verse 3 where Dharmapāla is shown providing protection to Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Mahodaya, against the Pratīhāra aggressions. 'Indra' clipping the wings of mountains echoes Indrāyudha, an ally of the Pratīhāras and adversary of Chakrāyudha.)

(v. 3)

By mighty (Dharmapāla) who having conquered the enemies led by the king Indra, earned the riches (majesty) of Mahodaya (and bestowed it upon Chakrāyudha, the suitor (who) contracted due to bowing (by way of begging).

(As Bali, the king of demons, conquered the earth

[50] Read =*anuśaṁsinaḥ*.
[51] Read *phalam*.
[52] Read *para-dattāṁ vā*.
[53] Read *vasundharām*.
[54] *a* in *ayaṁ* is expressed by *avagraha*.
[55] Read *grāmasyaita*=

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from Indra, the god of gods, and bestowed it upon Vishṇu, so does Dharmapāla. He conquered Mahodaya (Kānyakubja) from its ruler Indrāyudha and bestowed it upon Chakrāyudha. The pun lies in words *bali* (Dharmapāla—the mighty one), Indra and Chakrāyudha (the two rulers of Mahodaya).

(v.4)

As Rāma, who had taken the vow of truth, had Saumitri (Lakshmaṇa), he (Dharmapāla) had a younger brother, called Vākpāla. He (Vākpāla) comparable to the (eastern) mountain of the rising (Sun) in glory, and the sole abode of diplomacy and chivalry, obeying the orders of (his) brother, made the quarters free from the armies of the enemy and (brought it) under one (royal) umbrella.

(v.5)

From him (Vākpāla) was born a son Jayapāla by name who (was) victorious, destroyer of the enemies of *dharma* in war, purifier of the world by the deeds (comparable to those of) Upendra,[56] (and who) deposited with (his) elder brother (Devapāla), the pleasure of reign over the universe.

(v.6)

When (Jayapāla) moved his force for the conquest of all the quarters, under the orders of (his) brother (Devapāla), the king of Utkala (Orissa) trembling (with fear) having heard his (Jayapāla's) name only from a distance, left his capital; and the king of Prāgjyotisha (Assam) lived for long, surrounded by his relatives, (and) bearing his (Jayapāla's) orders on his high forehead, which (the orders) silenced the talks of war.

(v.7)

He (Jayapāla) had a prosperous son Vigrahapāla, resembling Ajātaśatru, who washed off the make-up of the women of the enemies by the pure waterstream of his sword.

(v.8)

(Vigrahapāla) produced a son Nārāyaṇa(pāla), the ruler, bearing in (his) body the different merits deposited by the (different) lords of the quarters for the protection of the earth, who (Nārāyaṇapāla) decorated by (his) own acts inherited the throne, in which the stone-slab of the foot-stool was clashed with the lustre of the crest-jewels (of the) rulers of the earth.

(v.9)

He (Nārāyaṇapāla) had a queen Mammā by name, daughter of Govindarāja, and shelter of the family prestige, who produced a son Rājyapāla, nice with modesty and master of *madhyamaloka* (the earth).

(v.10)

The mountains with lofty peaks bowed down, seeing through (their) frightened peaks, the glow of invincible (Rājyapāla), that had by its mass of flames swallowed up the heavens and resembled the combustion out of the destruction of spirituous liquor beaten by uncomparable winds.

(v.11)

Whose (Rājyapāla's) gleaning fame had climbed up the lofty mountains, that wore the crest ornaments of the lotus-like feet of the heavenly women, and had (thus) illuminated the entire range of the world (previously) wrapped in darkness. (Rājyapāla's fame) had also started to measure at once the magnificence of the unlimited sky, after having covered the far and wide earth and (all the) four oceans.

(ll.23-24)

The bridge made of the groins of (whose) variegated fleet, moving through the streams of the Ganges, gave the illusion of the ranges of peaks of mountains;

(ll.24-25)

(whose) unsurpassable troops of elephants in rut, and thick set, darkened the daylight (and thus created) the illusion of days of well spread clouds;

(ll.25-26)

(whose) immeasurable cavalry presented by numerous kings of north, dug up (the ground) by the sharp hoofs, making the space of the quarters greyish due to the blowing dust;

(ll.26-27)

coming to wait upon (whom) the infinite armies of all the kings of Jambū-dvīpa lowered the earth by (their) burden;

(ll.27-29)

(that) *Parameśvara, Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja,* the great Buddhist, glorious king Rājyapāla, being in good health, ever remembering the feet of Nārāyaṇapāla, stationed at the victorious camp at Bhadragośālī . . .

(l.30)

respects, informs and commands all employees (which include)—

(ll.29-39)

rāja-rājanaka[57] (rāja = subordinate king; *rājanaka* =

[56] Upendra is a form of Vishṇu according to Purāṇic mythology. He incarnated as younger brother of Indra and restored his glory by snatching back the *bhuvanas* (the universe) from Bali, the king of demons. He took the form of Vāmana and Trivikrama for doing that.

[57] The precise function of the officials enumerated hereafter is not clear from the record. They have been identified variously by scholars on grounds of etymology; earlier, contemporary and later epigraphical evidences, and historical-legal writings where their function is comparatively explicit, cf. D.C. Sircar: *Indian Epigraphy*, 1965, p. 133, fn. 7 etc.; R.R. Mukherji and S.K. Maity: *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, 1967, pp. 179-82 etc.

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subordinate chief), *rājaputra* (possibly nobleman), *rājāmātya* (minister or executive officer), *mahāsāndhi-vigrahika* (minister for peace and war), *mahākshapaṭalika* (accountant and record-keeper), *mahā-sāmanta* (feudatory), *mahā-senāpati* (general), *mahā-pratīhāra* (officer-in-charge of palace-gate etc.), *mahā-karttākṛitika* (head of the department of works and buildings or officer-in-charge of construction of buildings, embankments, reservoirs, etc.), *mahā-dauḥsādha-sādhanika* (emergency officer), *mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka* (commander or chief justice), *mahā-kumārāmātya* (minister of the rank of a prince of the royal blood), *rājasthānīyoparika* (viceroy), *dāśāparādhika* (police magistrate), *chauroddharaṇika* (prefect of the police), *dāṇḍika, dāṇḍapāśika* (police officers), *śaulkika* (customs officer), *gaulmika* (officer-in-charge of police station, etc.), *kshetrapa* (officer-in-charge of the royal lands), *prānta-pāla* (warden of the marches), *koṭṭa-pāla* (governor of a fort), *khaṇḍapāla* (same as *khaṇḍaraksha* of other Pāla records—a constable or incharge of elephants, horses, etc.?), *tadāyuktaka, viniyuktaka* (a district officer appointed by the viceroy and not directly by the crown), *hastyaśvoshṭra-nau-bala-vyāpṛitaka* (superintendent of elephantry, cavalry, camel-army and navy), *kiśora-baḍavā-go-mahishī-ajā-avik-ādhyaksha* (superintendent/s of young mares, cows, she-buffaloes, she-goats and female sheep), *dūta-preshaṇika* (dispatcher of messenger), *gamāgamika* (bearer of letters or files), *abhitvaramāṇa* (express messenger), *vishaya-pati* (head of a district), *grāma-pati* (head of a village), *tarika* (ferry-man), Gauḍa, Mālava, Khaśa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa (servants of such nationalities as Gauḍa—etc.), *chāṭa-bhaṭa* (soldiers of lower strata who at times plundered the possessions of villagers—*chāṭa* stands for thief)—and many others not enumerated (here), as well as neighbours depending on royal favours, beginning from *brāhmaṇas,* chiefs and other leading people upto Medas, Āndhras and Chaṇḍālas[58]—connected with the villages Ṭeruvāka and Marālikā, with their intact grooves, situated in the *vishaya* (district) Dūtikā within Tīrabhukti.

(ll.40-50)

"May it be approved by you all. These two above-mentioned villages—upto its boundaries, grass and pasture-land, with its plain grounds,[59] with the upland, with its many mango and *madhūka* trees, with its waters and dry land, with its pits and saline spots or barren lands, with the taxes from the temporary tenants, with power to punish and realize fines for the ten offences, with fines realised from thieves, with exemptions from all oppressions, not to be entered by *chāṭa-bhaṭa,* nothing to give (by way of tax etc.), together with all imposts such as *bhāga* (one sixth of crops), *bhoga* (share of fruits, vegetables etc.), *kara* (taxes paid in cash), *hiraṇya* (taxes payable in gold) etc.—in accordance with *bhūmī-chhidra-nyāya* (the principle of making a land rent-free; the fallow land which was reclaimed by an individual was made rent-free)—are donated under the royal-seal (by me), in the name of Lord Buddha, for the augmentation of the efficacy and fame of my parents, myself and other *sagotras*[60] (and) Bhārgava, Chyavan, Āpnuvāna, Jāmadagna, Aurvva *pravaras;*[61] having bathed and performed the *tarpaṇa* (satiation) in the prescribed manner at this (occasion) of the *vishuvat-saṁkrānti* (the passing of the sun into the next sign—at automnal equinox in this case)—to Bhaṭṭa-putra Śālavāhana Śarmā, the grand-son of Bhaṭṭa Śrīgarbha born in Ishgaṇikā (village) (and) son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara, studying the *Vājasaneyi* branch (of the *Veda*)."

"It behoves you all to approve of this gift. The would-be-rulers should approve of it and protect it. The neighbouring tillers of soil should, hearing and following the proclamation, make over to the donee, the customary taxes, such as one sixth of crops *(bhāga),* present of fruits and vegetables etc. *(bhoga),* rent *(kara)* and gold *(hiraṇya)*."

Granted on the 18th day of *Vaiśākha* (April-May) in the (regnal) year 2.

Now follow the verses speaking of righteousness:

(v.12)

Land has been donated by a number of kings, beginning from Sagara; whenever, whosoever becomes the lord of the earth, then the fruit (of gift) accrues to him.

(v.13)

The donor of the land enjoys pleasures of heaven for sixty thousand years, (on the contrary), the man who takes it back or approves of it, resides in hell (for the same number of years).

(v.14)

A man who takes back land donated by himself or by others, assumes the form of a worm (and) suffers (in hell) alongwith his fore-fathers.

(v.15)

Thus, considering that fortune and human life are as unsteady as drops of water on lotus-petals, and understanding all, that has been said (here), men should not tarnish the fame of others.

[58] These three are untouchable castes.

[59] The word *satalau* also means 'with woods or groves'.

[60] Belonging to the lineage of the person from whom the *gotra* name is derived.

[61] An invocation of ancestors at the performance of certain rites.

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(v.16)
This Rāma makes repeated requests to all would-be-rulers that this (grant of land), the popular bridge to piety, has got to be maintained in all ages.

(ll.55-56)
This royal-charter of the village Marālikā was registered on the twenty-second day (of the month) of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) in this[62] year.

[62] The word *etat* refers to year 2 which occurs in l.49. It appears that the donation of village Ṭeruvāka was made in the month of *Vaiśākha* (April-May) and the charter was finally given to donees in *Śrāvaṇa* (July-August) of the same year together with the addition of Marālikā village. The engraver should have included the village Ṭeruvāka in l.55.

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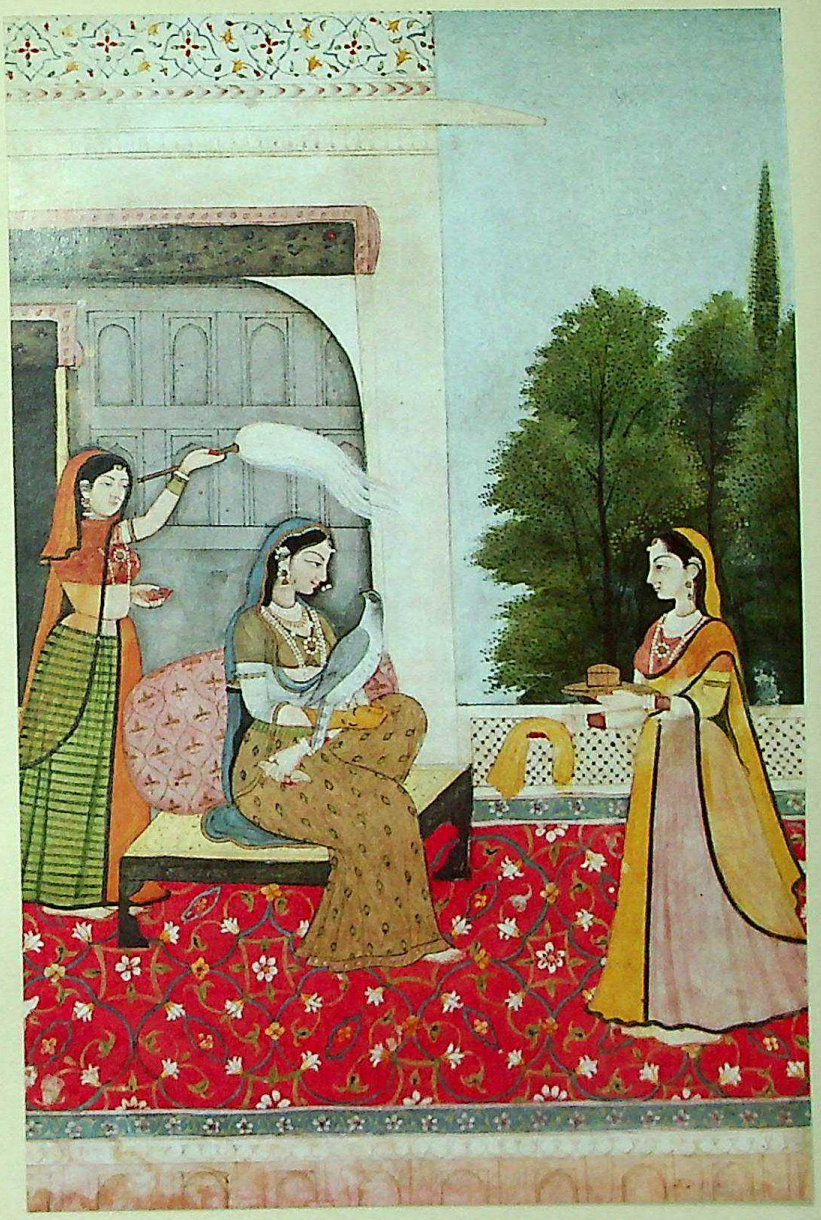

Pl. 31. *Rāgiṇī* Sāverī, Guler, *ca.* 1780

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Pl. 32. A scene from *Rāsapañchādhyāyi*, Kulu, *ca.* 1790

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Pl. 33. Coming of storm, Guler, *ca.* 1790

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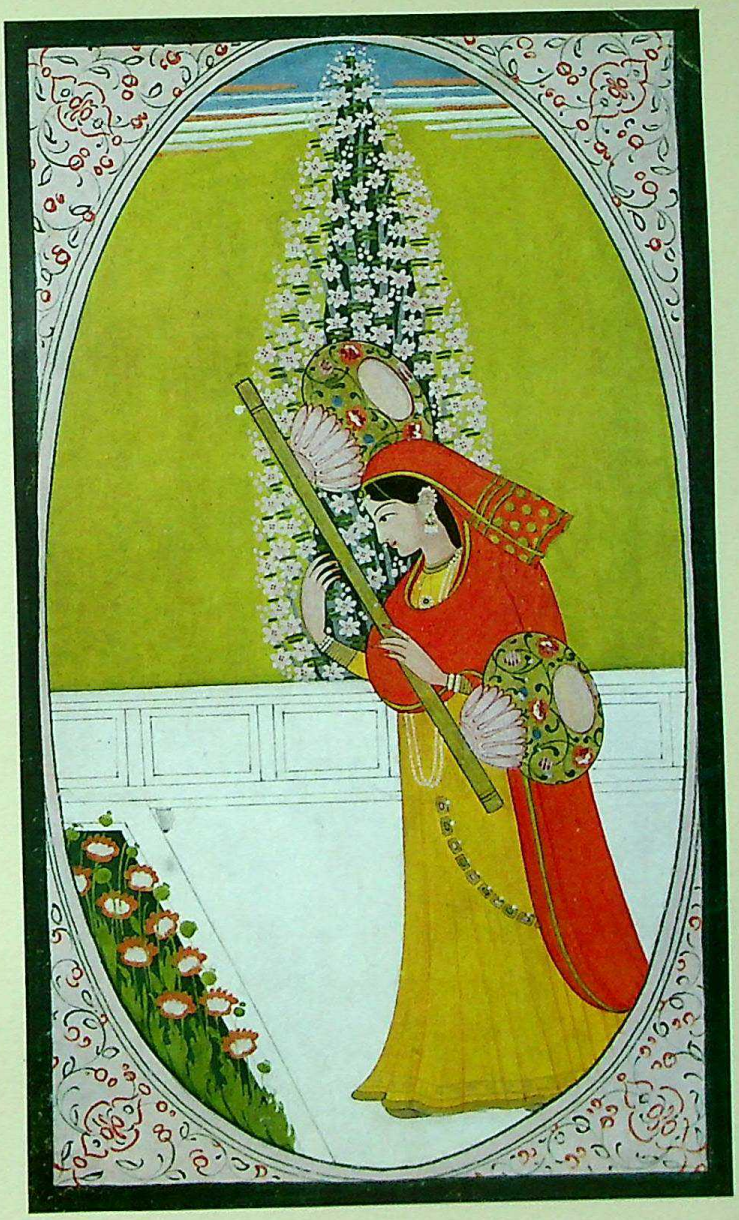

Pl. 34. *Guṇagarvitā Nāyikā* (*Nāyikā* proud of her accomplishments), Garwal, *ca.* 1790

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Pl. 35. A tryst scene, *līlā-hāva* (Radha's playful act), Guler, *ca.* 1790

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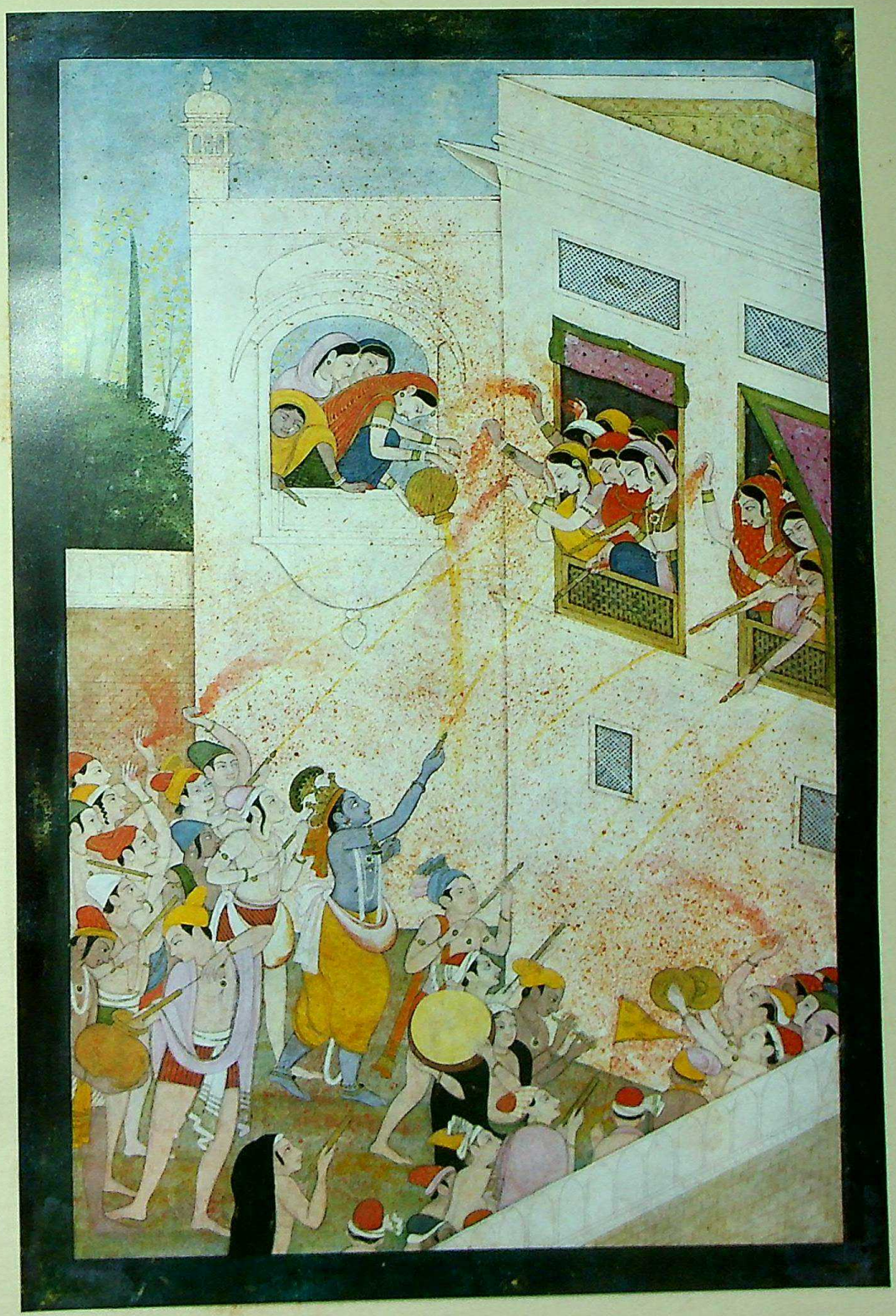

Pl. 36. *Holi* scene, Guler, *ca.* 1790

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Pl. 37. Month of *Kārtika*, a scene from Kesav Dasa's *Kavipriyā* (Bārahamāsā), Guler, *ca.* 1800

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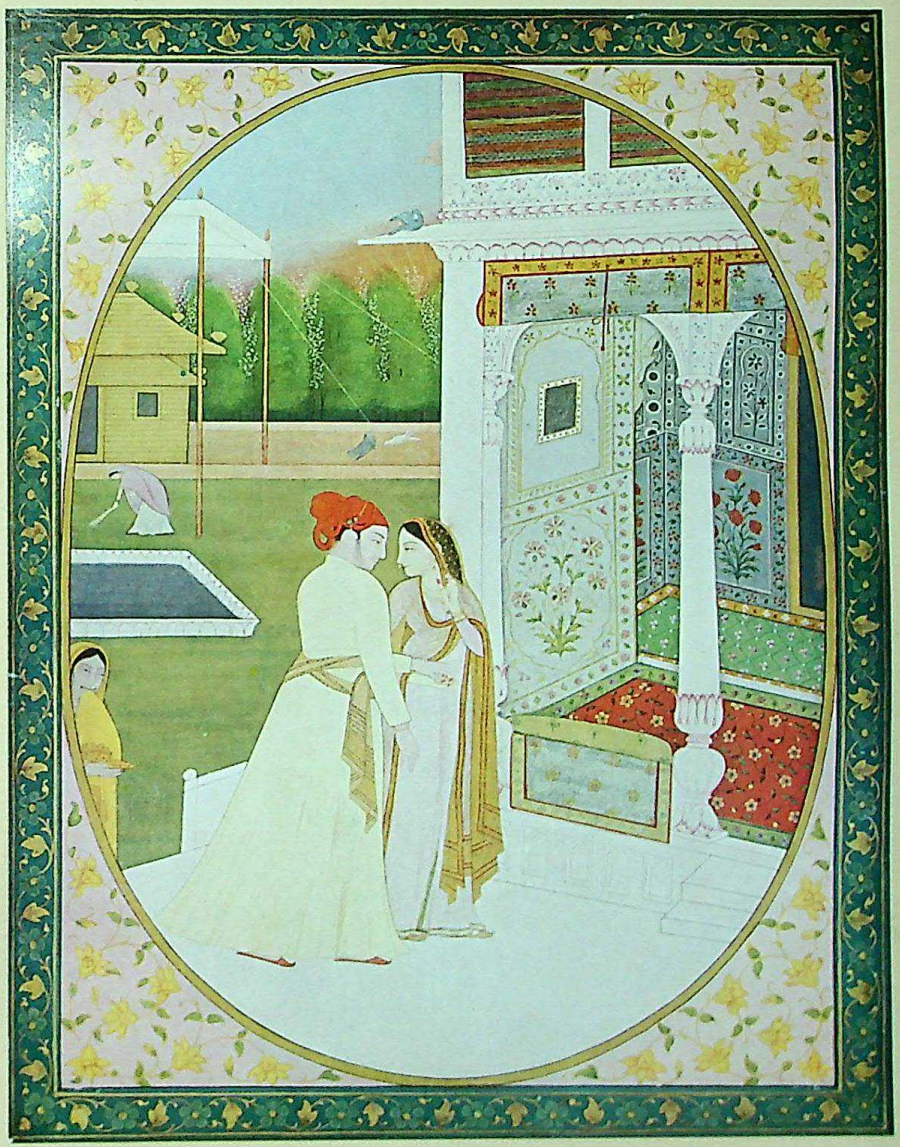

Pl. 38. *Khanditā Nāyikā*, the Nāyikā who reprimands the unfaithful lover (a morning scene), Guler, *ca.* 1800

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Pl. 39. Rāma and Sītā persuaded to return to Ayodhyā, Guler-Kangra, *ca.* 1810

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Pl. 40. Rāma and Sītā exchange glances in the garden, Jaipur sub-style, *ca.* 1815, illustrated for Raja Pattani Mall, Banaras

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ANDREW TOPSFIELD

Sāhibdīn's Gīta-Govinda *Illustrations*

Since Udaipur was first mentioned as an important centre of Rajasthani painting by Rai Krishnadasa some forty years ago,[1] a considerable body of dated evidence for this school has come to light. The larger part of this evidence, which relates to the growth of court portraiture and genre painting at Udaipur from the late seventeenth century onwards, remains unpublished. However, the origins of the classic Mewar style of devotional and poetical manuscript illustration are better established. The essential features of this distinctive style, which endured in increasingly ossified form down to the nineteenth century, were evolved in the reign of Mahārāṇā Jagat Singh I (1628-52), under the dominant influence of his leading artist, Sāhibdīn.[2] So much is known; but the overall pattern of development and even the precise extent of Sāhibdīn's *oeuvre* are still imperfectly understood, largely because the extensive dispersal of the various illustrated series of the period has discouraged the study of these questions. In particular, little attention has been paid to a dispersed series of *Gita-Govinda* illustrations, painted by Sāhibdīn in 1629, which forms an important landmark in the earliest and formative phase of his career. A fragmentary reconstitution of this series is offered here, together with some speculations as to Sāhibdīn's subsequent stylistic development.

The hybrid origins of Sāhibdīn's influential style may be briefly recapitulated. Its emergence at Udaipur was fundamentally not so much a new departure as a recrudescence after the rigours of the long Mughal wars of the vigorous earlier native tradition of illustrative painting represented by the *Rāgamālā* painted by Nisaradī (Nāsiruddīn) in 1605.[3] This famous series, produced at the hill-locked wartime capital of Chawand, is a solitary, securely dated survivor of painting under Mahārāṇā Amar Singh I (1597-1620).[4] It is more than anything a late example of the widespread North Indian pictorial tradition of the sixteenth century, sometimes known after its most typical example as the *Chaura-pañchāśikā* style,[5] of which Mewar was most probably an important centre; the Mughal element in Nāsiruddīn's style is comparatively negligible. In 1609, however, Chawand was taken by the Mughals, and in 1615 Amar Singh was finally compelled to capitulate. Under the terms of the peace treaty his son Karaṇ Singh spent much of his remaining time as heir apparent in attendance at the Mughal court, where Jahāngīr took especial pains both to befriend and civilize him.[6] He also became a close companion of Prince Khurram, who himself later sought refuge with Karaṇ Singh at Udaipur in 1623 when in revolt against his father. Although Karaṇ Singh initiated extensive building projects at Udaipur in the course of his reign (1620-28),[7] there is not very much evidence to suggest that he encouraged painting, at least in a style showing continuity with the Chawand

[1] Rai Krishnadasa, *Bhārat kī Chitrakalā*, Banaras, 1939, p. 160; 2nd ed., 1950, p. 96

[2] This artist's name, presumably a corruption of Shihāb ud-Dīn, was written variously in colophons and ascriptions as Sāhīvadīn (1628), Sāhībadīn (1629), Sāhabadī (1648 and 1655) and Sāhībadī (1652). Mewari artists' names are generally given in more or less corrupt forms, and the approximate spelling Sāhibdīn is retained here on the ground of its present familiarity. Previous studies of Sāhibdīn's work include: K. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Marg*, IV, 3, 1950; K. Khandalavala, Moti Chandra and Pramod Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection*, New Delhi, 1960 (hereafter, *Khajanchi cat.*), pp. 30 ff; and D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, Geneva, 1963, pp. 136-8

[3] G.K. Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani *Rāgamālā*", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIX, 1952-3; K. Ebeling, *Rāgamālā Painting*, Basel, 1973, p. 159

[4] The suggestion by Pramod Chandra that the colophon date of this series may be read alternatively as V. S. 1632/1575 A.D. is unacceptable (Pramod Chandra, *The Tūtīnāmā of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Graz, 1976, p. 49 fn.). The defaced numerals in question are, in fact, still just sufficiently clear to bear out Kanoria's original reading of the third digit as a 6, giving the date V. S. 1662/1605 A.D., as a photograph shown to me recently by Mr. Daniel J. Ehnbom confirms. In any case, G.N. Sharma has shown that Rāṇā Pratāp only occupied Chawand in 1585, after expelling the resident Rathors from the area (G.N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 2nd ed., Agra, 1962, pp. 102-3). The passage quoted by Professor Chandra from the *Vīr Vinod* by Shyamaldas (Udaipur, 1886) does not support the earlier dating for the move to Chawand which he infers from it. In the years immediately prior to the Battle of Haldighatī (1576) Rāṇā Pratāp was mainly based at Gogunda (see R.V. Somani, *History of Mewar*, vol. 1, Jaipur, 1976, pp. 222-6)

[5] See K. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1969. The most lucid account of this contentious period is that of Pramod Chandra, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2

[6] Cf. Rogers and Beveridge, *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, vol. 1, repr. Delhi, 1968, pp. 277-8

[7] Shyamaldas, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 269-70

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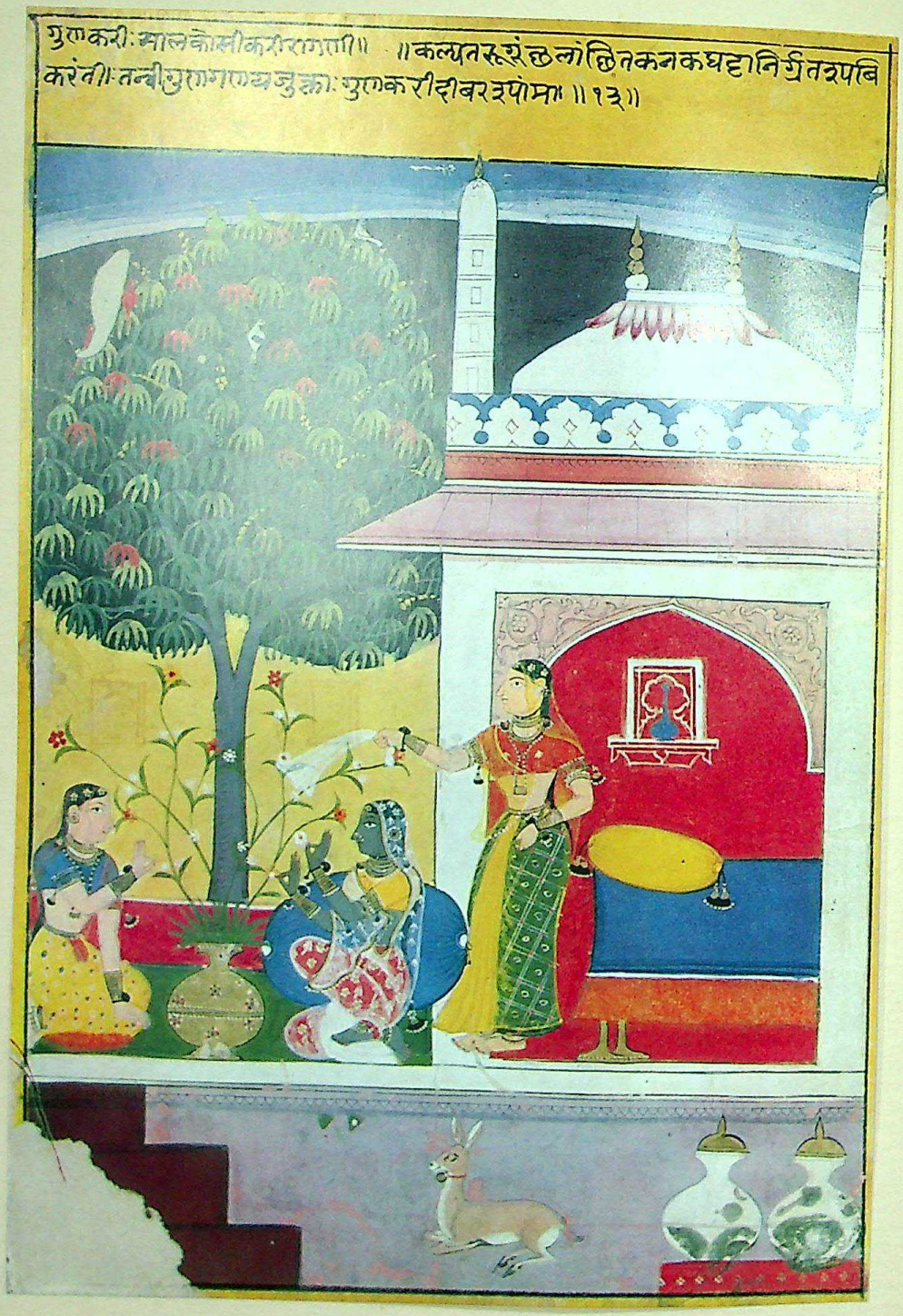

Pl. N *Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī*, Mewar, dated 1628

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Rāgamālā. Possibly his association with the Mughal court may have led him to prefer the naturalism and comparative technical refinement of Mughal painting (perhaps in its dilute but readily available "Popular" form)[8] to the indigenous painting tradition; although it should be said that Sāhibdīn's own *Rāgamālā* series, which is his earliest known work and shows clear affinities with the Chawand series, was completed at Udaipur in mid-July 1628,[9] only four months at most after the accession of Jagat Singh. Being like most Mewar *Rāgamālās* a 42-folio series, it must have been commissioned some time before Karaṇ Singh's death, very likely by the Mahārāṇā himself. However this may be, Sāhibdīn's *Rāgamālā* stands as the classic example of his assimilation of his evident Popular Mughal training to the native pictorial tradition, in which, to judge by his vivid palette alone, he was temperamentally rooted. His more specific debt to the compositional schemata, figure grouping and incidental detail of the Chawand series appears most strikingly in the *Mārū Rāgiṇī* in the National Museum, New Delhi,[10] and in the *Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. N). In the latter Sāhibdīn has adopted the basic composition of the Chawand version,[11] (fig. 502) as well as the grouping and postures of the two lefthand figures and the use of such stock motifs as the deer, *pāns* and vessels which fill the foreground. The simplicity and energy of the colouring are also in the Chawand tradition; the pallid or muddy tones of Popular Mughal *Rāgamālās* such as the Laud or Manley series are absent. At the same time, however, both composition and drawing show the effects of Sāhibdīn's secondary Popular Mughal training. The spatial setting of his comparatively diminished human figures is better articulated, and the hard edges and linear rhythms of the earlier native style are smoothed out in his more bland and considered drawing. If the *Rāgamālā* was in fact Sāhibdīn's first commission, it was an advantageous choice. Its highly defined iconography, unique amongst the commonly illustrated literary subjects of the later period, would have given the artist not only a fixed theme for each picture but usually also a predetermined compositional structure, which could either be followed servilely or be used as a basis for improvisation. Sāhibdīn improvised more often than not. In the *Guṇakalī*, for example, the decorated arch (which replaces his usual heavy brackets as a leading architectural feature) and the highly exaggerated *guldastas* above,[12] are untypical features, more redolent of Sāhibdīn's own Muslim background than the courtly Hindu ambience which he normally depicts. A more significant level of originality, which, as we shall see, anticipates the kind of improvisation demanded by his next major commission, is seen in the *Sāraṅga Rāgiṇī* in Bharat Kala Bhavan (pl. O).[13] This *rāgiṇī*, in fact, never had a very consistent iconography, and Sāhibdīns' rendering differs entirely from the Chawand version[14] in its use of a forest setting, which is suggested by an agglomeration of some of Sāhibdīn's most typical woodland motifs, such as the tall palm, the tree with clustering arcs of yellow blossoms and the strip of river in the foreground.

After the 1628 *Rāgamālā* there has been up to now an uncomfortable *hiatus* of twenty years in our knowledge of Sāhibdīn's career, for his other known works all dated from the end of Jagat Singh's reign and the beginning of that of Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh (1652-80). They comprised the long *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series dated 1648,[15] the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of 1652 and probably also the 1650 *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* from Jagat Singh's great *Rāmāyaṇa* series,[16] and finally the *Śūkarakshetramāhātmyaṃ* series of 1655.[17] Although Sāhibdīn's draughtsmanship and palette show considerable consistency with his early work, this later corpus differs from the 1628 *Rāgamālā* in several fundamental ways. First, the great length of the epics and *purāṇas* demanded a collaborative artistic effort. In many of the extant *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* illustrations Sāhibdīn evidently had helpers who more or less faithfully, if mechanically, imitated the broad features of his style. The drawing often becomes cursory and the compositions sparse, as though the very profusion of the illustrations required had an inflationary effect on Sāhibdīn's robust but never endlessly versatile style;

[8] See Pramod Chandra, "Ustād Sālivāhana and the Development of Popular Mughal Art", *Lalit Kala 8*, 1960

[9] For the colophon see *Khajanchi cat.*, p. 32 and fig. 29, Karaṇ Singh died in March 1628 (Shyamaldas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 290)

[10] *Khajanchi cat., loc. cit.*

[11] A.L. Dahmen-Dallapiccola, *Rāgamālā-Miniaturen von 1475 bis 1700*, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 176

[12] Cf. H. Goetz, "The First Golden Age of Udaipur", *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, fig. 22 (see also note 46 below). *Guldastas* also appear in *Kāmod rāgiṇī* of the Chawand series (see A.L. Dahmen-Dallapiccola, *op. cit.*, p. 385)

[13] *Khajanchi cat.*, no. 23c; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, col. pl. 51

[14] In the Victoria and Albert Museum. Ebeling, *op. cit.*, p. 160

[15] See Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan".

[16] These are two of the four books from the series in the British Library (Add. 15296-7; see C. Bendall *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1902, pp. 31-33). A monograph on this *Rāmāyaṇa* series is being prepared by Mr. J.P. Losty.

[17] Formerly in the Sarasvati Bhandar Library, Udaipur.

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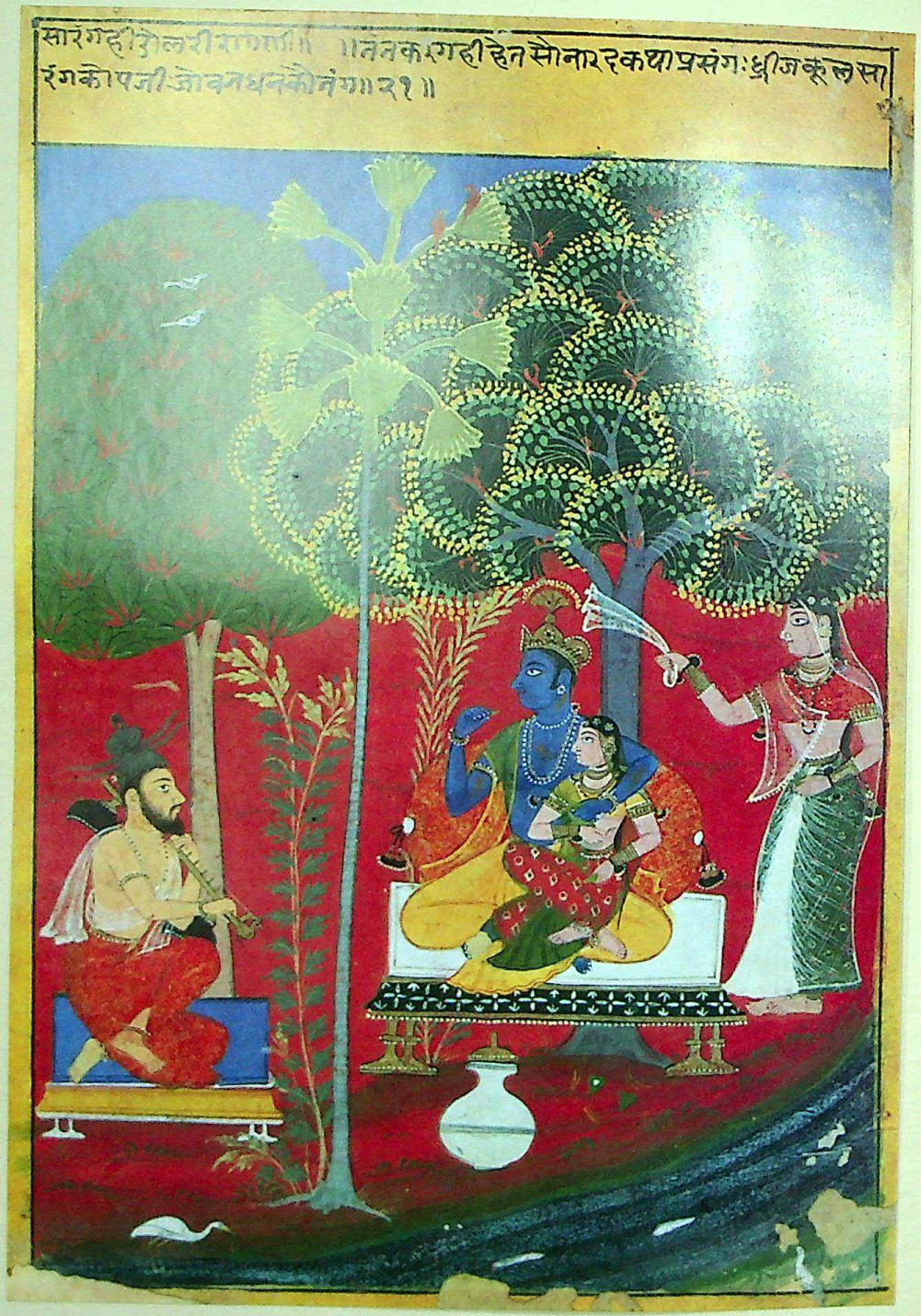

Pl. O *Sāraṅga Rāgiṇi*, Mewar, *ca.* 1628

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indeed it becomes a frequently unrewarding task to attempt to distinguish between the work of the master and his followers. Perhaps the onerous nature of such a commission was recognised, for by the time of the enormous *Rāmāyaṇa* series (1649-53), other artists, such as Manohar[18] and his followers and the evidently imported painters of the *Kishkindhākāṇḍa* and *Sundarakāṇḍa*,[19] were taking a major part in the production. An even more determining difference from Sāhibdīn's early work was the narrative nature of the epics and *purāṇas*. In place of the standardised *Rāgamālā* subjects in their compressed vertical format, with their largely static evocations of atmosphere and mood, Sāhibdīn and his colleagues had now above all to tell a story. This was often achieved by a riotous multiplication of successive episodes or stages of the action within a single composition, a device facilitated by the far more spacious horizontal manuscript format of these series.[20] In short, the late epic commissions represent an altogether distinct phase in Sāhibdīn's career from that of the 1628 *Rāgamālā;* and although we can guess that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series may have been begun at some point in the early 1640s, there is still insufficient evidence to bridge the period of transition between them. It is, however, possible to discuss the earliest phase of Sāhibdīn's development with some confidence, on the basis of the *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations described here; and also to speculate as to the nature of Sāhibdīn's unknown middle period, on the basis of a little known series of the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dāsa in the Government Museum, Udaipur. In my view, the latter series in particular demonstrates the considerable skill and maturity which Sāhibdīn eventually achieved in the genre of pure poetical evocation, through the wedding of literary and visual symbolism into a style of highly controlled lyricism, which was effectively dissipated by the burdensome narrative demands of the later epic commissions.

Several years ago a colophon was noticed by Mr. Robert Skelton at the end of the textual passage on a stray Mewar page in the collection of Gopi Krishna Kanoria[21] (fig. 504). It reads: *saṁvat 1686 barshe kātī sudī, 5 din rī u (?): Mahārājā Śrī Rāṇā Śrī Jagat Siṅgh Rāje: likhataṃ chītārā Sāhibadīn Udaipur mai.* It was evidently the last page of a series completed by Sāhibdīn at Udaipur in late October 1629, some fifteen months after his *Rāgamālā* series. The text itself has since been identified as a much condensed Rajasthani prose paraphrase of the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva. After the *Rāgamālā*—generally the most frequently illustrated subject at the courts of Rajasthan—this was a natural choice of subject. The *Gīta-Govinda* had been a favourite text of the Mewar rulers since at least the mid-fifteenth century, when Mahārāṇā Kumbhā had composed a Sanskrit commentary on it, entitled *Rasikapriyā;* he or his *paṇḍits* are also said to have commented on it in Mewari.[22] The most expressive early illustrated series of the *Gīta-Govinda,* some pages of which are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum,[23] is itself a close stylistic precursor of the Chawand *Rāgamālā,* and there is a strong case for attributing it to Mewar.

The text of the 1629 colophon page corresponds to the sense of the 24th and final song in Jayadeva's song-cycle, in which Rādhā exhorts Kṛishṇa to replace her ornaments and adorn her in various ways after their love-making.[24] Although the folio numbering has been lost (presumably as a result of damage to the lower righthand edge of the page, where such numbering is generally found)[25] it may be deduced that the series itself ran to twenty-four pages. Each surviving page has proved to approximate to one of the twenty-four eight-stanza songs *(ashṭapadī)* which form the main body of the *Gīta-Govinda;* however the Rajasthani versions are shorn of most of Jayadeva's elaborate imagery, and the scene-setting interspersed passages of recitative in the original[26] are generally abbreviated to curt directions as to who is addressing whom.

Sāhibdīn has illustrated Rādhā's sequence of commands to her lover in a faithful if literal-minded manner. At top left she is shown, as the speaker, making the appropriate *mudrā;* thereafter successive adornments of her person are shown in separate boxed compartments. Both this archaistic device and the bold but limited colouring, with its interplay of complementary red and green background areas separated by yellow margins,

[18] See Moti Chandra, "Painting from an Illustrated Version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, 5,* 1955-57

[19] The *Kishkindhākāṇḍa* is in the British Library. 18 stray leaves from the *Sundarakāṇḍa* are in the India Office Library.

[20] The relatively short *Śūkarakshetramāhātmyaṃ* series was, however, painted in a vertical format.

[21] This discovery was first announced by Mr. Skelton in a paper read at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in 1974. I am grateful to him for permission to publish it here. I am also indebted to Mr. Skelton and to Dr. Catherine Glynn for making available to me photographs of certain paintings germane to this article which I had not myself seen.

[22] Cf. D. Sharma, *Lectures on Rajput History and Culture,* Delhi, 1970, p. 74

[23] K. Khandalavala, "*A Gīta-Govinda* Series in the Prince of Wales Museum", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, 4,* 1953-54

[24] See B.S. Miller tr., *Love Song of the Dark Lord,* New York, 1977 (hereafter, *Miller*), pp. 124-5

[25] Of the pages discussed here, I have been able to check the numbering of ff. 4, 12, 19 and 21 (figs. 507, 509, 505, 511 respectively).

[26] The structure of the *Gīta-Govinda* is discussed in *Miller,* pp. 7 ff.

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show Sāhibdīn's debt to the native painting tradition. Sāhibdīn had similar recourse to compartmentation in what is probably the first page of the series, in the Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta (fig. 505). Here the text, entitled *śrī daśā avatāra ri ashṭapadī,* corresponds to the first song of the *Gīta-Govinda,*[27] extolling the *avatāras* of Vishṇu, although the Rajasthani version is no more than a list of their names and exploits (culminating with Jayadeva himself, who is shown paying homage to Vishṇu). Given a bare list to illustrate, Sāhibdīn has treated the compartmented figures with equal boldness. The effect is that of a pictorial invocatory formula.

In other intermediate pages of the 1629 series Sāhibdīn shows his ability to dispense with the cumbrous device of compartmentation and to create an apt single integrated image evoking the central matter or mood of the song in question. He had, so far as we know, now received iconography on which to base his compositions other than such stock motifs as the forest bowers with red interiors which he received from the same tradition as the Prince of Wales series. His interpretations are therefore largely original, drawing, with varying success, on the pictorial conventions and improvisational methods developed in his *Rāgamālā* of the previous year. In the nineteenth page of the series, in the Jodhpur Palace Library, which shows Kṛishṇa remonstrating with the proudly disdainful Rādhā (fig. 506), Sāhibdīn has used the palace pavilion setting often seen in the *Rāgamālā:* the architecture, with suspended canopy, is almost a reversed version of that of the *Khambāvatī Rāgiṇī* in the collection of J.P. Goenka (fig. 503). It is an appropriately formalized background for the play of psychological tension between the lovers, and this composition, in fact, often recurs in later *Rasikapriyā* illustrations by Sāhibdīn and his followers as a set-piece for the portrayal of disdainful *nāyikās,* and the like.

The proper setting of Jayadeva's poem, however, is the verdant forest, whose flora and fauna, moonlight and cool breezes form much of the substance of his imagery, as objective symbols for the intense emotions of the lovers. Any illustrator of the *Gīta-Govinda* must be able to hymn burgeoning nature; the artist of the Prince of Wales series succeeded in this particularly well. Sāhibdīn's own treatment of the all-important forest landscape in his 1629 series is in comparison less lyrically exuberant, although usually adequately expressive. Another page at Jodhpur shows the climactic tryst in the forest, and probably corresponds to the twenty-third song in the cycle[28] (fig. 507). The trailing sprays and winging birds heighten the atmosphere, but the disposition of the trees and the stereotyped bower and juxtaposed cypress and plantain to partition the scene has a contrived look. The dominant background colour is an over-cool pale blue, and Sāhibdīn's figure drawing is stiff and passionless. This scene of union in the forest was to be handled with a franker eroticism and greater visual energy in a *Rasikapriyā* illustration of a few years later.[29] For the moment Sāhibdīn is still feeling his way with this type of subject, and his compositional improvisations with the imagery at his disposal are often tentative.

A certain tension between Sāhibdīn's more artistically adventurous "Popular Mughal" persona and his reliance on traditional formulae is illustrated by two consecutive pages from the series which treat a similar theme. In his interpretation of Jayadeva's fourth song, which is again at Jodhpur, the *sakhī* is describing Kṛishṇa's revels with the other *gopīs* to Rādhā[30] (fig. 508). The composition, with the swirling river in the foreground, is quite dramatically conceived, but Sāhibdīn has failed to show the supposed revellers themselves in anything like a dynamic grouping.[31] Instead the verdant forest motifs carry most of the expressive weight of the picture. However, in his illustration of the fifth song, in which Rādhā this time pictures a similar scene of Kṛishṇa's infidelity,[32] Sāhibdīn falls back into his more archaic idiom. In this page, which is in the British Museum (fig. 509), the very absence of any spatial recession and the repetitiveness of the figure grouping tend to enhance the vibrancy of the *gopīs'* stylized dance pattern, silhouetted against the red outer ring of a traditional *Rāsamaṇḍala* circle, with Kṛishṇa, against a contrasting green background, fluting at the centre.

In view of Sāhibdīn's as yet limited scope in figure drawing and grouping, and his reliance on landscape to evoke mood, his illustration of the twelfth song,[33] also at Jodhpur,[34] is perhaps one of the most effective pages of the series (fig. 510). The *sakhī* is telling Kṛishṇa

[27] *Miller,* pp. 70-1

[28] *ibid.,* pp. 122-3. The folio numbering of this page is illegible, but the existence of a later variant version of this composition, specifically entitled "twenty-third *ashṭapadī*", would seem to support this identification (see *Doris Wiener Gallery Exhibition Catalogue,* New York, 1974, no. 54)

[29] National Museum, New Delhi, acc. no. 57.120/1

[30] *Miller,* pp. 76-7

[31] Cf. the discussion in M.C. Beach, "The Context of Rajput Painting", *Ars Orientalis,* X, 1975, p. 16

[32] *Miller,* pp. 78-9. The border of this page has been trimmed, so that the folio no., if any, is lost.

[33] *ibid.,* pp. 95-6

[34] Apart from the four pages discussed here, there are said to be six more in the Jodhpur Palace Library. I am indebted to Miss Vishakha Desai for this information.

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of Rādhā's suffering in his absence. The composition combines the structural rigidity of the two opposed pavilion settings with the luxuriance of the expanse of rainy season landscape, placed diagonally between them and enhancing the mood of separation. The striking superimposition of the spread plumage of the peacock poised over Kṛishṇa's head against the yellow arcs of the blossoming tree shows Sāhibdīn's growing mastery. In contrast, a published page from the series in an American collection,[35] which appears to illustrate one of the songs from the seventh part of the text (in which Rādhā imagines Kṛishṇa's infidelities),[36] contains many of the same ingredients, but the landscape treatment is unimaginative and the figure grouping falls flat. Although Sāhibdīn had become more versatile in some respects, his hybrid style had lost the unself-conscious and full-blooded rhythmical line which would have enlivened such a schematic grouping in a *Chaura-pañchāśikā* style picture.

Finally, there is one page which is probably from the 1629 series, illustrating the twenty-first song, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (fig. 512). Rādhā has halted at the gate of the walled garden where Kṛishṇa awaits her, and the *sakhī* urges her on. Both the execution and colouring, with a dominant brown background tone, are curiously flat in comparison with the pages at Jodhpur. A more vital version of this scene in the Boston Museum was published by Coomaraswamy;[37] this page also bears a Rajasthani text, though a different one. Yet another version, stridently coloured and by a coarser hand, is in the Prince of Wales Museum;[38] it too has a variant text, which, however, bears more similarity to that of the Bharat Kala Bhavan page, as well as the same folio number (21). It is evident from these and other instances of compositional and textual duplication that more or less close imitations of the 1629 series were produced by several artists—probably including Sāhibdīn himself—within a few years of its execution. It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of these later series, as they are, if anything, more thoroughly dispersed than Sāhibdīn's original work; the brief notes given in the following digression may, however, at least draw attention to the phenomenon of duplication and perhaps serve as an aid to identification. In certain cases pages from the later imitative series may throw light on the probable iconography of missing pages of the 1629 prototype series.

The relationship of the Boston page published by Coomaraswamy to other stray illustrations of *Gīta-Govinda* subjects remains uncertain,[39] but the Prince of Wales version probably belongs to a duplicate of the 1629 series made by a follower of Sāhibdīn in the 1630s or '40s.[40] Another duplicate series, made by a different follower of Sāhibdīn, is readily recognizable by the coarse script of its textual passages. The twenty-fourth and presumably final page of this series—corresponding to the 1629 colophon page (fig. 504)—was formerly in the collection of Kumār Saṅgrām Singh of Nawalgarh (fig. 513); it shows a less imaginative handling and use of compartmentation than Sāhibdīn's version. The iconography of this series is, in general, roughly faithful to that of 1629, as is also seen in the case of the twenty-third page.[41] The seventeenth page, in the collection of J.P. Goenka[42] (fig. 511), although presumably deriving from its as yet unlocated counterpart of the 1629 series, also shows similarities of design with the nineteenth page of that series (fig. 506). The fifteenth page of this duplicate series, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, in which Rādhā pictures Kṛishṇa's infidelity to the *sakhī*,[43] again shows a pedestrian use of compartmentation (fig. 514). To complicate matters a little more, this latter page—or rather its 1629 prototype—has been freely reproduced in a page in the Goenka collection by the artist of the distinctive *Rasikapriyā* series, most likely dating from the reign of Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh, of which fifty-four leaves were formerly in

[35] Pramod Chandra, *Indian Miniature Painting (the Collection of Earnest C. and Jane Werner Watson)*, Madison, 1971, no. 87

[36] *Miller*, pp. 97 ff.

[37] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, part V, Cambridge, Mass., 1926, p. 86, pl. XVIII and frontispiece. This picture may once have belonged to the Jodhpur royal collection. Mr. Skelton has suggested to me that the inscription on its reverse, read by Coomaraswamy as "*Dāḍho-jī Pāre Phaurhgar* which sounds like a Dakkhanī (owner's) name", might in fact be the crudely written clerk's inscription sometimes found on pictures from the Jodhpur collection: *da (=dakhlī?) lī ḍholīyā re kauṭhār, i.e.* "entered into (?) the drum-store" where some of the royal pictures were presumably kept. This circumstance would strengthen the connection between this page and the 1629 series, many of whose pages are at Jodhpur.

[38] W.G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, London, 1960, pl. 39

[39] A further illustration of a *Gīta-Govinda* subject, perhaps approximating to the twentieth song of the text and very close in style to the one discussed above (note 37), was published in A.K. Coomaraswamy, "An Early Rajput Painting", *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XXX, 1932, pp. 50-1. This picture came to my notice too late for further discussion here, but is reproduced at fig. 523.

[40] Several other leaves are thought to be in the Prince of Wales Museum.

[41] See note 28 above.

[42] Reproduced in the company calendar of the Duncan Group for December 1971

[43] *Miller*, pp. 101-2

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the collection of the Mahārājā of Bikaner[44] (fig. 515). This particular page, which is the only one known to me bearing a Rajasthani *Gīta-Govinda*-derived text instead of a *Rasikapriyā* passage, was evidently stored with the main body of the *Rasikapriyā* series, for, like many of its pages, it has lost a sizable chunk from its upper middle edge to the Bikaner palace rats. Whether the existence of an entire duplicate *Gīta-Govinda* series by this artist may be assumed on the strength of this one page is uncertain.

One final reworking of the 1629 series appears closer in date and style to the original; two pages from it are known to me at present. One, illustrating the seventeenth song and evidently predating the Goenka version mentioned above, was formerly in the collection of Kumār Saṅgrām Singh of Nawalgarh (fig. 516); the other, which may illustrate the tenth song, in which the *sakhī* describes Kṛishṇa's love-longing to Rādhā,[45] is in the Kanoria collection (fig. 517). In both, the facial type of Kṛishṇa has an unusual, almost feminine delicacy, and the latter page in particular exhibits a dramatically conceived composition and, above all, a lyrically sensitive rendering of forest landscape, which altogether surpass the level of treatment of the 1629 series. With this page, however, we may end our digression on the subject of later duplicate *Gīta-Govinda* series, and return, in conclusion, to the question of Sāhibdīn's unknown middle period; for, despite a discrepancy in quality and level of finish from both the 1629 series and the 1648 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the Kanoria page is quite probably by Sāhibdīn himself, and may represent the style which he had attained by the late 1630s or early 1640s. A full statement of the grounds for this argument must await a future publication, but they consist mainly in the virtual stylistic identity of this page with the majority of the pages of the probably contemporary *Rasikapriyā* series in the Government Museum, Udaipur[46]: and these may be attributed to Sāhibdīn. To mention only one or two examples from this long series, the illustration of Ch. X v. 21 (fig. 519)[47] has a number of details of the treatment of the rainy landscape in common with the 1628 *Meghamallār Rāgiṇī* in the National Museum;[48] while the figure of Kāma taking aim in the illustration of Ch. VIII v. 18 (fig. 520)[49] is comparable to that occurring in Sāhibdīn's scene of the assault on Śiva in Book XII of the 1648 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[50]—and also, of course, to the figure of Rādhā firing her love-arrow in the Kanoria page (fig. 518) (the origins of the latter figure type are, in fact, already apparent in the figure of the *sakhī* in f. 4 of the 1629 series: fig. 508). An example of Sāhibdīn's occasional retreats in the *Rasikapriyā* series into his earlier idioms is his more elaborate reworking of the *Rāsamaṇḍala* theme of the 1629 series[51] (fig. 521). But, in general, despite its evident stylistic relationship to his earlier and later works, the Udaipur Museum *Rasikapriyā* surpasses them not only in quality of finish and facility of composition and technique—as, for example, in the accomplished painting of Kṛishṇa's underwater embrace[52] (fig. 522)—but in its somewhat literal-minded but nonetheless poetically sensitive interpretations of the redolent visual imagery of Keśava's verses. If the attribution to Sāhibdīn is correct, this series must be a major work of his middle period,[53] showing the maturity which he eventually attained in the genre of pure poetical evocation, before he was required to adapt his style to the more strictly narrative demands of the epics and *purāṇas*.

[44] H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, p. 99; *Khajanchi cat.*, nos. 24 a-g.

[45] *Miller*, pp. 90-1

[46] The Udaipur Museum is said to hold eighty-eight pages of this possibly near-complete series, but owing to the inadequacy of the present cataloguing of this collection, and the confusion of this particular series with a number of early eighteenth century *Rasikapriyā* leaves, this can only be taken as an approximate figure. A number of the pages are by another hand following Sāhibdīn's style. As in the case of the 1629 *Gita Govinda*, at least one duplicate *Rasikapriyā* series exists (possibly from Sāhibdīn's own hand); twenty-one leaves formerly in the Mahārājā of Bikaner's collection may have formed part of it (H. Goetz, "Indian Painting in the Muslim Period", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XV, 1947, fig. 7; *idem*, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, pl. IX; *idem*, "The First Golden Age of Udaipur", fig. 22; Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", fig. 18). There may even be more than one duplicate series, as in at least one case three near-identical illustrations of the same verse are known (*Rasikapriyā* Ch. VII v. 24: V.P. Mishra ed., *Keśava Granthāvalī*, Allahabad, 1954, pp. 42-3): one in the Udaipur Museum series, one in the National Museum, New Delhi (no. 49.19/7) and one formerly in the Bikaner collection (photograph in Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum). The interrelationship and chronology of these duplicate series are problematic. The Udaipur Museum series, though the most convenient for study, is probably not the earliest.

[47] *Keśava Granthāvalī*, p. 62

[48] *Khajanchi cat.*, no. 23b and col. pl. C

[49] *Keśava Granthāvalī*, p. 49

[50] Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", pl. A (this page may be attributed to Sāhibdīn on the basis of the landscape scene ascribed to him in the same series; *ibid.*, fig. 1)

[51] A not especially appropriate illustration for *Rasikapriyā*, Ch. XIII v. 3 (*Keśava Granthāvalī*, p. 76)

[52] Ch. V v. 37 (*Keśava Granthāvalī*, p. 30)

[53] The *Bhramara Gita* series, some leaves of which are in the National Museum, is by the same hand as the Udaipur Museum *Rasikapriyā*, and would also belong to this period of Sāhibdīn's career (cf. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan", fig. 19)

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C. SIVARAMAMURTI

A New Medallion of the Subjugation of Nalagiri

The subjugation of Nalagiri is one of the most important events in Buddha's life. It is considered as one event among the eight episodes from Buddha's life of over four score summers. The elephant Nalagiri, notorious for his frenzied fury, was the most stately elephant of Magadha in the royal stables at Rājagṛiha, the capital, and could for its mountainous size, might and rapid movement take rank with another contemporary stately elephant of identical name from the city of Ujjayinī, the capital of the Avanti realm. The former belonged to Ajātaśatru, while the latter was of Pradyota.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan, a treasure house of rare masterpieces of art, has recently acquired an extremely important *sūchī*,[1] cross-bar of the famous rail that once surrounded the great *stūpa* at Amarāvatī, there in about 150 A.D. and illustrating this Nalagiri episode (fig. 524). This is sadly mutilated and worn. Yet its importance remains unmitigated. The most important portion of the carving, namely, the monstrous beast kneeling at the feet of the Buddha. The Master Himself is represented anthropomorphically, with a circular halo around his head, with his hand lovingly stretched towards the temples of the animal to gently reassure it. Two disciples reverently flank the enlightened one, as a lay disciple, undaunted by the presence of the formidable tusker just behind him, bows at his feet resting on lotus, miraculously arisen to receive them as they moved in their march. Thus this is indeed arresting in its composition, execution. The modelling of the animal, the swish of the tail, the curl of the proboscis, show the artist's mastery, while the ropes strapping the trunk indicate him a tamed elephant. The robes of the Master and the monks and their attitude is all very delicately handled by the sculptor. This has to be studied as a mode different from what is observed in yet another well known *sūchī* medallion also from Amarāvatī and of the same period, now preserved in the Madras Museum (fig. 525). While in this, there is suggestion of the faith of one and all in the almost magical hypnotising influence of Buddha's love towards every living being that enables a common worshipper to kneel at his feet unperturbed by the madly furious animal behind just turned tame and reverent, in the other the suggestion is by synoptic mode to show the climax of mischief in the elephant in rut suddenly checked to show how docile could be rendered what was a few minutes ago a terror.

In this Nalagiri rushes furiously along at one end and at the other end Buddha is a calm and dignified figure with the beast kneeling before him. The people in the balcony above are an interpretation of the change of scene and activity in the composition. A look of wonder at the confused crowd afraid of the intoxicated beast is obvious in the faces of the people in the part of the balcony immediately above this scene, but at the extreme left above where Buddha stands, the thrilled spectator instinctively brings together his hands into an attitude of reverence to that great master whose personality was enough to control the most exuberant of passions even in others and that in an unintelligent beast.

This scene of Nalagiri's havoc in the streets of Rājagṛiha is a noteworthy example of the sculptor's study of human nature. Amidst the hysterical shrieks of frightened women and the bewildered looks of faint-hearted men to whom cling the bodies of a frailer sex in abject alarm, rushes along the mad elephant tearing and trampling everyone on his way, but rapidly the scene changes, and the huge beast that was only minutes back wreaking terror and confusion in the crowded streets of Rājagṛiha is prostrate at the feet of a simple and noble figure—Buddha. These two utterly different forces of human activity—uncontrolled confusion and controlled calm—so cleverly balanced in the same picture from two scenes in one—a synoptic method which the sculptor of Amarāvatī like other early sculptors delighted to introduce where it would be most effective. The Master was here shown in the form of a flaming pillar above a pair of feet on a lotus and crowned with *triśūla*, but this has mostly flaked off. This flaming pillar on feet over lotus crowned by wheel and *triśūla* contains a suggestion of the superiority of Buddha over the Hindu trinity, Agni and Sūrya.

The story of this episode from Buddha's life is given in the *Chullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and can be briefly

[1] This was presented to the Museum by Śrī Chandrakishore Kejriwal.

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narrated. The wicked Devadatta tried his best to kill Buddha and persuaded the elephant keepers of the king to let loose the fierce elephant Nalagiri when Gautama arrived in the streets of Rājagriha. They did so when Buddha entered Rājagriha with his monks for alms. Even from a distance the animal noticed the Master and rushed towards him. The monks appealed to the Master thrice to turn back as the animal was a furious one but Buddha would not. He asked his monks not to be alarmed.

The citizens of Rājagriha, however, who knew the homicidal tendency of the deadly animal, climbed to the upper stories of their houses and on to the balconies. The sceptics pitied the great and beautiful monk whom they feared the animal would tear to pieces but the believers full of devotion and insight doubted the powers of the elephant against those of the Master.

Buddha caused a feeling of love to pervade the elephant who put down the trunk and bowed to the Master. The Master stroked the animal's forehead and asked him to act so that he may attain bliss. With his trunk Nalagiri took the dust from the feet of Buddha, sprinkled it over his head and returned quietly to his appointed place in the stables.

The present sculpture from the Bharat Kala Bhavan is a faithful rendering of the story without episodic division in the formation of the composition. Yet here the presence of the unruffled worshipper at the foot of the Master just near the trunk of the elephant so close to him, shows the faith in Buddha's capacity to control the worst malignant in man or beast, a great depiction indeed.

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GRACE MORLEY

The Rāma Epic and Bharat Kala Bhavan's Collection

A kind of magic seems inherent in the story of Rāma. In India, as everyone informed somewhat on Indian literature knows, it inspired two masterpieces of poetry, Vālmīki's long epic in Sanskrit, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] and Tulsidas' devotional rhapsody in Hindi, the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*.[2]

For the arts, the Rāma theme was an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Sculpture in India drew on it to adorn temples as early as the Gupta period.[3] But it is principally in miniature paintings dating from the seventeenth century and later that distinguished pictorial interpretations of the story are to be found. Vālmīki's poem was most frequently the source of inspiration. The text and appropriate excerpts from it are often inscribed on the backs of the painted leaves. These miniatures constituted albums, the story told in pictures, to be leafed through and enjoyed.

The large and representative collection of miniatures on the theme, typical examples of schools dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, merits particular attention in Bharat Kala Bhavan's collection. The range of styles is great, from a bold, folk interpretation to great refinement and elegance. Likewise the span of feeling suggested is wide, including attitudes of deep religious devotion of mystical intensity on the one hand and earthy humour on the other. In the Malwa and Kulu-Basohli series, especially, the monkeys, with human attributes, in attitudes at once simian and human, and with a great variety of facial expressions, as well as demons of horrible mien in violent action, provide ample opportunity for invention. For some painters, particularly those of these earlier Malwa and Kulu-Basohli schools, these picturesque personalities of animals and of powerful personifications of evil in grotesque forms obviously had great attraction. By contrast, the decorous and poetic Popular Mughal style examples, and the late paintings, of the Pahari and Rajasthani schools, give scant attention to monkeys and bears and even to demons, but emphasize the nobler theme of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa. However, the folk quality of the early examples seems particularly apt, logical certainly when the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s broad popular appeal is recalled. Obviously in such examples the artists shared with their patrons, delight in the tale and admiration for its robust action, for the fabulous exploits and for the close communion between its heroes and the animals, endowed with endearing human qualities, aiding them. The struggle against the forces of evil, personified in the monsters of fantastic forms, in righteous causes and especially during the search for Sītā, was an obvious challenge to the imagination of the artists and offered an exciting range of pictorial problems. They must have vied with one another in finding horrible and fearful shapes for these demons. They clearly delighted in the antics of the monkeys and, despite the generalized form of monkey faces, managed very often by ingenious handling of eyes and mouths to indicate varied and eloquent expressions.

These miniatures may be considered in two general groups: those of particular decorative emphasis, the examples of folk flavour generally speaking, and those striving for greater sophistication and elegance. In the first fall the seventeenth century Malwa group, and the eighteenth century Kulu-Basohli series, from the Shangri collection. In the second may be placed the Popular Mughal examples, the few Pahari paintings of the eighteenth century on the theme, and particularly the illustrated manuscript of the beginning of the nineteenth century of Tulsidas' *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*. In their very different ways, it is the Malwa and Kulu-Basohli groups and the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa* illustrations which provide the excitement of the collection in reference to the Rāma theme.

It is, perhaps, appropriate, though in inverse chronological order, to examine first the unique example

[1] Shastri, Hara Prasad: *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki* (English translation from the Sanskrit), 3 volumes, London, 1962. The date of Vālmīki is unknown, lost in antiquity.

[2] Growse, F. S.: *The Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsidas*, 8th edition, Allahabad, 1966. Tulsidas lived in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century. He is reported to have composed the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa* in Banaras and the house beside the Ganges in which he is popularly believed to have lived is still pointed out there.

[3] See National Museum, New Delhi: in Gupta Gallery, red sandstone sculptures on the Rāma theme from Deogarh (sixth century).

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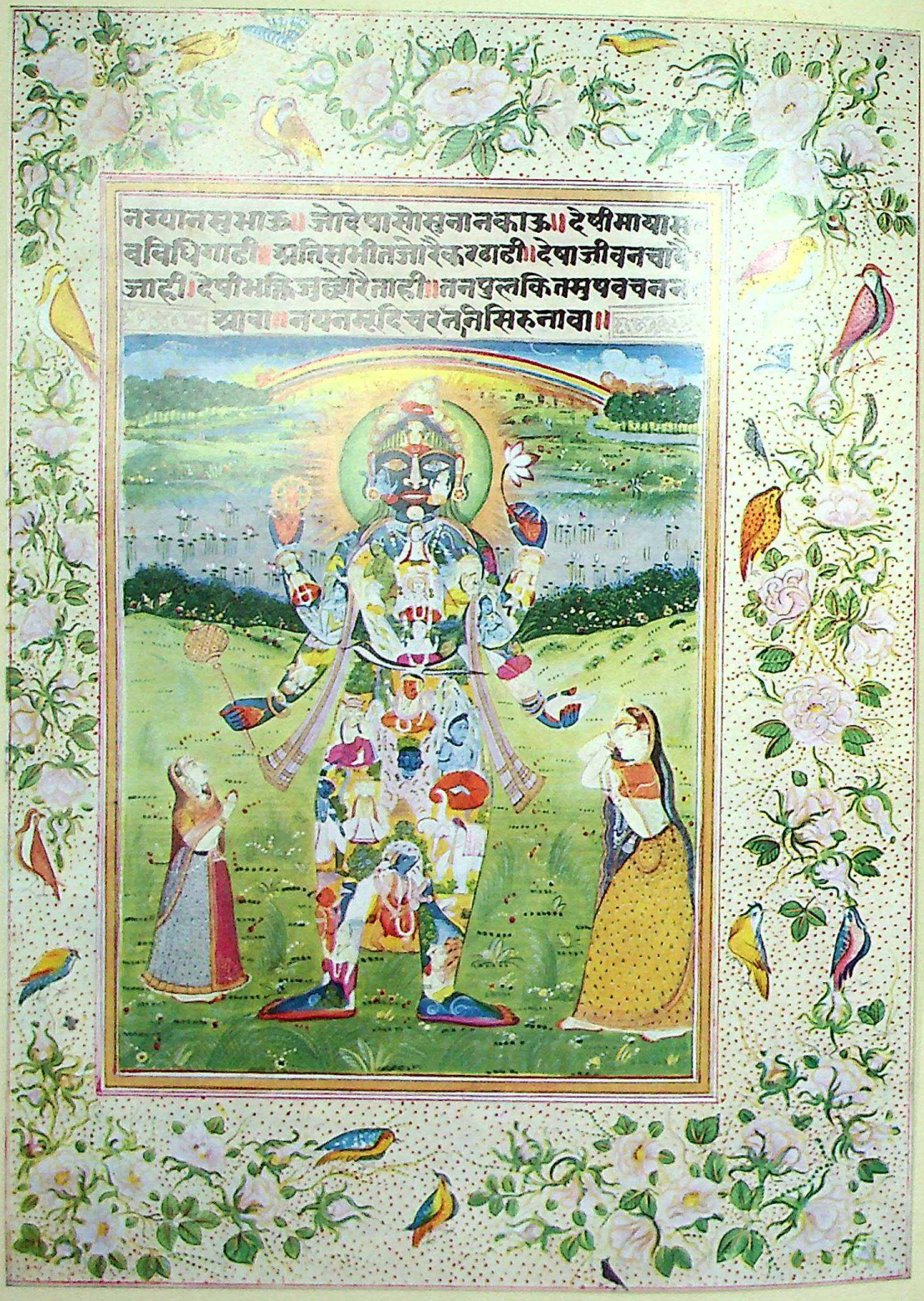

Pl. P Rāma's mystical appearance before Kauśalyā, Jaipur sub-style, *ca.* 1815, illustrated for Raja Patti Mall, Banaras

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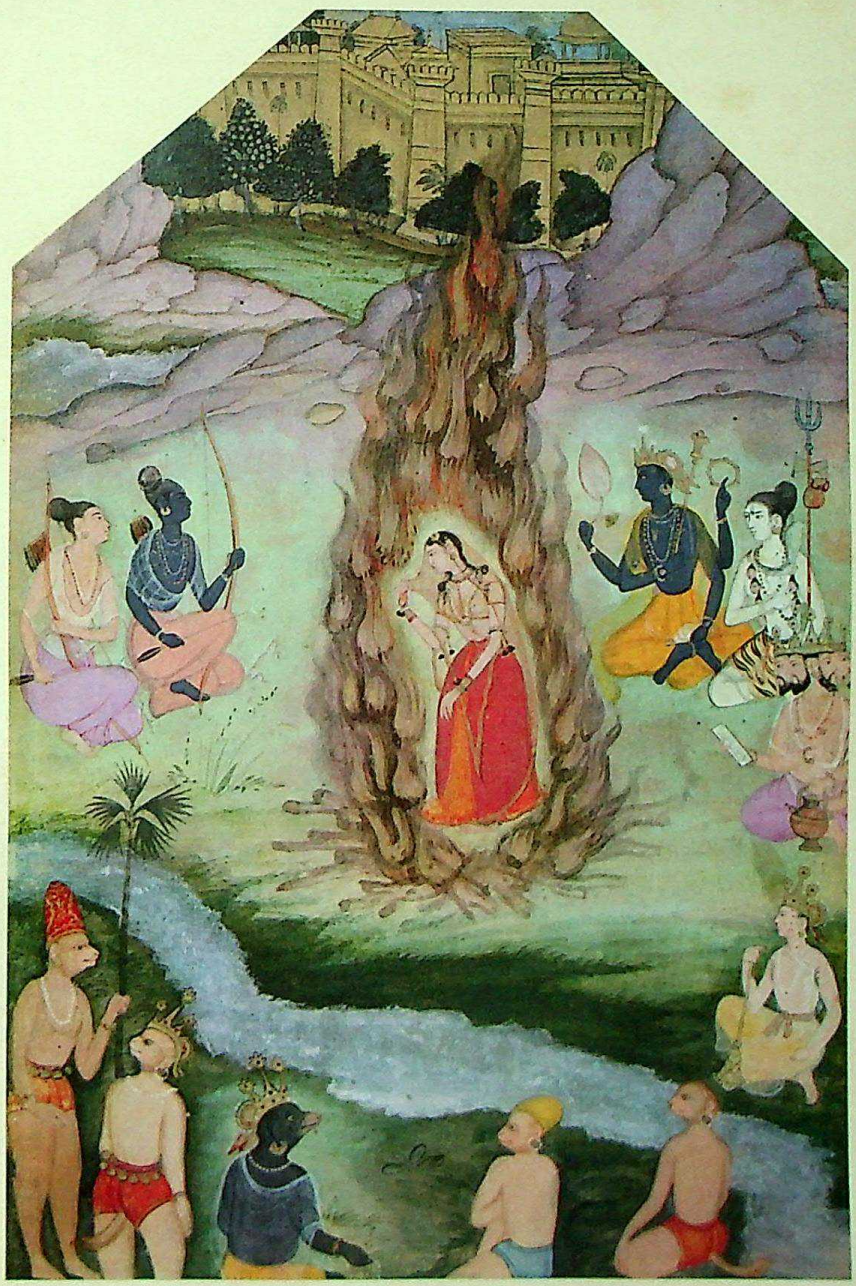

Pl. Q Scene from Rāmāyana : Sītā's Fire Ordeal, Popular Mughal, *ca.* 1600

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of pictorial interpretation of Tulsidas' poem in the collection. This manuscript stands closest to Banaras because of its author's sojourn there, as well as for the origin ascribed to it. Dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is thought to have been painted in Banaras, though clearly strongly influenced by the Rajasthani style, popular at the time. The full page paintings, framed in a variety of handsome naturalistic or somewhat stylized floral borders, and some smaller paintings, fitted into the text's decorative calligraphy in black, picked out in red, represent a pictorially effective gloss on the poem.[4]

It is a work of great distinction and quality within its style. For example, the artist's ingenuity in putting into pictorial terms so complicated an imagery as the description of the child Rāma's mystical appearance before his mother, (Pl. P), in all his symbolic glory, and yet preserving the integrity of the subject as a work of art, provides a particularly striking example of the artist's skill, but also gives some insight into the manner in which literature and visual art may complement one another. It presents a sort of miracle of imagination, as remarkable in its realization in the miniature painting, as in Tulsidas' poem.

The mystical image of Rāma before his mother is placed in a vast landscape. This setting is lovely in colour with its progression of greens, indicating receding planes, enlivened by flowers in various hues.

But the other illustrations of this manuscript deserve particular attention as well. The skill of grouping the figures in the *Marriage of Śiva* (fig. 526) and in the *Feast* (fig. 527) following it, which are reproduced here, with their many personnages, minute in scale, yet accurately depicted as recognizable divinities and their associates are outstanding examples of the artist's skill. In the first scene, the landscape setting with its architecture, the rejoicing divinities in attendance above, scattering flowers, the decorative tree forms and, on the ground, tufts of flowering plants, and, in the second, the richly ornamented architecture in the background, the setting for the musicians and dancers, the reception of the guests and the details of serving them, give a well ordered composition. Similarly in the scene of *Rāma's Birth*, (fig. 528) the complexity of the walled pavilions of the palace on several planes, with their various groups of busy or agitated women, receding to the inner court and its fountain, with a glimpse of garden and other buildings over the far wall, is a *tour-de-force* in maintaining the unity of the entire composition.

The late-eighteenth century painting, *Lava and Kuśa catch Monkeys* (fig. 529), from Bilaspur, is a dynamic composition, skilfully placing the actors in the space, as well as balancing the stylized tree forms above and below, and providing some indication of what appears to be a receding grass-covered hill. It is, however, a particularly clear example of the extent to which colour is required to suggest atmospheric perspective and the sense of space needed to complete the miniature's effect as an expressive work of art.

The Popular Mughal examples, though early (seventeenth century), depend more on drawing than on colour. These examples, *Departure of Rāma and Daśaratha's death* (fig. 530), *Rāma meets with Sugrīva* (fig. 531) and *The Fire Ordeal of Sītā* (Pl. Q) are not bold and decorative, but built up of much detail, small in scale, to give an all-over effect of careful balance. Here the colour is of importance, especially in suggesting the emotional atmosphere, but it is not indispensable to the decorative effects or to the composition, nor in understanding and appreciating the paintings. The draughtsmanship is refined and delicate, skilled in depicting detail.

By contrast, the remaining three groups, all earlier works, spanning two centuries, outstanding examples of their type—Malwa, local Malwa, Kulu-Basohli—employ colour as an element fundamental to their expression. In them all the picture plane is relatively flat, the drawing of the figures is bold, simplified, but expressive, and the depiction of space is abstract, indicated essentially by the arbitrary decorative areas in colour portraying symbolically the setting. The ornamental forms of trees, the blue area for sky, the green for land, indicate clearly the scene of each action. Colour is an integral part of the composition and contributes both to the meaning of the subject as well as to the psychological impact of each episode. Quite apart from subject matter, many of these paintings may be understood as abstract patterns in colour, with broad areas of painted backgrounds, subordinate colour patterns created in the details, particularly of diversity of colour and tone. The sparkle of varied colour and of pattern is particularly effective in many of the Kulu-Basohli

[4] Family tradition attributes the manuscript's commissioning to an ancestor of the founder of Bharat Kala Bhavan. Unfortunately, all other information on the circumstances of the creation of the manuscript and of its paintings is reported lost and its artist has not been identified. It brings to focus the Rāma theme, in an intimate connection, not only with Tulsidas and his sojourn in Banaras, while composing the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*, but with the tradition of connoisseurship in Indian art. Obviously as a work of art, still in admirable condition, and an outstanding example of a style and period, it invites future expert study by competent scholars of miniature painting, and publication with colour plates.

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Pl. R Scene from Hirā De Rāmāyaṇa : Ravana's Abduction of Sītā, Malwa, *ca.* 1640

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examples. Added to the background and to the decorative tree forms in colour, with surface modelling and decorative blossoms, is the variety of colour in the costumes, of divine and human personages as well as of the monkeys, having the effect of scattering bright small spots throughout the picture in a gay over all pattern.

These Malwa and Kulu-Basohli examples are major works, masterpieces in quality of composition and of design of their respective periods and schools of miniature painting. Anand Krishna uses the manuscript as a pivot for his discussion of one major phase of Malwa painting.[5]

The Killing of Nikumbha (fig. 532) and *The Killing of Jambumālī* (fig. 533) are good examples. Anand Krishna's reference to the probable influence of the popular *Rāmalīlā* performances on the appearance and actions of the characters undoubtedly explains the series' folk quality and its humour.

In this Malwa series the use of strong colour as backgrounds to separate the different parts of the episodes and to provide a symbolic clue to the setting, which at the same time reinforces the graphic design, furnishes what can be recognized as an abstract colour composition. An instance is *Rāvaṇa's Abduction of Sītā* (Pl. R). The bold, simple drawing limits the depiction of the figures, whether of humans or monkeys, to a strictly profile view, except in rare instances, when beauty was not the aim. For example, in *Hanumān's Search for Sītā in Rāvaṇa's Garden* and his presentation of Rāma's ring to her, the female demon guarding Sītā in the garden is represented full-face, and the artist's awkwardness of drawing contributes to the impression of uncouthness suitable for a monster. Likewise the animated poses of conflict, as above, and those of action, as in *Monkeys meet Sampātī* (fig. 534) and in *Bridging the Sea* (fig. 535), the vivid expressions of the monkeys, summarily, but clearly, indicated, and also the symbolic indications of the setting, in drawing and colour, all depend on an economical but expressive graphic style. The pictorial convention of mountains, indicated in brown, patterned with nervous yellow lines, the trees handled completely decoratively in portrayal of foliage and blossoms, as well as in colour, the blue-grey, pale beach-bordered rivers and sea, the invention of horrible shapes for the demons, all provide visual enjoyment. It is interesting that by contrast to monkeys and demons, the divine and human figures portrayed, including Rāma himself and Lakshmaṇa, seem static and visually uninteresting, remote from the active epic world of monkeys and their foes. This detachment of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa seems particularly striking in *Bridging the Sea* (fig. 535), right in the midst of the monkeys' violent activity in gathering rocks and casting them into the water. But even in *The Killing of the Demon Kabandha* (Pl. S), despite being directly menaced by the monster, the two heroes appear remote. This static attitude in *Marriage of Rāma's Brothers* and *The Return of Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and two companions in the* Pushpaka *Chariot* (fig. 536), after the visit to the Sage Bharadvāja at the Prayāga Saṅgam, so graphically portrayed, serves to emphasize the less satisfactory handling of the figures. Static, impassive, detached, remote, they thus become symbols, and possibly the artists had that intention.

As compared with these paintings of high accomplishment, despite their folk character, the local group in the Malwa style is obviously less skilled in drawing, more naive in vision, slightly awkward in its expressive and decorative draughtsmanship. However, ingenious solutions have been found for problems of visual representation, and there is no evidence of fear of their challenge. These few paintings in the collection can be considered examples of a local folk style, influenced by such more skilled and powerful works as the 1640 Malwa *Rāmāyaṇa*, but on a simpler level. However, they have their own naive charm. *The Abduction of Sītā: Rāvaṇa's Fight with Jaṭāyu* (fig. 537), is an example of somewhat static composition, in which the action seems arrested. But the colour areas are carefully balanced and the decorative intention is clear. It is, however, the *sādhu's* dress of Rāvaṇa and his bag, in which Sītā is being carried, which catch the eye as charming and carefully observed authentic details. Similarly, Rāma's skill in piercing *Seven Palm Trees* (fig. 538), with his arrow, and *Hanumān sets Fire to Laṅkā* (fig. 539), betray an expressive awkwardness in draughtsmanship and an aspiration to decorative effect which are exceedingly appealing. The painter was very aware of symmetry and decorative effect and depended on forms, shapes and outlines to achieve them, for the colour range is bold, but relatively limited. In both these Malwa groups the folk quality is strong, whether on the masterly level of the 1640 manuscript or in the naive form of the group of provincial interpretations in the same style.

The third group of miniatures on the Rāma theme

[5] Krishna, Anand: *Malwa Painting*, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1968, pp. 16-17 and Appendix B, 2, p. 36; also colour plate I, and figs. 12 and 13. He dates the paintings as approximately 1640, and considers them as examples of the style at its apogee for technical and aesthetic qualities, particularly for their decorative excellence and their masterly composition, with geometric space divisions and balance of pictorial elements. He likens the action, where demons and monkeys fight, to a "war dance", an apt description.

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in Bharat Kala Bhavan is the *Rāmāyaṇa* series of the eighteenth century in the Kulu-Basohli style. It forms a particularly brilliant set, and on the basis of the handling of colour, is highly dramatic.[6]

The leaves from this manuscript in Bharat Kala Bhavan represent three distinct manners of composition, of drawing and of painting within the style. In all three groups, the compositions as well as the details, always used decoratively but in distinctive ways, are handled with ease and skill. Colour is throughout important to their full impact, aesthetically and emotionally. In this respect they, like the earlier Malwa paintings, depend on colour. However, the Kulu-Basohli paintings in general, in all three styles, show greater skill in delineation of people, animals and demons in action, than is to be found in the Malwa examples. The drawing, less bold, is more subtle and generally brings out greater detail and shows much invention. They show more interest than their Malwa predecessor in expressive poses and attitudes and, likewise, greater anatomical knowledge, though obviously depiction of feet and placing them firmly on the ground is of no particular interest. The folk character is less marked, despite monkey action and demon ferocity. The decorative quality is more intricate and developed than in the Malwa set. It is always emphasized. The use of colour backgrounds in an arbitrary way, and the elaboration of decorative detail, especially in the trees, but in costumes, in body decoration, in architectural setting, in other animals as well as monkeys and bears, in the introduction of small animals and birds as hints of the wilderness environment, illustrate in their different ways the common decorative intention. In the miniatures of the first two periods, in addition to bold areas of colour for backgrounds, colour patterns are varied and knowingly distributed throughout the composition, usually by the flowering trees, but also by the gaily patterned costumes, while in the last period the backgrounds are simplified, and symbolic plant and tree forms, still decorative and highly stylized, are introduced as indication of the setting. Throughout there is a certain elegance and visual richness.

The earliest miniatures in the Kulu-Basohli group, dated approximately 1715, by Bharat Kala Bhavan staff, are well represented by three fine examples: *Rāma and Lakshmaṇa visit Viśvāmitra* (Pl. S), *Rāma and his Party meet Paraśurāma* (Pl. T) and *Daśaratha's anguish* (see Pl. S Chhavi-1). They are distinguished by the strongly delineated features of the divine and human figures, as well as by the sense of theatre they convey. They appear as tableaux of arrested motion, at a moment of high drama. The actors make expressive gestures against broad backgrounds of strong colour. The settings are suggested symbolically by stylized trees and plants for the two outdoor scenes, and by ornamented architecture, of somewhat confusing perspective, but of completely understandable purpose, for the episode of Daśaratha's suffering in his palace. Space is summarily indicated by overlapping of figures, animals and objects, despite the emphasis on a general undifferentiated flat background. Though stylization is complete and emphasis is placed on abstrct decorative handling, events are firmly located in space and in their appropriate settings.

The paintings of the second style, thought to date from about 1760, stress action, and, even more emphatically, decorative quality. The action takes place in more complex settings, of a forest of a great variety of different flowering trees in the case of *Monkeys confront a Demon* (Pl. U) and in a snow-covered mountain landscape in *Monkeys and Bears in Search of Sītā* (fig. 540). Spatial depth is indicated by action on several planes, established by the overlapping of the animal figures and the trees, which are likewise given volume by skilled modelling in form and colour. Even stylized as they are, the trees have varied foliage and a diversity of blossoms, in shape and colour. The gestures and expressions of the animals seem individualized to some extent, offer some variety and seem, in a few cases, even to express a definite personality. Their garments are varied in colour and design to introduce a subsidiary pattern of gay spots of colour, scattered decoratively throughout the composition.

The third style, presumably from about 1775, focuses attention on single events placed against a vivid yellow background, producing a somewhat stark but powerful dramatic impression. It is represented in Bharat Kala Bhavan's collection in a particularly striking manner by *Rāma slays the Golden Deer* (fig. 541) and *Rāvaṇa's Fight with Jaṭāyu* (fig. 542).

The space of yellow background is not clearly defined, and the setting is suggested summarily by symbolic, sparse, simplified plants below, a band of blue sky with white tufts of clouds above, and, in the *Slaying of the Golden Deer* (fig. 541) episode, by highly stylized and decorative tree forms bearing blossoms to represent the forest setting. These two examples,

[6] *Rāmāyaṇa* miniatures in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, considered to belong to this manuscript, have an inscription attributing it to Mandi and a date equivalent to 1765. It comes from the collection of Raja Raghbir Singh of Shangri in the Kulu Valley, and is accordingly referred to in Bharat Kala Bhavan as the "Shangri Series".

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Pl. S A scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rama and Lakshamaṇa conversing with Viśvāmitra, Shangri-Kulu, *ca.* 1710

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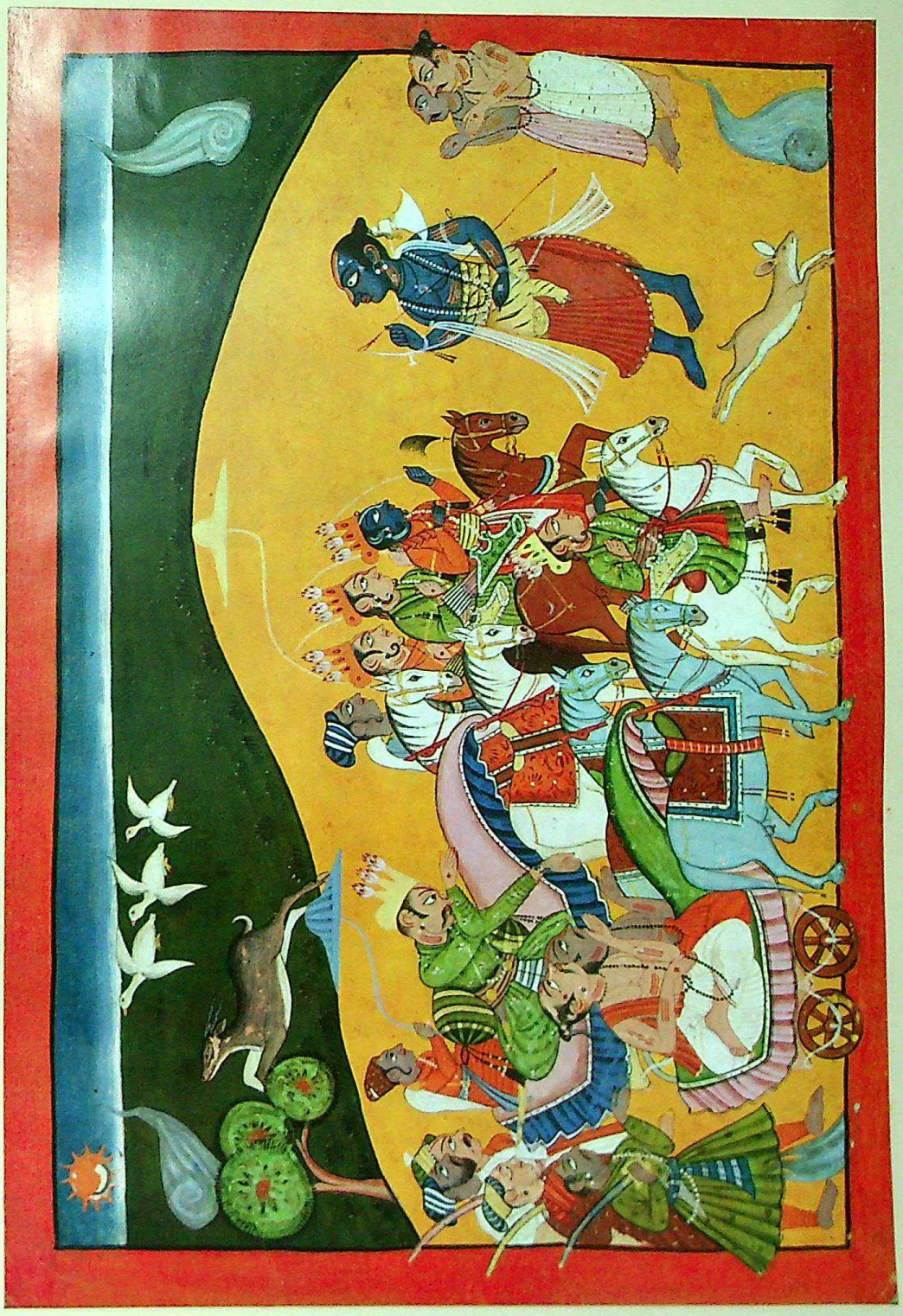

Pl. T A scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Rāma and his Party confront Paraśurāma, Shangri-Kulu, *ca.* 1710

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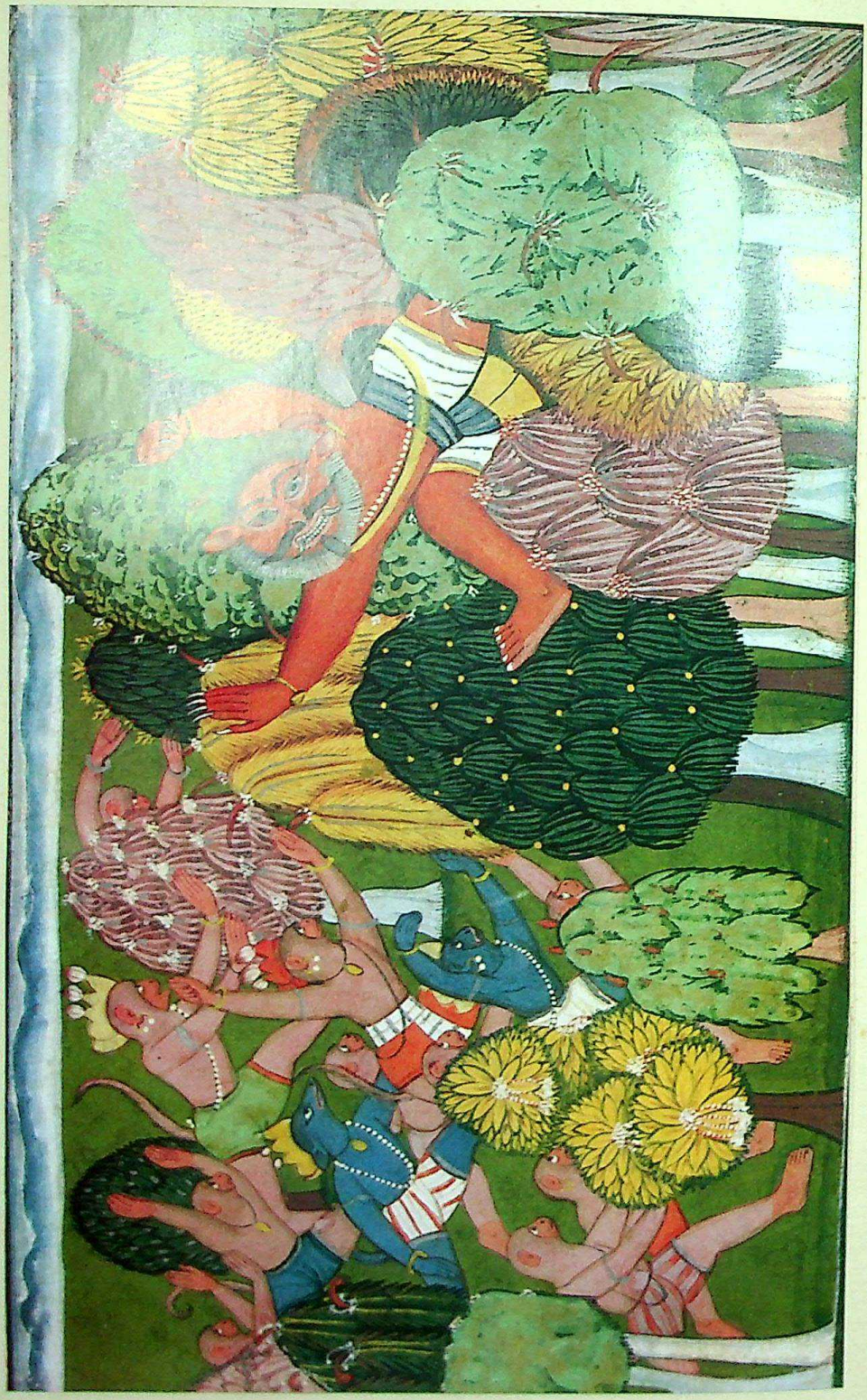

Pl. U A scene from Rāmāyaṇa : Monkeys confront a Demon, Shangri, *ca.* 1730

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sharing the same convention of bright yellow background, offer a contrast in use of the style. The first, of *Rāma Slaying the Golden Deer* (fig. 541), in spite of the drama of the event and the associations it recalls, seems static in design. It depends for its interest on the decorative composition of the carefully balanced actors, Rāma, about to shoot another arrow, and the writhing wounded Deer, respectively linked with a wispy tree behind the hero, and with the heavier, more elaborate couple of trees beside the fallen Deer. By contrast, the second (fig. 542), with the demon's twenty flailing arms, and the effective portrayal of the bird's attack on him with beak and claws, depicts violent action, in what seems a completely abstract setting. The posture of Rāvaṇa, his ten heads with hair flying, in violent movement, as well as the great bird, are effectively rendered and are convincingly dynamic. Less successful in the composition is Sītā, at the right, with her gesture of dismay.

Very closely related to this group, is a single leaf in the Bharat Kala Bhavan's collection depicting *Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in the* Nāgapāśa (fig. 543)—bound in Indrajīta's serpent arrows. It has a similar border, differs minutely in size from those of the other group, but seems otherwise identical in style and in handling of details, even to the depiction of the monkey and bear visages and of their garments. Rāma's allies, the monkeys and bear holding up-rooted trees and rocks as weapons, visibly perturbed surround the fallen heroes, lying helpless and impassive, at the moment of crisis. Is it by an artist of the Shangri series, or by an artist inspired by that series and following it closely? It differs not at all in expressiveness, decorative quality and skilled composition from scenes of that set.[7]

Of the paintings of the Rāma theme in Bharat Kala Bhavan's collection drawn to attention here it is pertinent to point out that among them all the miniatures of the Malwa and Kulu-Basohli schools appeal most directly to contemporary international taste. A period acquainted with abstract art of many origins, appreciating expressionism, and finding interest and charm in "naive" art, responds with enthusiasm to these depictions of an enchanting tale so powerfully rendered in expressive graphic design and in orchestrated colour. A direct intuitive approach to their art quality, to their power of expression, to their abstract composition and to their use of colour allows the sensitive art lover to appreciate these miniatures quite apart from their subject matter, and from the scholarly considerations of distinguishing dates, styles or schools which preoccupy the Indian experts.[8]

[7] In the same Basohli tradition, but it would appear somewhat later, in a somewhat provincial interpretation of the style, is another single leaf on the Rāma theme, depicting *Rāvaṇa performing Yajña during the Battle*. The huddled demons, a number with faces in three quarters view, in a symbolic architectural setting, emphasize the folk flavour of the painting.

[8] For Malwa reproductions, see *Malwa Painting*, *op. cit.*, in colour, plate A. *Kumbhakarṇa's Slumber* and, in black and white, plate 12, *Abduction of Sītā* and plate 13 *Killing of Jambumālī;* for Kulu-Basohli reproductions, see *Chhavi*, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971, in colour plate S *Daśaratha's Anguish*, and, at back, *Rāma and Lakshmaṇa at the Pampā Lake* (fourth page following black and white reproductions).

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KAPILA VATSYAYANA

Gīta-Govinda *and its Influence on Indian Art*

To speak of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the context of the Indian arts is to try and define the contours of the Himalayas, the Indian Ocean, the Gaṅgā in Indian topography or to contain in inadequate words the permeation of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa theme in Indian life, thought, literature and the arts.

Unlike these physical ecological features, and the epics, the *Gīta-Govinda* is a medieval text created long after the perennial sources of philosophic writing, speculative thought and epic literature had been through many meandering vicissitudes of Indian history. By some accounts, much marsh had grown on these clear waters; by others, the fountain spring had dried up, only formal ornateness of design had remained.

No doubt, the hero, and perhaps the heroine, were known and the prototypes of the characters traced back to Vedic, even pre-Vedic, sources and the collective psyche of the Indian people was familiar with the content and the symbolism. Nevertheless, the emergence of both Kṛishṇa and more particularly of Rādhā of the *Gīta-Govinda* was the gift of a poet and creator without a finished model and a predecessor. Historically, the writing of the *Gīta-Govinda* and its spread throughout the Indian sub-continent coincides with repeated invasions, wars, battles, feuds, rise of principalities and the rest. In literary history, it is the period of the rise of regional literatures inspired both by Sanskrit textual literature and indigenous oral traditions, but with a distinctive identity specific to each cultural region.

The spread of the *Gīta-Govinda* into different parts of India and its unique impact on the literary and the artistic traditions of India have thus to be viewed against a background of political unrest and the absence of a central political power for nearly three hundred years on the one hand and the emergence of distinctive regional or local styles in religion, art and thought on the other. The popular movements of *bhakti* and other allied cults were both sustained by it and in turn became the vehicles of mobility of a poem which could be comprehended on many levels of consciousness through multimedia of word, sound, line, colour and movement.

The last three decades have brought forth a body of primary material which makes it possible for us to identify the landmarks of the mobility pattern of this work into different regions and different levels of society. Our study has revealed that there is hardly a region or a literature it does not touch and transform. Its influence penetrates the recesses of each regional literature and artistic style and brings about a transmutation which can be clearly distinguished from the nature of influence exerted by the epics, the *Purāṇas* and the classical drama. Unlike the epics and *Purāṇas*, it determines the development of a particular theology and dogma without ever shedding its pure literary quality. For purposes of delineating the influence of the *Gīta-Govinda*, it is necessary to take into account the nature of archaeological, literary and political material which has to be tapped.

First and foremost are the manuscripts of the *Gīta-Govinda* from different regions of India and from Nepal. The first dated manuscript comes from Nepal (1348 A.D.). It is a short recension comprising the twenty-four cantos excepting the seventeen verses which appear in the longer recensions.

Alongside is the valuable epigraphical evidence from Pāṭan (1295 A.D.) which quotes the *Gīta-Govinda*. From this evidence, it is clear that the *Gīta-Govinda* had travelled to both Nepal and Gujarat within fifty years from the date of its composition.

Little is known of the tradition of the *Gīta-Govinda* between the fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries, although from external evidence, it would be possible to deduce that commentaries continued to be written. Amongst the most valuable are those from Orissa and Bengal of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By the late fifteenth century, there is a renewal of interest and commentaries of the *Gīta-Govinda* appear in all parts of India, but particularly in Rajasthan and Gujarat. From all accounts, it would appear that the singing of the *Gīta-Govinda* was well established in the Vaishṇava centres of Pāṭan by the end of thirteenth century and it must have continued all through the fourteenth so as to be responsible for writing of major commentaries in the fifteenth century, the two most distinguished of these being of Māṇaka from Gujarat and of Kumbhā from Rajasthan. In the sixteenth century appear many more, in other parts of India, particularly Orissa, Bengal and Karnataka. We must also remember that this period coincides with two other

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major events. First, the birth of Chaitanya and his interest in the *Gīta-Govinda* and the second closely related to it, *i.e.*, the emergence of the Jagannātha cult and the supreme place of Puri as a centre of pilgrimage. The commentaries and the imitations, together with the translations, are prolific in Orissa, and Bengal, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Karnataka follow suit. By the fifteenth century, the original *Gīta-Govinda* and its imitations, chiefly the *Abhinava Gīta-Govinda* must have been so well established that it led to a heated controversy on whether the *Gīta-Govinda* or its imitations, the *Abhinava Gīta-Govinda* would be sung in the precincts of the temple. This history of controversy runs parallel to the discussion of the application of the original *rāgas* or different *rāgas* to the *prabandhas* of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Rajasthan and elsewhere.

A perusal of the textual material, the commentaries and the imitations makes it clear that while the *Gīta-Govinda* became a centre to the ritual, the theology and the doctrine of the followers of Chaitanya, it was an artistic creation for Western and Central India. Also the singing of the *Gīta-Govinda* was common to both the East and the West, but in each case, modification of the *rāgas* and *tālas* was considered necessary. In the South, it permeated all levels of society and gave rise to the particular cult today identified as the *Rādhā-Kalyāṇaṃ* tradition. While this was one line of development, there was the other of equal significance. From the South came the Telugu Guru Nimbāraka to Vṛindāvana. He more than any other single influence lifted Rādhā of the *Gīta-Govinda* from its literary sources and gave her an independent status and place as a deity. This process of a literary creation, assuming the dimension of a pervasive myth culminating eventually as a deity is perhaps unique in the history of religions and literatures and the arts. Slowly but surely Rādhā travels to different regions, cults and the arts on her own or in conjunction with Kṛishṇa, but with an identity which can be clearly distinguished from the literary creation of Rādhā by Jayadeva.

Equally powerful and pervasive is that other movement where the *Gīta-Govinda* travels in its sung or dramatised version, but the theology and the doctrine centre around the figure of Kṛishṇa and not Rādhā. The most characteristic example of this is Śaṅkaradeva of Assam. In his works, the tradition of Kṛishṇa of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and that of *Gīta-Govinda* coalesce but it is Kṛishṇa and Mādhava who are predominant and not Rādhā. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries begin the rituals of the Guruvayūr temple in Kerala. Here, too, while the *Gīta-Govinda* is accepted and becomes part of the ritual of the temple, the worship is restricted to Kṛishṇa and excludes Rādhā.

From Vṛindāvana begins the tradition of the *yugala* or *jugala rūpa* when Kṛishṇa and Rādhā are seen together and as inseparables. The deified form of Rādhā and its spread to different parts of India, particularly Bengal and Manipur have to be traced back to the happenings in Vṛindāvana.

From the above, it will be clear that Jayadeva was the fountain-head of three or four different types of development of the Kṛishṇa cult from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. These were all coeval. In some temples, the *Gīta-Govinda* was sung to the image of Kṛishṇa alone, in others, it was to the image of Rādhā, in yet others, it was to both. In theology also, it gave rise to two distinct doctrines of the Goswamis, some subscribing to the *advaita* school and others to the *dvaita*. A further development in evidence in considering Rādhā by some as the *svakīyā* and by others as the *parakīyā nāyikā*.

In tracing the literary and pictorial and performing arts traditions of the *Gīta-Govinda*, cognisance must be taken of these varied developments which influence and are in turn influenced by literary and artistic developments.

In literature, the *Gīta-Govinda* was responsible for four distinct types of commentaries/imitations and translations:

(1) The commentaries which understand the *Gīta-Govinda* purely as a theological work. To this category belong the work of all the Goswamis.

(2) Literary commentaries which comprehend and interpret the work as an *alaṅkāra* text and analyse it only from the point of view of the *alaṅkāra*, the *nāyaka* and the *nāyikā bheda*. Chief amongst these are the *Rasika-priyā*, the *Rasamañjarī* and Māṇaka's commentary.

(3) Commentaries which look at the text of the *Gīta-Govinda* as a work of erotics and comment on it as the *Kāmaśāstra* or *Kokaśāstra*.

(4) Commentaries which consider the *Gīta-Govinda* from the point of view of music. Kuṁbhā's *Saṅgītarāja* along with *Rasikapriyā* commentary throws valuable light on this. Later, the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* and the writer of *Hṛidayakautuka* are important from the point of view of music; also are the Oriya commentaries, particularly the *Saṅgīta Kalpalatā*.

(5) Prose dramatised works based on the *Gīta-Govinda* are equally popular. They are either called the *Saṅgītanāṭaka* or the *goshṭhīs*. The earliest amongst these is the *Piyūsha Laharī* of Jayadeva II. Perhaps Orissa followed by Bengal were the centres of this *genre* of writing in both Sanskrit and in the regional languages.

(6) Imitations of the *Gīta-Govinda* in verse were written in all parts of India. These could be divided

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into the imitations of the *Gīta-Govinda* based on the Kṛishṇa theme and others which followed the format of the *Gīta-Govinda* in metrical patterns and vocabulary but substitute Rāma, Śiva, Durgā and other deities for Kṛishṇa. These works are innumerable. Perhaps in this respect, the *Gīta-Govinda* is second only to the *Meghadūta* or *Megha-Sandeśa*.

(7) Translations of the *Gīta-Govinda* in all regional languages. Some faithful verse translations, others which only generally base themselves on the *Gīta-Govinda*.

Although no early illustrated manuscripts of the *Gīta-Govinda* are known, the pictorial interpretation of the *Gīta-Govinda* must have come into vogue fairly early (fig. 547). To-date over forty illustrated manuscripts of the *Gīta-Govinda* are known. They belong to all parts of India except South India.

A bare listing of these sets of miniature paintings is indicative of the popularity of the theme. Considering that most of this activity was coeval with the *atelier* art of Mughal paintings, it is surprising that the theme is unknown in Mughal miniatures.

(1) The first amongst these is a fifteenth century *Gīta-Govinda* from Gujarat dated approximately 1438 A.D. Mazumdar drew our attention to it as far back as 1938. It contains ten illustrations of the *avatāras* and one of *devī Śāradā*.

(2) A complete *Gīta-Govinda* possibly dated late fifteenth century now in the B.J. Institute in Ahmedabad. It has thirty-five illustrations.

(3) Two or three illustrated folios of *Gīta-Govinda* in the popular Mughal school in the Cowasji Jehangir collection.

(4) A set of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings in the *Chaura-pañchāśikā* style now in the Prince of Wales Museum.

(5) An incomplete set of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings from a set which must have had about 134 paintings, only 17 folios are available. This is in the Jaipur City Palace Museum. These have been placed in the first decade of the seventeenth century (fig. 548).

(6) A set of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings in the N.C. Mehta collections. This is a magnificent set of paintings, about 194 in all, in which all the verses are illustrated. This too has to be placed about 1590-1610 A.D. (figs. 549 & 550).

(7) A set of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings with the Kankroli Maharaj. Stylistically, they are very close to the sets of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings mentioned at 5 and 6 above. They belong to the last decade of the sixteenth century or the first decade of the seventeenth century.

(8) A remarkable set of paintings along with a text of the *Gīta-Govinda* in Bagarī from Jāvar in Mewar with a dated colophon of 1593 A.D. (figs. 544-546). These paintings clearly show the emergence of a popular school of painting which does not discard the extended eye.

(9) A set of *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations in the Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, Rajasthan (fig. 551). This has thirty-five paintings with a small format rendered in a typical Mewari idiom. These would have to be placed around 1650-1660 A.D.

(10) Three sets of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings in the Udaipur Museum. These are scattered folios, executed in different idioms of the Mewar school (figs. 552 & 553). All these have to be placed at the end of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

(11) A set of *Gīta-Govinda* drawings in the Bundi style now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collections (fig. 554). The set must have had about 180 drawings. Of these 100 are extant.

(12) An illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* manuscript from Assam with 112 illustrated folios belong to the first half of the eighteenth century (figs. 555 & 556). It has an Asamiya translation by Kavichandra Rāmanārāyaṇa followed by a Sanskrit text. The pictorial rendering is in a typical Asamiya idiom.

(13) A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the Malwa idiom now in the private collections of the Maharaja of Jaipur. About ninety paintings of the set are known.

(14) From the sixteenth and seventeenth century onwards appear many illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* sets on palm-leaf and other material including ivory, from Orissa (fig. 557). Nearly thirty such sets are known. More important amongst these are exhibits Nos. 46, 44, 24 and 35 of the Orissa State Museum (fig. 558). A *Gīta-Govinda* of Orissa is in the Asutosh Museum collections and two folios of another in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the British Museum, London. Finally, a paper manuscript of the *Gīta-Govinda* with folios in the National Museum (fig. 559) and Jagdish Mittal and Bharat Kala Bhavan collections is also known. A magnificent *Gīta-Govinda* in the Orissa style is in the collections of L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

(15) From the eighteenth century onwards appear the several Pahārī sets of the *Gīta-Govinda*. The most important amongst these being the *Gīta-Govinda* folios now in the collections of the National Museum, Chandigarh Museum (fig. 560) and the Bharat Kala Bhavan in the Basohli style.

(16) Scattered folios of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the popular Mughal, Kota and Kishangarh schools are in diverse private collections—Salarjung Museum and the Goenka collections.

(17) Then appear the early nineteenth century sets

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of the *Gīta-Govinda* in the Kangra, Guler and Nurpur styles, all scattered in the collections of the National Museum, the Salarjung, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, the Chandigarh Museum, the Lahore Museum, N.C. Mehta collections and the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and many private collections. Most of these are published, but not all.

(18) In the nineteenth century, we have to return to the *Gīta-Govinda* sets rendered in the style of Jaipur, Amber and late Rajasthan. Amongst these are three sets in the Jaipur City Palace Museum. One of them is a rendering of the *Gīta-Govinda* as a musical text and thus closely related to the *Rāgamālā* sets of the earlier period.

(19) Two sets of *Gīta-Govinda* paintings found in the Darbhanga Sanskrit University Library, also of the nineteenth century. Each has illustrated folios.

(20) An incomplete set of *Gīta-Govinda* illustrated manuscript comes from the Bir Library, Nepal. These illustrations have to be placed about the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century.

(21) The tradition of illustrating *Gīta-Govinda* verses on book covers and *paṭas* continues in Bengal. Of these, an important manuscript from Bengal was brought to light by Stella Kramrisch.[1]

Besides these, there are other scattered folios, too numerous to be listed. Nevertheless, even from this listing, it is obvious that the *Gīta-Govinda* had an unparalleled popularity in the pictorial traditions of India, extending from the East to the West touching Nepal, Bengal, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat. It is, however, surprising that no *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations are known from Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala where the *Gīta-Govinda* singing and dramatic traditions had without doubt left a deep impact. Equally surprising is the absence of the *Gīta-Govinda* pictorial manuscripts in Manipur where the singing and dance traditions of the *Gīta-Govinda* took firm roots in the eighteenth century.

The singing, dance and theatrical traditions of the *Gīta-Govinda* constitute a parallel stream. These traditions are important both for their historical value as also for the fact that they survive in their living continuities. There is hardly a region where collective or solo singing on *Gīta-Govinda* is unknown. However, in this sphere, as in the pictorial traditions, in some regions the traditions are rich and alive, in others one can only surmise on the basis of commentaries, textual references and historical accounts.

As has been mentioned above, Rāṇā Kuṁbhā's commentary is an important landmark in the *saṅgīta* commentaries. *Gīta-Govinda* must have been sung fairly pervasively for Rāṇā Kuṁbhā to remark that the original *rāgas* and *rasas* are no longer valid and that he must take into account the contemporary situation. Later, Lochana in the *Rāgataraṅgiṇī* asserts the same. Surprisingly, however, no tradition of the *Gīta-Govinda* survives in Rajasthan although no conclusive statement can be made. This is also true of Gujarat, although it is learnt that the Rāṇī Palitana and others used to sing the *Gīta-Govinda* until the thirties of this century. The fact that it was sung is also borne out by the records of the Bhavanagara Palace from the published account of the Palace Singer in 1910.

In contrast, however, the *Gīta-Govinda* is sung in different regional styles at different levels of society in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra, partially in Karnataka, Orissa, Bengal, Manipur and in many sub-styles of Hindustani music.

Here different levels of *Gīta-Govinda* singing can be discerned:

(a) It is sung in the inner sanctum of temples, as in the *garbha-gṛiha* as solo singing. This is its most exoteric level. Here the most important traditions are in the Guruvayūr temple, Kerala, the Jagannath Puri temple, Nabadvipa temple, and a few temples of Mathura.

(b) Outside the temples in the courtyard, it appears a dramatised version. Often the men are in the women's garb and the tradition can be reconstructed from historical accounts.

(c) The *bhajan* singing tradition of South India, particularly in the festivities connected with *Māgha Saṅkrānti;* today it is popularly known as the *Rādhā Kalyāṇaṃ* tradition. This is largely collective in nature. Here Rādhā is married to Kṛishṇa with the twenty-second *prabhandha.*

(d) A related *bhajan* tradition restricted to women is the *Gīta-Govinda* which is also of the *bhajan genre* but is accompaniment to the Kummi is known to Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

(e) *Gīta-Govinda* verses which are incorporated in the *kīrtan* traditions of Bengal, Orissa and Manipur. This is a sub-class by itself. Sometimes, it is only singing; at other times, it is accompaniment to the dance particularly in Manipur and the Nabadvipa traditions.

(f) The *Gīta-Govinda* is also sung in the *melās* predominantly the *vairāgī melā* and Kendali of the Birbhum region in Bengal. It also coincides with *Māgha Saṅkrānti.*

(g) The *Gīta-Govinda padas* have been rendered in the sophisticated classical musical styles of both Karnataka and Hindustani music. Many composers

[1] "An Illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* MS", *JISOA*, vol. 11, no. 2, Calcutta, 1934

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have rendered these in their distinct *saṁpradāyas*. Of these the composition of Tiger Vardachari in the South, the Gwalior *gharāṇā* in the North are well known. So also is the important stream of *Sopāna* singing in Kerala and the *Ashṭipadayaṭṭaṃ*.

All the singing traditions of the *Gīta-Govinda* are closely related to the dance and dance-drama traditions of the *Gīta-Govinda*. Orissa and Manipur have sustained a continuity, especially, the latter. In North and South India, there have been recitals by contemporary artists. The two important compositions are those of Rukminidevi and Smt. Mrinalini Sarabhai. Rukminidevi assiduously collected the musical renderings of the Karnataka musicians and composed her dance-drama. Mrinalini Sarabhai's approach has been more eclectic in nature. *Gīta-Govinda* is performed in all forms of Indian dance, mainly Bharatnaṭyaṃ, Odissi, Manipuri, Kuchipudi, Kathak and in the *Mañjuthara* of Kathakali. It is today an indispensable part of the repertory of these dance forms.

This brief survey of the material relating to the *Gīta-Govinda* will, perhaps, be convincing evidence of the unique role of the poem in the development of the artistic traditions of India, literary, pictorial and the performing arts, through a period of five hundred years and more. It plays a pivotal role in the evolution of theological doctrines, literary *genres*, pictorial styles and music and dance schools.

Apart from the doctrinal turn that the *Gīta-Govinda* takes, it is, perhaps, necessary to identify the artistic qualities of the work which make it possible for it to effect influence and transform all that it touches.

First and foremost is the manner in which Jayadeva transforms the character of Kṛishṇa. The Kṛishṇa of the *Harivaṁśa* or the Kṛishṇa of the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* was undoubtedly a cowherd, a pastoral being, but he was primarily a symbol—a symbol of the godhead, the unity which could multiply itself into the plurality. This, indeed, is the significance of the myth which has been re-interpreted a hundred times. As we follow the Kṛishṇa of these *Purāṇas*, including the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, we find a character arising out of a primeval agricultural psyche into a godhead whose pranks and his relationships with the mother figure Yaśodā and the plurality symbols of the *gopīs*, we become familiar with. The descriptions and the attributes are clear and unambiguous. By the time of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha*, he assumes the status of the unity principle in undisputable terms. The *gopīs* are his parts. He recreates himself and the formless or one form is seen in the multiple forms and merges back in the formless or the one form. This is the symbolism of the *rasa* and its various versions. One could follow the contours of this development through many *Purāṇas* and the *kāvyas*. The mood of autumn, the vernal moonlight of the *Harivaṁśa* becomes the spring of the *Daśamaskandha*. Kṛishṇa who multiplies himself in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* becomes the one apart of the *Bhāgavata*.

But Jayadeva's Kṛishṇa is none of this. He is first and last a human, a god in pain, a god and man who grows line by line, verse by verse, *prabandha* by *prabandha* throughout the twenty-four cantos. He is the small diffident boy being escorted by one mature. The human drama begins at night, but is over all too soon. The adolescent Kṛishṇa is attracted by and attracts all those others and the one Rādhā watches, yearns for and is jealous. In remembering her first night with him, she recalls the delicacy of the first union in shades subtler than any painting could capture. The mood of despondency overtakes her as it had overtaken the other, but not for a moment does the poet lets us forget that this is all play, *līlā*, the human bond is elsewhere. The verses of the *prabandha, lalita, lavaṅgalatā* and *chandanacharchita* resound with the sound of music, the youthful flowering of spring, the hum of bees, and yet nowhere is Rādhā forgotten. The despondency which follows is that of a lover in anguish. The lonely paths he traverses, the Jamuna he trudges through, is a man forlorn, alone conscious of his wantonness, his incompleteness without her. No remorse had touched the Kṛishṇa of the *Purāṇas*. It is Jayadeva who imbues his hero with this human quality of being incomplete without her. Godhead though he is, he must suffer the pangs of separation as the human and with an equal intensity of the separation and the remorse. While he suffers, the jealousy and the anger of Rādhā mounts. Her wild fancies reach new heights and then she crumples to the depth of depression, of anguish and of pain. The individual and separate pain of each equal in its intensity of emotion and passion is captured beautifully in the two *sargas* which follow each other in quick succession, namely, *rati sukha sāre* and *paśyati diśi diśi*. He is the human lover on the bank of the Jamuna making his bed of lotus shoots and leaves, startled by the slightest sound of a rustling leaf, she is the withering anguished one who looks and looks not in her abode and within herself. Most poignant is her imagining herself—both as herself and as him. And yet the two—the first outdoors and the second indoors—simultaneously they are separate, apart and yearning.

The reconciliation of the two is neither easy nor smooth. There was neither remorse nor human reconciliation. In the *Purāṇas*, the god appears, the god disappears. In the *Gīta-Govinda* it is the human figure of

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Kṛishṇa who yearns and pines, is anxious to return and powerless to make the first tangible move.

The *sakhī* persuades him and persuades her in poignant words. Kṛishṇa arrives only to be rebuked and reprimanded through the famous verses of *yāhi Mādhava* and *yāhi Keśava*. Here again, Jayadeva gives his character flesh and blood hitherto unknown in literature. And then begins the gentle coming together of the two. All through Kṛishṇa of the *prabandhas* in his varied states is counterpoised against the Rādhā in her myriad *bhāvas* of the *nāyikās*, the *mugdhā*, the *vāsakasajjā* etc. Although the *nāyikās* and *dhīrodātta* and *dhīralalita nāyakas* were both known and much explored in Sanskrit literature, this particular treatment is as fresh as it is deeply evocative of a humanity which touches the core of any sensitive reader or hearer. The gradual coming together of the two is once again in a one to one relationship and is no generalised yearning of the *jīvātmā* for the *paramātmā*. The verses of the last two *sargas* are held together as much on the level of the sense perceptions as on the level of the spirit. All else, even the stoic penance of Pārvatī in the *Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ* and the subsequent love-play of Śiva and Pārvatī seem an overstatement when poised before these.

Kṛishṇa then of the *Gīta-Govinda* is a human, human to the last and yet that symbol of human ascension for which the spirit ever craves.

Rādhā is equally novel. She is not the special *sakhī* with whom Kṛishṇa runs away in the *Bhāgavata*. Nor do all the references to her ranging from the *Atharvaveda* to Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* to Kshemendra's lyrics provide a prototype for the character which Jayadeva creates in the *Gīta-Govinda*. Nowhere is she drawn like any of her prototypes. She stands in a one to one relationship with Kṛishṇa whether jealous or impetuous, forbidding or captivating, she is the woman in love, separation and union. None of the nascent sketches of the character in earlier literature provides us with a prototype, of predecessor. Jayadeva fills every limb of the character with sap rich and sensuous but human and endearing.

And yet all through this human drama, full of sense perception—dark and light, night, dawn and day, the fragrance of spring blossoms and the spikes of bushes are the fire of passion; we are in the realm of the spirit. Both and many levels of consciousness move in simultaneity; it is neither allegory nor symbolism of the song of Solomon. It is all these together in every syllable and line, word and meaning and sound. The capacity of the Sanskrit language for multiple levels of meaning is inherent and others before Jayadeva had used it to effective use. Jayadeva draws the last drop of blood from this possibility by using language which moves like the staves of a staff notation, each dimension reinforcing the other. The horizontal staves have a progressive movement in simultaneity and each has an individual status.

The formal and technical qualities of the verses depend in no small measure on the thematic content and the purpose of the artist. He loads every rift with ore, metaphor upon metaphor is piled one upon the other through a systematic design of alliterative inner rhyme, all combined together in a well-knit structure of the moric metrical patterns known and perfected in Sanskrit poetry. The vowel and consonant values of the syllables are used both for their metrical as also for their sound value. Alongside is the symphony of colours which is intrinsic to the design. From the dark blue of the night when the drama begins, we move to the yellow and oranges of the *rasa* and the desolation of noonday sun. We arrive at the night again, the dark night of the soul, where white garlands on dark skins are the white cranes on cloud-covered skies. The dawn follows with its hues and we return to the golden glow of the morning meeting. Jayadeva plays upon the dark body of Kṛishṇa and the dark clouds in an unique fashion. So does he incorporate yellow, orange, and red for expressing inner states of mind, and the outer environment.

To this is added the music of the *rāgas*. Whatever the change of the *rāgas* through the five hundred years, the spring-time *rasa* is always in *Vasanta* and the *rajanī-janita* in *Bhairavī*. If *Gurjarī mālava gauḍī* undergo change, this is understandable. But the peak states are strengthened through the suggestion of these combinations of notes which unambiguously evoke an emotive state.

And finally there is the constant movement of the two characters and the *sakhī* who interlinks the spatial relations and the emotive states. She moves freely in space but Rādhā and Kṛishṇa are clearly spatially defined, be it indoors or outdoors the forests, and the gardens and the inner spaces are visualised brilliantly and visions of trees, shrubs, the Jamuna and beds of lotus petals are conjured up through scent, sound and fragrance. Through these the characters move in isolation, desolation and finally in unison. Movements of the two, a gesture here, a lift of the eyebrow there, a pointed finger, a closed fist constitute the drama. The description of feet, waist, arms, hands and head are literally interwoven into the literary piece. It is dance set to music and *tāla* and word.

Little wonder that this compact garland dexterously woven from the realm of the spirit to the senses, from single word meanings to continuous metaphors sprawling over whole *sarga* would allow his successors to choose

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according to their particular calling or the particular state of receptivity. Like an Indian garland which is a *gunthana*, the *Gita-Govinda* then results in garland of triple, double or single flowers in different arts and in the hands of poets, musicians and painters alike, but hardly ever is capable of reproduction in its totality except in the original Sanskrit. This is its secret of accomplishment. Understandably, it could only influence. Jayadeva could not provide a point of growth as Khajuraho or Bhuvaneśvara could not lead to further growth in sculpture. Sanskritists have called it the last great work in the Sanskrit literature. True enough, but truer that it provided the basis of a cultural unity exactly when politically there appeared to be fragmentation.

Note:

This is a brief summary of a large project which envisages nearly twenty independent intensive studies of each of the illustrated manuscripts and three critical volumes. The author is grateful to the Jawaharlal Memorial Fund for making it possible to undertake the study and the help and assistance of public museums and private collectors.

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ANAND KRISHNA

Concept Chatura *and* Vichitra *in Indian Art and Culture*[1]

A. Introduction:

Chaturā (or Chatarā) and Vichitra (Bichittar) were two important painters from the early Mughal court. The sample investigation presented here, is to probe the backgrounds of these names.

The term *chatura* and *vichitra,* which currently mean "clever" and "unusual" respectively, were often used as the names or titles of artists in the Mughal court.[2] For example, two early Mughal painters were named after these terms. Moreover an artist Anup Chatur flourished in the Shahjahan period; and a painter Chaturmani (or Chatarman—sometimes reconstructed as Chitramaṇi) was contemporary to him, and possibly still another having the same name in the eighteenth century.

These names or titles were current in that period. One of Akbar's principal musicians was Bichitra Khan[3] and a musician from Deccan who waited upon Jahangir as an ambassador of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, possibly bore the title of Bichittar Khan Kalawant.[4] *Vichitra* was also a popular name among poets: in the *Hanuman Bodh*—a work presumably of later origin, but ascribed to Kabir, it is recorded that there flourished a *bhāṭ (bard),* named *Vichitra.*[5]

Although we are uncertain as to whether these were personal names or titles, we do know that *chatura* and *vichitra* possessed highly ramified meanings in Indian sacred, secular and epigraphical writings. The purpose of this paper is to trace the rather complex meaning of both terms in pre-Mughal Indian literature. As we shall see, the frequent use of *chatura* and *vichitra* as either the titles or names of Mughal painters/artists is, in the context of Indian tradition, highly appropriate and, perhaps, not coincidental.

B. Chatura:

The word *chatura,* which has the commonplace meaning of "clever", is often used in ancient and medieval texts and inscriptions to refer to technically skilled painters, architects, sculptors, and musicians. For example, Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* refers to the galaxy of *"chatura"* painters who "painted the auspicious motifs. . . in variegated colours and techniques on the wall of. . .". Architects, too, were referred to as *chatura.*[6] The Akaltārā stone inscription of Ratnadeva II of Kalchuri era 893 (1141-42 A.D.) refers to the builder of a Revanta temple as *chatura.*[7]

Certain writers were also termed *chatura* in many medieval Hindu texts, especially in the *Bāla Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa,* where Tulasī Dāsa says: "I (humbly) describe Rāma's virtues (=life). According

[1] Basic draft for this paper was prepared while I held a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship (1970-72).

I am indebted to my esteemed friend Prof. Reva Prasadji Dwivedi and my student Dr. (Km.) Bhanu Agrawal for their valuable help in collecting certain references. My young friend, Mr. Joseph Dye went through the language. I thank these people for their help. I am grateful to my son Kalyan Krishna for collecting additional footnotes and managing the footnotes etc.

[2] Titles were awarded to court painters and calligraphers by the Mughals. Humayun conferred the title "Nadirul Mulk" to his favourite painter, Mir Sayyid Ali. Akbar did confer such titles to his favourites other than the painters, unless we hold the preposition that *chatura* was a title. Two painters from Jahangir period received the title of *Nadiruzzaman* and *Nadirul-asr.* Other artists received Hindi titles. It may be noted here that the term *"nadir"* is very similar in meaning to the term *"vichitra".* A collection of Shah Alam II's songs was called *"Nadirat-e-Shahi".* The (unusual) eunuch was known in the Rajasthani court as *"nadirji".* Personal names like Kunwar Vichitra Shah or Ajayab Singh are noteworthy in this connection.

[3] H. Blochman (editor and translator), *Ain-e-Akabari,* vol. 1, Calcutta, 1939, page 682, footnote 4

[4] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri,* edited by Henery Beveridge and translated by Alexander Rogers, reprint, vol. II, Delhi, 1968, page 36. Possibly E. Kühnel and H. Goetz have deciphered the inscription as on the basis of Jahangir (*Indian Book Painting,* London, 1926, pp. 3, 9 and 21, colour pl. 8). In that case we might assume that the same person bore the title of Bichittar Khan as is evident from the inscription on the painting.

[5] Pitambar Datta Barthwal, *The Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry,* Banaras, 1932, p. 279

Similarly my father Shri Rai Krishnadasa informs that we had a clown *(bhāṇḍa)* in Banaras, who was called *Ajūbā,* which is more or less synonymous with *vichitra.*

Personal names conceiving *chatura* are discussed below. Like *Vichitra* and *Ajūbā* appear names like Anokhe Lal, the noted *tablā* player of Banaras; Nokhū, the Gaddan woman who was forced in Kangra's Sansar Chand's harem. She could have been a dancing girl.

[6] *. . . Chatura-chitrakāra-chakravāla-likhyamāna-māṅgalya-ālekhyaṃ, Harshacharita,* editor Jagannath Pathak, Banaras, 1964, p. 244

[7] *. . . chatureṇa yaśodhareṇa,* B.N. Sharma, *Iconography of Revant,* New Delhi, 1974, p. 28 quoting from *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. IV, ii, pp. 431-32, verses 22-23

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to (within the limitations of) my intelligence." The same sentiment is couched in *dohā* 9: "I do not claim to be a *kavi*—poet—not *pravīṇa*, since I am devoid of all the fine arts and skills."[8] These talents, according to Tulasī Dāsa, are proficiency in rhetoric, prosody, traditional meters or compositions, and the standards of strength and weakness of poetry. Other poets who wrote Rāma's life with dexterity, the great poet says, are *chatura*.[9]

Chatura was a familiar attribute of a connoisseur, or one who relished *rasa*, in ancient and medieval texts. For instance, Kallola in his old Gujrati poem, the *Dholā-Māru* (*ca.* 1473 A.D.), remarks: "the unknowing fool mocks at my poetry, but the knowledged, the *chatura* is moved by it."[10] Similarly, Chaturbhūja Dāsa Kāyastha, in his *Madhu Mālatī* (*ca.* 1545 A.D.) declares his readers, who were to be pleased by the beautiful songs: *Madhu Mālatī*, as *chatura*.[11]

The term *chatura* is also frequently used in the context of *Śṛiṅgāra (amour) rasa*. The time in life's passage reserved for *amorous* pursuits, was known in the text as *chaturaṃ vayaḥ* or the *chatura* period of life. Kāli Dāsa observed: (during the Daśaratha period) "as if the *parabhṛit* (*kokil* or the cuckoo bird) reminded the (young) wives, 'Abandon *māna*, turning aside with wounded pride (due to faithlessness of the Lover). Oh, no more with (love) quarrels' this *chaturaṃ vayaḥ* (the period of life fit for love-making) will not return. . ."[12]

Amorous women were often described as *caturā*. In Kāli Dāsa's *Raghuvaṁśaṃ;* it is said that Daśaratha was "engrossed in hunting as if a *caturā kāminī* (damsel) with her developing *amorous* attendance would capture him."[13] Commenting on this passage Hemādri defines a *caturā kāminī* as one who makes overtures to several lovers at the same time.[14] In later sixteenth century Hindi literature, Keśava Dāsa, while illustrating his verse on the *Prakāśa Anukūlā* type of *nāyikā*, says (the *nāyikā* feels). . . "I have not the least of *chaturāī* (skill in love-making), how is it that Kṛishṇa is captivated (by me)?"[15]

The various elements of skilful love-making, too, were referred to as *chatura*. For example, *amorous* glances were *chatura*: Śiva disguised as *vaṭu* (a celibate student) teased Pārvatī during her "penance": "I consider your lover deprived of auspicious *mada* (intoxication?) whom your. . . *chatura* glances do not find a target. . ." (that is, upon whom these *chatura* glances are wasted).[16] In the *Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ* (Third Canto, Indra-Kāma Deva dialogue), Kāli Dāsa used the expression "discharging *chatura* (skilfully *amorous*) and bent brow and pointed eye (=looks)"[17]. The skilful *confidante* in *amorous* dalliance was frequently referred to as *caturā*. In the *Vikramorvaśīyaṃ* of Kāli Dāsa king Vikrama, remarks that a *caturā sakhī* may lead the *nāyikā* (heroine) to him: "may the *caturā sakhī* bring her step by step".[18] Moreover, *sakhīs* in Sanskrit plays are commonly called Chaturikā (vide *Śākuntalaṃ* etc.) or Nipuṇikā (*vide Vikramorvaśīyaṃ* etc.)—both names derived from the attribute "*chatura*"[19].

Courtesans, too, were often called *caturā*. The *vidūshaka* (court jester) says in Śūdraka's *Mṛichchhakaṭikaṃ* (Act Five), "Here are roaming the courtesans and the old pimps, who are *chatura* in "union" (amity) or separation in love affairs and who are holding multi-coloured painted cloth panels in their hands (loose translation).[20] Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* (seventh century) remarks, "the courtesans. . . who were *caturā* in rendering services and in their pampering (*sevā-caturā*. . .)".[21]

[8] *Kabi na houñ nahiñ chatura prabinū-sakala kalā saba vidyā hinū, Rāma-charita-Mānasa,* canto I, 9.8, *Tulasi Granthavali, Prathama Khaṇḍa,* editor Ramachandra Shukla *et al.* Varanasi, *Samvata* 2030

[9] *Chatura rakhavāre, ibid.,* 8.1

[10] *Anajānā mūrakha hañsai, rijhai chatura sujāna, . . .*

[11] *Chatura-chita hita sahita rijhāuñ . . .*

[12] *Tyajata mānaṃ— alaṃ bata vigrahair-na punareti gataṃ chaturaṃ vayaḥ . . ., Raghuvaṁśaṃ,* canto 9, *śloka* 47

[13] *. . .pariṛiddha-rāgaṃ-anubaddha-sevayā mṛigayā jahāra chatureva kāminī, ibid.,* canto 9, *śloka* 69. Also the seductive celestial women *chaturaiḥ sur kāminī-Janaḥ, Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ,* canto IV

[14] In this reference Hemādri quotes from *Rasākara: Snigdhairtkshita eva hṛishṭavalitairvyākośitākuñchitairlajjākekarvismitairmukulitairālokitair-nāyakaṃ prauḍhairnāgarikairvachobhirakhilairāsañjayet pallavaṃ dhṛishṭaṃ mohanadakshiṇaiścha caturā vakrādibhiśchāparāṇ* (or *vakrotibhiśchāparāṇ*), *Raghuvaṁśa Darpaṇa,* editor Reva Prasad Dwivedi, Patna, *Samvata* 2030, p. 252

[15] *. . . rañchaka to caturāi na chittahi kānh bhaye basa kaise to māi, Rasikapriyā, Keśava Granthāvalī,* editor Pandit Vishvanath Prasad Mishra, Bombay, 1954, *chhanda* 25

[16] *Avaini saubhāgya-madena vañchitāṃ tava priyaṃ yaś-chatura-avalokinaḥ; Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ,* canto V, *śloka* 49. According to one recension of the *Meghadūtaṃ,* the *yaksha's* wife is called *caturā* (*ibid.,* canto II, *śloka* 47). Other women of the city of Alakā are also *caturā* in shooting their "glance arrows", *ibid.,* canto II, 14

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[19] Such named *sakhīs* are available from all through Sanskrit plays, also *chaturikā* and *sakhī* in the *Kathāsarit Sāgara,* ed. & trans. by H. Tawney, Delhi, 1965, I. 34-35

[20] *Idaṃ chāpare madana-sandhi-vigraha-caturā vividhavarṇikā-vilipta-chitraphalaka-hastā itastataḥ, paribhramanti gaṇikā vṛiddhavipāśchā, Mṛichchhakaṭikaṃ,* Act 5

[21] *sevā-chāṭu-chaturāścha nipuṇānavasthitesyanasyāḥ sthānasthāneshu ruchira-vesho vāriyoshitayaḥ,* chapter iii. 8-9

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As one might expect, *chatura* was also used to describe technical proficiency in many other skills. For example, horse trainers were *chatura* as "they manoeuvred their steads in a variety of manners."[22] The *sakhīs* are *chatura*, as they assert Sītā to offer the *jaya-mālā*.[23]

Finally, *chatura* was used in texts as an attribute of certain type of men. In the *Chitra-sūtra* of the *Vishṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*, the *śaśaka* type of man is described as having, besides other characteristics, an attribute *chatura*[24]: although the precise meaning of the term is not explained in the text, we may assume that it refers to a proficiency since these verses of the *Chitra-sūtra* define the qualities of other "types" of men.

C. Vichitra:

Like *chatura*, *vichitra* seems to have possessed a special meaning in ancient and medieval India. At times, the term carried connotations of technical skill or dexterity, and, therefore closely resembled *chatura* in meaning. However, in other instances, *vichitra* and the word *chitra* (also meaning painting), which is synonymous with it, refer to the "variegated", "romantic", "unusual", and "creative"—that is, to a product which exceeds mere technical proficiency. Fortunately, for us, the term *vichitra* or *chitra* has been used abundantly in early Indian literature and inscriptions; the following brief survey of selected literary and epigraphical records will reveal *vichitra's* full meaning.

The same meaning of *vichitra* as "creative" or out of the ordinary may also be found in certain literary or epigraphical references to king Mahendravarman, who is thought to be the founder of Pallava architecture and sculpture. In one inscription, he is credited with introducing "permanent" architecture and is called *vichitra-chitta*[25] (=? a creative mind, genius)", for his artistic achievements. Mahendravarman also adopted the title *"dakshiṇa-chitra"*,[26] which though related to his artistic creativity may be explained in several ways.[27] According to Prof. Reva Prasadji Dwivedi it can be rendered as "one who is *dakshiṇa* (favourable) to *chitra* (artistic creativity)." The satirical play, *Matta-vilāsa Prahasana* is attributed to his authorship, where he is called *Chitrakarapuli*.[28]

Quite frequently, *vichitra* is used in reference to painting. For instance, a Jain text, *Paryushaṇa Kalpsūtra, refers to "vichitra-ulloya-chittiya"*, which Coomaraswamy translated as "the brilliant surface of the ceiling",[29] but which I think shall be "the exceptional or unusual surface of the ceiling". Bāṇa repeatedly uses the word *vichitra* to refer to painting, suggesting that it is a technical term. In his *Kādambarī*, he says, "The entire universe ("the worlds"), was depicted in a painting as *vichitra* or amusing".[30] In the same text, Bāṇa refers to painted birds as *vichitra* and mentions painted panels in terms of their picturesque quality.[31]

In the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa's Chitra-sūtra*, a painting is called *vichitra* (not explained but to be considered in its usual connotation) in the context of the *Pramāṇa guṇa*.[32] In the same text, too, *vichitra* is referred to in connection with the *sthānas*.[33]

Numerous other references to *vichitra* connected with painting may be found in other texts. Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* (*ca.* seventh century) observed "(he) went to a water pavilion having exceedingly *vichitra*-painted chamber."[34] Somendra in his *Avadāna Kalpalatā* (*Jimūtavāhana Kathā* episode) mentions *vichitra-varṇa* (creative colouration).[35] Trivikrama in his *Nala Champū* (tenth century) specifically notes skill among paintings or "with *vichitra* painting".[36] Māgha (*ca.*

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[23] *chatur sakhin lakhi kahā bujhāī/Pahirāvahu jayamāla suhāī, ibid.*, 264-5

[24] *Rakta-śyāmastu śaśakaḥ kiñchit karburaka-stathā/pūrṇagaṇḍaścha chaturo madhvakshaścha prakīrtitaḥ* (chapter 36, *śloka* 6), Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, Third Khaṇḍa*, Baroda, 1958, p. 130

[25] *etadanishṭakaṃ adrumaṃ alauhaṃ asuhadaṃ vichittrachittreṇa nirmāpitaṃ nṛipeṇa brahmeśvaravishṇulakshtāyatanaṃ;* Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstri, "Mandagappattu Inscription of Vichitra-chitta", *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 17, Calcutta, 1923-24, p. 15 and C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Paintings*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 61

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[32] *"chitraṃ vichitraṃ trividhaṃ pramāṇa trayamevacha"*, Dr. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, *op.cit.*, 1958, chapter 39, *śloka* 37.2, p. 139

[33] *tānyeka-samapādāni vichitrāṇi chalāni cha, ibid.*, chapter 39, *śloka* 46.1, p. 140

[34] *ati-vichitra-aneka-chitraśālāṃ jalamaṇḍapaṁ-agachchhat, Tilakamañjarī*, pt. II, ed. Sri Vijaya Lāvaṇyasūriśvarajñānamandir, Saurashtra, *Vikrama Samvata* 2014.

[35] *ibid.*, p. 7

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to (within the limitations of) my intelligence." The same sentiment is couched in *dohā* 9: "I do not claim to be a *kavi*—poet—not *pravīṇa*, since I am devoid of all the fine arts and skills."[8] These talents, according to Tulasī Dāsa, are proficiency in rhetoric, prosody, traditional meters or compositions, and the standards of strength and weakness of poetry. Other poets who wrote Rāma's life with dexterity, the great poet says, are *chatura*.[9]

Chatura was a familiar attribute of a connoisseur, or one who relished *rasa*, in ancient and medieval texts. For instance, Kallola in his old Gujrati poem, the *Dholā-Māru* (*ca.* 1473 A.D.), remarks: "the unknowing fool mocks at my poetry, but the knowledged, the *chatura* is moved by it."[10] Similarly, Chaturbhūja Dāsa Kāyastha, in his *Madhu Mālatī* (*ca.* 1545 A.D.) declares his readers, who were to be pleased by the beautiful songs: *Madhu Mālatī*, as *chatura*.[11]

The term *chatura* is also frequently used in the context of *Śṛiṅgāra (amour) rasa*. The time in life's passage reserved for *amorous* pursuits, was known in the text as *chaturaṃ vayaḥ* or the *chatura* period of life. Kāli Dāsa observed: (during the Daśaratha period) "as if the *parabhṛit* (*kokil* or the cuckoo bird) reminded the (young) wives, 'Abandon *māna*, turning aside with wounded pride (due to faithlessness of the Lover). Oh, no more with (love) quarrels' this *chaturaṃ vayaḥ* (the period of life fit for love-making) will not return. . ."[12]

Amorous women were often described as *chaturā*. In Kāli Dāsa's *Raghuvaṁśaṃ;* it is said that Daśaratha was "engrossed in hunting as if a *chaturā kāminī* (damsel) with her developing *amorous* attendance would capture him."[13] Commenting on this passage Hemādri defines a *chaturā kāminī* as one who makes overtures to several lovers at the same time.[14] In later sixteenth century Hindi literature, Keśava Dāsa, while illustrating his verse on the *Prakāśa Anukūlā* type of *nāyikā*, says (the *nāyikā* feels). . . "I have not the least of *chaturāī* (skill in love-making), how is it that Kṛishṇa is captivated (by me)?"[15]

The various elements of skilful love-making, too, were referred to as *chatura*. For example, *amorous* glances were *chatura*: Śiva disguised as *vaṭu* (a celibate student) teased Pārvatī during her "penance": "I consider your lover deprived of auspicious *mada* (intoxication?) whom your. . . *chatura* glances do not find a target. . ." (that is, upon whom these *chatura* glances are wasted).[16] In the *Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ* (Third Canto, Indra-Kāma Deva dialogue), Kāli Dāsa used the expression "discharging *chatura* (skilfully *amorous*) and bent brow and pointed eye (=looks)"[17]. The skilful *confidante* in *amorous* dalliance was frequently referred to as *chaturā*. In the *Vikramorvaśīyaṃ* of Kāli Dāsa king Vikrama, remarks that a *chaturā sakhī* may lead the *nāyikā* (heroine) to him: "may the *chaturā sakhī* bring her step by step".[18] Moreover, *sakhīs* in Sanskrit plays are commonly called Chaturikā (vide *Śākuntalaṃ* etc.) or Nipuṇikā (*vide Vikramorvaśīyaṃ* etc.)—both names derived from the attribute *"chatura"*[19].

Courtesans, too, were often called *chaturā*. The *vidūshaka* (court jester) says in Śūdraka's *Mṛichchhakaṭikaṃ* (Act Five), "Here are roaming the courtesans and the old pimps, who are *chatura* in "union" (amity) or separation in love affairs and who are holding multi-coloured painted cloth panels in their hands (loose translation).[20] Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* (seventh century) remarks, "the courtesans. . . who were *chaturā* in rendering services and in their pampering (*sevā-chaturā*. . .)".[21]

[8] *Kabi na houñ nahiñ chatura prabinū-sakala kalā saba vidyā hinū, Rāma-charita-Mānasa*, canto I, 9.8, *Tulasi Granthavali, Prathama Khaṇḍa*, editor Ramachandra Shukla *et al.* Varanasi, *Samvata* 2030

[9] *Chatura rakhavāre, ibid.*, 8.1

[10] *Anajānā mūrakha hañsai, rijhai chatura sujāna, . . .*

[11] *Chatura-chita hita sahita rijhāuñ . . .*

[12] *Tyajata mānaṃ– alaṃ bata vigrahair-na punareti gataṃ chaturaṃ vayaḥ . . ., Raghuvaṁśaṃ*, canto 9, *śloka* 47

[13] *. . .pariṣviddha-rāgam-anubaddha-sevayā mṛigayā jahāra chatureva kāminī, ibid.*, canto 9, *śloka* 69. Also the seductive celestial women *chaturaiḥ sur kāminī-Janaḥ, Kumārasaṁbhavaṃ*, canto IV

[14] In this reference Hemādri quotes from *Rasākara: Snigdhairīkshita eva hrishṭavalitairvyākośitākuñchitairlajjākekarvismitairmukulitairālokitair-nāyakaṃ prauḍhairnāgarikairvachobhirakhilairāsāñjayet pallavaṃ dhṛishṭaṃ mohanadakshiṇaiścha chaturā vakrādibhiścheṣṭāparāṇ* (or *vakrotibhiścheṣṭāparāṇ*), *Raghuvaṁśa Darpaṇa*, editor Reva Prasad Dwivedi, Patna, *Samvata* 2030, p. 252

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eighth century) describes a pavilion tent "as if it had huge halls embellished with *vichitra* painting."[37]

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (mid-eleventh century), too, frequently refers to the *vichitra* type of paintings. For example, King Kanakavarsha, in the *Alaṁkāravatī-laṁbaka* watched the *vichitra-rūpa* (unusual and variegated forms) and "presto" was "under Cupid's control",[38] Jinasena Sūri in his *Hari Vaṁśa Purāṇa* calls a painted figure of a maiden *"vichitra"*: "who is the *vichitra* maiden "put" (painted) on a cloth, O gentleman, is she a human or *vichitra*—divine maiden?"[39]

Sixteenth or seventeenth century poets often used the term. Keśav Dāsa, the famous poet of Orchha (end of the sixteenth century) refers to *vichitra-chitra,* while describing the *Kārtika māsa,* in his *Kavipriyā,* "The houses are painted with *vichitra* mythological paintings."[40] Futher Keśav Dāsa refers to a *vichitra* human form among the paintings, "so that even a *chitriṇī* type of girl will lower her eyes,"[41] (feel surpassed in beauty) looking at your portrait.

Tulasī Dāsa likened the *sṛishṭi* (creation) to a wall painting, which is a *vichitrā-rachanā.*[42] A.K. Coomaraswamy refers, in a Newari text, to *vichitra karṇikodhṛit* (the skilful decoration of *karṇika* flower), a collection of stories connected with painters at their work.[43]

Like *chatura, vichitra* is also used in the context of poetry, poetic writing. For example, Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* mentions that the *nāyaka* went to his bed chamber while *vichitra* tales were related to him.[44] A Sanskrit eulogy called *Sulaimachcharita,* its authorship attributed to Kalyanmalla Tomar (1680-88 A.D.) of Gwalior calls the verses *chitra (vichitra),* which shall be taken as artistic compositions.

Tulasī Dāsa, in his *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa,* says, "Even though it is a *vichitra* expression by a master poet, it has not the 'glamour', if it is devoid of name of (reference to) Rāma."[45] The *bhakt* poet also mentions that sages who are likened to *vichitra* birds, sing eulogising Rāma,[46] and he notes that—"This is sprinkled by *vichitra* chapters of the story, which as if are the occasional gardens on the banks (of the poetry-stream)."[47] Tulasī Dāsa calls the story of Rāma, *vichitra,*[48] the *ambārī* (canopy) as *vichitra* (in connection of face lifting of Janakpur at the time of Rāma's marriage;[49] the tent pavilion or the inlaid flowers on their posts, as *vichitra*).[50] The chariots were *vichitra* with the decorations made by their drivers[51] etc.

Related to poetry and of particular interest to the special meaning of the term *vichitra,* is a classification in Sanskrit literary criticism called *"Vichitrā Abhidhā"*. According to Prof. Pandit Reva Prasadji Dwivedi,who first drew my attention to this classification, *Vichitrā Abhidhā* approximates *Vaichitrya-vāda;* both are *"saṁvṛitti"* or "couched" expression. Couched expression is the opposite of *"Svabhāva-vāda"* (direct communication) and thus loosley speaking, is "meandering" expression. Such couched expression can be achieved by *Prakaraṇa-vakratā* or the introduction of a "side story", which gives a twist to the main story (as one finds, for example, in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntalaṃ*). Similarly, *Ukti vaichitrya* would bring "twisted" expression into the piece. Thus *vichitra* is used in a context of something out of the ordinary or something beyond the normal.

The term *vichitra* is also used, surprisingly enough, in connection with textiles. Buddhaghosha in his *Visuddhimagga,* refers to *vichitra varṇa chela vitāna* (variegated and colourful—*vitāna*).[52] *Vichitra* was also a favourite term with Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa (seventh century) in describing paintings; he refers to textiles as variegated

[37] *. . . reje vichitrairapi yā sachitrairgrihair-viśalairapi bhūriśālaiḥ, Śiśupāla-vadhaṃ,* canto 3, 50

[38] *Rājā KanakavarsheṢpi tāṃ sa chitragatāṃ-api vichitra-rūpaṃ-ālokya sadyaḥ smaravaśhaṃ yayau,* The Nirnayasagar edition, Bombay, p. 278, *śloka* 80

[39] *Kasyeyaṃ bhagavan kanyā vichitrā paṭṭake tvayā|dushkaraṃ mānushīṃ kshiptvā vichitra-sura-kanyakā,* canto 24, 47, ed. Bharatiya Jñānapīṭha, Banaras, 1962.

[40] *Vichitra chitrita gṛiha,* Acharya Vishvanath Prasad Mishra ed., *op. cit.,* 1954, p. 2, verse 31, p. 159

[41] *ibid.,* pt. 1, verse 14, line 2, p. 155

[42] *Dekhata tava rachanā bichitra Hari, Vinaya Patrikā,* dohā 111.2, *Tulasī Granthāvalī, Dvitīya Khāṇḍa,* editor Sitaram Chaturvedi, Kashi, Samvat, 2029, p. 683.

[43] *op.cit.,* 1930-32, p. 54.

[44] *. . .Vichitra-kathā-vinodena . . .upadishṭa-mārgaḥśayān-chitra-śālāmagechchhat, Tilakamañjarī,* pt. 3, p. 135

[45] *Bhaniti bichitra sukavi kṛita joū Rāmanāma binu soha na soū, op. cit., V.S.* 2030, *dohā* 10.3

[46] *Sukṛiti sādhu nāmaguna gānā, Te Vichitra jala bihaga samānā, ibid.,* 37.11. Interestingly Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī,* see page 261 footnote 31 above, also called the birds *vichitra.*

[47] *Bich bich kathā bichitra bibhāgā, Janu sarī tīr tīr banu bāgā, op. cit., V.S.* 2030, *dohā* 40.6

[48] *Kahaun bichitra kathā bistārī, ibid., dohā* 141.1

[49] *Chāru bajāru bichitra avārīn, ibid., dohā* 213.2

[50] *Rachaṇu bichitra bitāna banāī, ibid., dohā* 287.6 and also *Jāī na barani bichitra bitānā, ibid., doha* 289.3

[51] *Ratha sārathinha bichitra banāye, ibid., dohā* 299.3

[52] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.,* p. 56.

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with *pañcha-rāga.*[53] In the *Gaṇḍavyūha,* the colour or textiles is called *vichitra.*[54]

Orissan weavers, according to my son Kalyan Krishna, use a design in their *ikat* (tie and dye technique) fabric called *"Bichitrapare"* and *"Bichitra"*. These are mainly chequered stripes.

Lalita vistara calls a *paṭṭolaka vichitra.*

In several other cases, the term, *vichitra* or *chitra* is used. Shri Harihar Nivas Dwivedi, quoting from the *Archaeological Survey Report* informs us that the famous "Mān Mandir" in Gwalior Fort is known as "Chitra *(=Vichitra)* Mandir".[55] This fact confirms our contention that *chitra* or *vichitra* often carried with it the connotation of artistic creativity.

Vichitra is also a term occasionally used in relation to natural beauty. In a *dhyāna* (iconography) of *Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī* in an early *Rāgamālā* (Gujarat, *ca.* 1575-1600 A.D.), *Ṭoḍi* is described as a girl, who has a face "which is as beautiful *(vichitra)* as a lotus blossom.[56] In this context, *vichitra* means attractiveness.

Chitra and *vichitra* were also applied to the vegetal world, possibly to carry the variegated forms that it takes. As Shri Ramesh Bedi has informed us, the *Āmrādi* section of the *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* refers to *vichitra karṇapūraka* and *chitra (vichitra).*[57] Similarly, *Raja Nighaṇṭu* lists other trees in this category; the same notion is repeated in the *Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu.*[58]

Thus we return back to Chatura and Vichitra, the two celebrated Mughal painters: perhaps the people in the early Mughal period did not fully realise what deeper connotations these words carried when they gave the names Chatura and Vichitra to their painters. But indeed these names belonged to a very deep rooted tradition.

Appendix—A

Numerous references to *chatura* and *vichitra* can be found from ancient and medieval India which can be used in future research. Some of them are listed here to demonstrate the variety of such usages:

Chatura

Kāli Dāsa, *Meghadūtaṃ* (canto 1, *śloka* 21: *Ambhobindugrahaṇachaturāṁśchātakān,* for *chatura chātaka* bird. Here their *amorous* skill is also suggested.

Rājaśekhara (tenth century) in his *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* remarks... *tathāpi prāgalbhyaṃ kimapi chaturaṃ lochana-yuge.* For *Nāyikā's* eyes possessing her expressive *chatura* (skilful) *amour.*

In a manuscript of *Rambhāmañjarī Saṭṭaka* author Nayachandra Sūri, the Jain poet, eulogising the Tomar king of Gwalior, Uddharaṇa Deva (end of fourteenth century), compares him with the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, who was *chatura* in the *patra rachanā* on Lakshmī's bosoms *(Śrī-kucha-kumbha-patra-rachanā-chāturyachintāmaṇiḥ).*[59]

Chatura as a proper name was and has been popular among the Indian musicians. For example Kallinātha, the illustrious musicologist of the thirteenth century A.D. calls himself as *chatura* in each colophon of his *opus Saṅgīta Ratnākara.*[60]

"The *Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtra Vṛitti* gives an important use of the term *chatura* where the master painter *(chitrapaṇḍita)* is called *chatura*[61] *(yathā hi vichchhidyate rekhā chaturaṃ chitrapaṇḍitaiḥ).*

The late seventeenth century Hindi poet, Bihari Lal (protege of Jaya Singh I of Amer) mentions the portrait painters;"... *"chatura chitere".*[62]

This tradition of creative artists with *chatura* name continued in the Mughal or present times, for example, one of the Jahangirī court musicians was Chatur Khan.[63] Similarly, V.N. Bhatakhande who contributed significantly to the revival of Hindustani music in the beginning of the present century had his 'signature' name *'Chatura Paṇḍit'.* Even contemporary musicians

[53] *Pañcha-rāga-vichitra-chela-chitra..., Kādambarī,* ed. Krishnanand Shastri, Banaras, 1961, p. 8-19

[54] *Keshuchid vyomākeshu vividhojjvala vichitra raktaraṅgāṇi nānā chitra bhakti vinyāsa virājatāni parama mahārhāṇi sūkshmāṇi sukumārānanta-varṇāni divyakoṭiśata-sahasrāṇi sthāpitāni vastrārthināṁ yathābhiprāya paribhogārthaṁ..,* Chandramani Singh, "Indian Textiles As Cultural Artifacts—Some Thoughts", paper read at Coomaraswamy Seminar (No. V. 1978) at Department of Fine Arts, Punjab University, Chandigarh.

[55] *Gwalior ke Tomar,* Gwalior, 1976, p. 322

[56] *Vichitra-paṅkeruha-vaktra-ramyā..,* Anand Krishna, "An Early Rāgamālā", *Ars Orientalis,* vol. no. I, Ann Arbor, 1961, fig. 8

[57] *Aśokaḥ śoka-nāśaścha vichitraḥ karṇapūrakaḥ Viśoko raktako rāgī chitraḥ Shatpada-mañjari, Āmrādi* section, 5, 2

[58] *Rakta-pallavākāś-chitro vichitraḥ karṇapūrakaḥ, Karavīrādi* section, 10, 270 ff.

[59] The manuscript is said to be in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune; *vide* Harihar Nivas Dwivedi, *Gwalior Ke Tomar* (Hindi), Gwalior, 1976, p. 42

[60] *Śrīmad-abhinava-bharata-āchārya-rāyavaya-kara-toḍarmalla-lakshmaṇa-āchārya-nandana-chatura-mallināṭha-virichita saṅgīta-ratnākara kalānidhau-rāga-vivekākhyodvittyo adhyāyaḥ, II, Saṅgīta Ratnākara,* Adyar, 1944, p. 131. I am indebted to Dr. Prem Lata Sharma for this and other valuable references from this text.

[61] *Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtra Vṛitti* 3-1-25, quoted from Bhanu Agrawal's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, *"Saṁskṛit Vāṅgmaya men Chitrakalā kā Mulyaṅkana* (Hindi), submitted for examination to Banaras Hindu University, 1975

[62] *Likhana baithi jākī sabī gahi-gahi garaba garūra I*
Bhaye na Kete jagata ke chatura chitre Kūra II 347 II,
Bihārī-Ratnākara, ed. Jagannātha Dāsa Ratnākar, Gaṅgā Pustakamālā, Lucknow, I edition.

[63] *Jahangir Nāmā,* Hindi Translation of *Tūzuk-e-Jahangirī,* by Munshi Devi Prasad, Calcutta, 1905, Introduction, p. 21

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have this name, for example, the *Dhrupada* maestro Rama Chatura Mallik of Bihar, or the celebrated *tablā* player Chatur Lal. Mulla Vajahi, who composed *Sabarasa* in 1626 A.D., for Abdulla Qutub Shah of Golconda describes the people of Gwalior as *chaturān ("hor Gwalior ke chātarān. . .")*,[64] that is, the highly cultivated gentry of Gwalior.

In the above special sense Bhāratendu Harischandra wrote "*chākara chatura ke. . .*" ("I am a servant or slave of, that is, devoted to the *chatura*").

Vichitra

Similarily, the term *vichitra (chitra)* was used in personal names. The Kauravas, as the *Mahābhārata* heroes, had their ancestors, *Chitra-vīrya* and *Vichitra-vīrya*, meaning: exceptional in their prowess.

We have noted above (p. 263) that in Sanskrit, *chitra* is synonymous with *vichitra*. Taking the clue Coomaraswamy agreed that the word, *chitra* (meaning the painting) is synonymous with *vichitra* (the "unusual") in Indian art. Moreover, Coomaraswamy noted that *vichitra* represented the 'unusual' or creative expression in art, which he defined as 'variegated', or 'romantic'[65]. While discussing the phrase from the *Karpūramañjarī* (III, 31) he translates *vaichitrya* as 'varied expression'.[66]

The *ālapti* embellishment in Indian music as defined by Kallinātha of thirteenth century A.D. refers to such *chitritā or vichitritā* or heightened effect.[67]

The same text defines the *Śākhā* type of *Āṅgika abhinaya* (a variety of thematic dance) as consisting of *vichitra kara-vartanā* (creative and varied hand postures).[68]

The *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* is replete with references to *chitra* and to some extent *vichitra*.

Guru Govind Singh, the last of the Sikh *Gurus*, compiled a metaphysical play, which he gave the title: *Vichitra Nāṭaka*.

The colophon of the Mānakū *Gīta-Govinda* illustrated series of 1730 A.D. in Basohli style ends up with: *lalita-lipi-vichitraṃ Gīta-Govinda-chitraṃ*[69] which means exceptional and creative.

A prince from Tehri Garhwal in the present century was called Kunwar Vichitra Shah. This is in the old tradition of names carrying the connotation of *vichitra* (see footnote 2).

Perhaps the sense of *vichitra* is reflected in the Baroda grant of Karka Suvarṇavarsha.

The Brahmanapalli Grant (dated Śaka 746-824 A.D.) of Rashṭrakūṭa Karka[70] Suvarṇavarsha (of Gujarat branch) possibly refers to the scooping of the illustrious Kailasa temple at Ellora. Although this passage never uses the term, *vichitra*, yet the process of such aesthetic enjoyment is evident from the word like *adbhuta, vismaya kathaṃ, kasmāt*.[71] These suggest a strong impact of art on the mind, more or less equivalent to *vichitra*. It is a pleasant surprise, a shock!

Appendix—B

Further References to Chatura and Vichitra[72]

Chatura

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* as already observed, makes several references to the term *chatura*, in relation to creative skill or love-making. Painters knowledgeable in *ashṭapāda*

[64] Quoted by Harihar Nivas Dwivedi in *Gwalior ke Tomar, op.cit.*, p. 150

[65] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature In Art*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1934, p.229

[66] *ibid.*, 207, footnote 74, here the king compliments the heroine on her verse, for *daṁśana* ('seizure') and use of nava-vastu. Coomaraswamy translates *nava-vastu* as 'new motif', however, I suggest 'new theme'.

[67] *Varṇālaṅkāra sampūrṇā gamakasthāya-chitritā Ālaptiḥ-ruchyate tajjñaiḥ-rbhūri-bhaṅgi-manoharā, Saṅgīta-Ratnākara, op.cit.*, Adyar, 1944, Canto III 202, p. 108

[68] *. . . āṅgikostrābhidhiyate // 34 // Tasya śākhaṅkuro nṛittaṃ pradhānaṃ tritayaṁ mataṁ/Tatra śākheti vikhyātā vichitrā kara-vartanā // 35 // ibid.*, pt. 4, Adyar, 1953

[69] M.S. Randhawa, *Basohli Painting*, New Delhi, 1959, p. 32

[70] *Historical Inscriptions of Gujrat*, pt. II, ed. G. S. Vallabhaji, Bombay, 1935, p. 30, lines 14-17,
Elāpura-achala gata adbhuta-sanniveśaṃ
yadvīkshya vismitavimānachara-amarendrāḥ //
etat svayaṁbhu-śiva-dhāma na kīrtimaṁśrir-
dṛishṭe-drīśit satataṃ bahu charchayanti //
bhūyas-tathāvidha-kṛitau vyavasāya-hāni-
retanmayā kathaṃ-aho kṛitaṃ-ity-akasmāt
kartā-api yasya khaluḥ vismaya āpa śilpī //
tan-nāma kīrtanaṃ-akāryat yena rājñā . . .,
vide B. Bhattacharya, "Brahamanapalli Grant of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha Śaka 746", *Epigraphic Indica*, vol. xxii, 1933-34 (ed. N. P. Chakravarti), Delhi.

[71] *op.cit.*, p. 241

[72] I am indebted to my son Kalyan Krishna for collecting these important references. These were too late to be incorporated in the main text.

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are called *chatura*.[73] The royal companions were skilful *(chatura)* in dallying in a variety of pastimes and in jokes or light talks *(parihāsa)*.[74]

Corresponding to the passage from the *Mṛichchhakaṭikaṃ* (see above p. 260), here again we have the go-between, skilful *(chatura)* in pacifying the love-lady, who was angry in a love-quarrel.[75]

With the profuse use of the term *chatura* in the early Hindi literature, one can see the revival of this idea in the sixteenth century. Some of the early passages have already been cited above. The early *Dhrūpad* (and subsequently *Khyāl*) songs are full of such references, which can be an independent study. An accomplished woman is *chatura sayānī (vide, Chandāyana;*[76] *Mṛigāvatī)*,[77] a dandy is *chatur sujān* (*ibid.*, p. 292; p. 150 has the creator of world is *chatur sujāna*). The same term is applied to a linguistic (*ibid.*, p. 118), or to a *mahout* (*ibid.*, p. 137).[78] Similar ideas appear in Gaṅgā's poetry (Akbar-Jahangir period).[79] These convey the same traditional sense of the term *chatura*, that is an accomplished woman, and sometimes a *nāyaka*. The text *Ḍholā-Mārū rā Duhā*, in its present form is supposed to be of the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Here again *chatura* is a common attribute to the cultivated people, like the king, the *nāyaka* or *nāyikā* or a poet.[80] It also mentions a *chatura* lady painter.[81]

Similarly the seventeenth to nineteenth century Vrajbhāshā poetry is replete with the use of *chatura* in the same vein; of these the well-known reference from Bihari Lal is worth quoting where he described a *chatura* painter as *kūr* (baffled). *Kūr* has also been used as an antithesis of the term *chatura* by other Vrajbhāshā poets. While *chatura* was consistently favoured by them to heighten the personality of a character, down to Bhāratendu Harish Chandra (nineteenth century) who has used this term sparingly (see above). Poets like Mati Ram, Bhushan, Dev, Ghananand etc. have frequently used this attribute.

[73] *ashṭapāda-parichaya-chaturabhiścha chitra-karma-kṛitaśramābhiścha, op.cit.*, Banaras, 1961, p. 565
[74] *... vividha-krīḍā-parihāsa-chaturaiḥ suhṛidbhiḥ, ibid.*, p. 21
[75] *... praṇaya-kalaha-kupita-kāminī-prasādhanopāya chaturaḥ, op. cit.*, p. 37
[76] *Laur Kahan*, ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1962
[77] ed. Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Banaras, 1967, p. 142
[78] These references to a linguist or a *mahout* are in allegoric sense.
[79] *Gaṅgā Kabitta*, ed. Bate Krishna, Banaras, *V.S.* 2017, pp. 20, 40, 63, 80 , 83, 129 etc.
[80] ed. Ram Singh, Suryakaran Parik, and Narottam Swami, Banaras, *V.S.* 1991, pp. 229, 364, 376, 396
[81] *Ardha-kathānaka*, ed. Nathu Ram Premi, Bombay, Second edition 1967, pp. 62, 92, 101

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T. K. BISWAS

Kinnara-Kinnarī

In his *Mediaeval Singhalese Art*, Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswamy made a critical observation on Monier Williams, Dowson and Pincott to whom a *Kinnara* meant a hybrid form—a half-human half-equine combination.[1] To him these scholars are confused with regard to the iconography of *Kinnara*. Dr. Coomaraswamy referred in the said book that a *Kinnara* represented a half-human half-bird combination. He even quoted a eleventh century Sanskrit text entitled *Rūpavāliya* which states that a *Lalā Kinnara* "hath a tuft of hair on the head, a garland around the neck, a human body and singeth melodiously; hath a human face and hands but the nether parts that of a bird with wings, a face fair and radiant and a neck graceful as Brahmā's."[2] Curiously enough the same author while writing on *Yakshas* in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection 1928* wrote that the *Kinnaras, Kiṁpurushas* and *Gandharvas* too, typically half-human half-equine, are a class of beings frequenting forests and mountains;[3] and again in the footnote on page 10 of the same book he concludes that "*Kinnaras* in Indian literature and art are of two types: horse-headed as above and half-bird half-human (siren type). Both kinds are musical and may be classed in this respect with *Gandharvas* . . . most likely the horse-headed type is not *Kinnara* at all."[4]

Dr. Coomaraswamy's hesitant conclusion appears to have been based on certain horse-man types which are not *Kinnaras*. He seems to have been aware of Vedic Dadhyāñcha who had horse's head and divulged the secret of mead *(madhuvidyā)* to the *Aśvins*.[5] Horse-headed *Aśvins*, the divine physicians, were also known to him. He had studied the horse-headed *Purusha-Nārāyaṇa* and that of Vishṇu as *Hayaśiras*. He discussed in detail the Padakuśalamānava *Jātaka* and *Mahāvaṁśa* story of Paṇḍukābhaya.[6] Horse-headed *Yakshī Aśvamukhī* came to his searching eyes in the reliefs of Bodhgayā, Sāñchī and Pāṭaliputra.[7] But our learned scholar was not very sure about the identification of a horse-headed female in a relief at Bhājā and one in the Kṛishṇa Govardhana relief at Maṇḍor.[8] Dr. Coomaraswamy once quoted Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, 240-241, which referred *Kinnaras* haunting in forests were horse-headed.[9] All these references allow us to conclude that Dr. Coomaraswamy could neither discard the horse-headed type as *Kinnara* nor could he accept unhesitatingly the horse-headed type as *Kinnara*.

Dr. V.S. Agrawala evinced equal interest in the iconography of *Kinnara* and he accepted horse-man type as *Kinnara*. To him "Centaurs, the *Kinnaras* of Sanskrit literature, appear with horse's head joined to a human body *(aśvamukha)* or a human head joined to a horse's body *(purusha-vigraha)*, both forms being popular in Indian art and literature."[10]

Grünwedel, however, categorically defines *Kinnara* as a horse-headed human form.[11] Dr. Sivaramamurti believes that horse-headed *Kinnara* is a conception of Hindu mythology and maintains that the half-bird half-human *Kinnara* had been a Buddhist innovation.[12] This, however, requires more illucidations. Kālidāsa refers *Kinnaras* with horse's head on human body[13] and the same holds good in the description of *Amarakosha*.[14] Māgha in his *Śiśupālabadha* states that the *Kinnara* appears with horse's head and horse's mask.[15]

[1] William, Sir Monier, A. Sanskrit English Dictionary, 1956, p. 283; Dowson's Hindu Mythology, p. 158 and Pincott's Prema Sagara 1897, pp. 16, 232 and, *vide*, Coomaraswamy's '*Mediaeval Singhalese Art*', second edition, 1908, p. 81

[2] Coomaraswamy, A.K., '*Mediaeval Singhalese Art*', second edition, 1908, pp. 82-83

[3] *ibid.*, Yakshas, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, vol. 80, no. 6, p. 10

[4] *ibid.*, p. 10 f.n.

[5] Bosch, F.D.K., Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology, *vide*, chapter on the God with horse's head.

[6] Coomaraswamy, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 16

[7] *Vide*, Excavation Report on the Excavation of Pāṭaliputra 1903, pls. (i) & (iii)

[8] Coomaraswamy, A.K., History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Dover Publication, pls. 27 and 116 and, also *vide*, p. 26 f.n. 3

[9] Coomaraswamy, A.K., Yakshas, part II, p. 6

[10] Agrawala, V.S., Indian Art, Varanasi, 1965, p. 72

[11] Grünwedel Albert, Buddhist Art in India, translated in English by A.C. Gibson, p. 47, f.n. 2

[12] Sivaramamurti, C., Amarāvatī sculptures in Madras Government Museum, General Section, New Series, Madras 1942, pp. 75-76

[13] Kālidāsa, *Kumāra-Sambhavam*, 1.16

[14] Amara Singh, *Amarakosha*, I-II

[15] Māgha, *Śiśupālavadha*, canto IV, verses 32-38

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Such differences are also noticed in Indian *śilpa* texts. The *Vishṇudharmottara* knows about two types of *Kinnaras; viz.*, horse's head on human body and human head on horse's body,[16] while *Mānasāra* has something else to tell. According to Acharya who edited the texts of *Mānasāra* translated both *Gandharva* and *Kinnara* as a kind of hybrid being, "legs those of an animal, upper body like that of a man, face like that of a *Garuḍa;* and arms are provided with wings, holding a lute, possessed the beautiful hue like a flower" etc.[17] The same passage of *Mānasāra* was translated by Krishnasastri in a little different way. According to his translation *Kinnaras* are having "legs of a cock, the middle part of the body being human, face beaked like *Garuḍa* with spreading wings. They wear crown on their heads and hold a *vīṇā* in their hands."[18] With regards to the musical instrument in the hands of *Kinnara, Agni Purāṇa*[19] similarly provides a lyre *(vīṇā hastaḥ Kinnaraḥ syurmala . . .). Kinnaras* with flute were also carved in stone, and in Pāla-Sena art they are shown even with conch shell and cymbals. However, in *Vishṇudharmottara* no specific musical instrument has been referred to in the hands of the *Kinnaras*. It prescribes simply that the *Kinnaras* be shown as holding musical instruments *(gītavādya samāyukta)*.

Purāṇas differ also with regard to the *tālamāna, i.e.*, the measurements of the *Kinnara* figure. The *Vishṇudharmottara* says[20] *"Mālavīya pramāṇena Kinnaroruga Rākshasaḥ" Kinnaras* be made in Mālavīya measurement which is equal to 108 *aṅgulas* and the face itself be made of 12 *aṅgulas*. *Matsya Purāṇa*[21] prescribes also *navatāla* for the height of *Kinnara (navatāla pramāṇastu Deva Dānava Kinnaraḥ)* while a later text, *Śilparatna* suggests *tritāla* for the *Rākshasa* and *Kinnara* races.[22] Dr. Coomaraswamy on the basis of *Rūpavālīya* states: "the eyes of *Kinnaras* are to be five *kolakas*, the hair and the crown of them to be twelve *kolakas*, the neck, the chest, the navel, the private parts, the thigh, the knees and the calf of the leg are to be made of three *kolakas* each."[23] Here *"kolaka"* probably refers to *"golaka"* of the *Pratimālakshaṇam* where the term is defined as equal to two *aṅgulas*. Among a group of copper images set up in the temple of Rājarājeśvara at Tanjore, the *Kinnaras* are said to measure four *virālas, i.e.*, four *aṅgulas* from feet to hair and the height of the images has been told to be made in accordance to the needs of the occasion. In general, ancient artists appear to have preferred the prescription of *Matsya Purāṇa*. It states that *"mukhamānena kartavyā sarvāvayavā kalpanā"*, that is, the limbs should be made proportionate to the face.

The origin of *Kinnara* in Indian art is shrouded in mystery. Hybridity can be traced from fairly early period in India but so far the Centaur, *i.e.*, the Indian *Kinnara* is concerned, it is believed to be as a "mythological trapping from the West", a Hellenistic creation which entered India through Asiatic West. Coomaraswamy, Rowland and Inghlot hold the same opinion.[24] We have in India the reference in *Ṛig Veda* about the horse-headed male Dadhyāñcha who divulged the *"madhuvidyā"* to the *Aśvins* (*Ṛig Veda* I, 116.12, I, 117.22, I, 119.9). But the artistic representation of horse-man type appeared on Greek art earlier than in India. It was a general contention that the Centaur was introduced during the days of Phidias in Greece (fifth century B.C.) but a bronze composition showing Herakles killing Centaur Nessos (fig. 561) in Metropolitan Museum has pushed back the tradition of this in the eighth century B.C.[25] We have no such piece that could be placed contemporary or earlier to this. Even the figures of Centaurs in British Museum or on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, are earlier than our earliest man-horse types. Hence it may be inferred that the artistic inspiration of *Kinnara* in man-horse type came to India from the Hellenic world. But the inclusion of wings in human body was done in the Asiatic West. This feature originated in Egypt and later on through Assyrian contact it was introduced to Indian art.[26] In this connection an Akkadian cylindrical seal of *ca.* 2340-2180 B.C. now in the collection of British Museum may be referred. In this the Assyrian storm god is shown as half-man half-bird; his waist downwards is bird-like. Hence it may be concluded that both the varieties, *i.e.*,

[16] *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, BK III, ch. 42, verses 13-14

[17] Acharya, P.K., *The Architecture of Mānasāra*, Oxford University Press, 1933, ch. 58, p. 370 and, *vide*, Banerjee, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, second edition, p. 352, f.n. 1

[18] Krishnasastri, H., *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras Government Press, 1916, p. 251

[19] *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 15, verse 17

[20] *Vishṇudharmottara*, BK III, ch. 42, verses 2-10

[21] *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 254 verse 16

[22] Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Mediaeval Singhalese Art, op. cit.*, Appendix to ch. IV, pp. 111-113

[23] *Śilparatna*, Trivendrum Sanskrit Series, pt. II, verses 43-49

[24] Inghlot, Harold, *Gandhara Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1959, p. 156; Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, Great Britain, 1959, p. 73; Coomaraswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art, op. cit.*, p. 11

[25] Donald, E. Strong, *The Classical Art*, Landmark of World Art Series, Paul Hamlyn Publication, col. pl. 24

[26] Dutta, Mahendranath, *Dissertation on Painting*, ed. by B.K. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1922, ch. VIII, pp. 113-115

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the half-man half-equine form and half-man half-bird form were incorporated in Indian plastic art from the West. The third variety, *i.e.*, the *Kinnara-vyāla* (human, equine and leonine combination), however, was evolved at a later period in Indian art.[27] *Kinnaras* lived in the Himālayas[28] and *Jātakas* claim that they resided in Chandraparvata, Gandhamādana, Mallāragiri and Traikūṭaka mountains.[29] *Jātakas* further refer that the *Kinnaras* move in pairs and in Bāṇa's writing we come across *"Kinnara yugala"*[30] while on ancient Indonesian temples they appear in double pairs *"Kinnara yugma yugma"*.[31] The tender love of *Kinnara-Kinnarī* has been described in a *Jātaka* story. On a certain occasion, a king questions and learns from a *Kinnara* that it was impossible for them to reconcile themselves to their separation for even one single night which alone was the cause of their grief. In Sanskrit literature *"Chakravāka mithuna"* is the nearest approach to this.[32] Adept in music they could sing and play flutes and dance softly with gentle movements of the limbs. The *Kinnaras* nursing a baby when his parents are away in the forest as told in the *Jātaka* proved that they were tender-hearted.[33]

Kinnaras are described as worshipper of Dakshiṇāmūrti of Śiva.[34] They are at times included in the retinue of Kuvera.[35] They are, further conceived as forming the *"parivāradevatā"* of Subrahmaṇya.[36] As protectors of fields, they are recognised in certain places.[37] The Jainas included them in the list of *Vyāntara-devatās* and significantly enough *Kinnara* is one of the names of *Yaksha* and related to *tīrthaṅkara* Dharmanātha.[38] Dr. Kramrisch informs us that sometimes on the superstructure of a temple and specifically the interval between *Karṇamañjarī* and *Siṁhakarṇa* is filled by the minor and lateral forms *(pratyaṅga)* carved with figures such as *Kinnaras* etc.[39] *Mānasāra* includes that the *ratna-toraṇa, pushpa-toraṇa,* arches, chariots were decorated with the figures of *Kinnaras*.[40]

The earliest reference to *Kinnara* in plastic art in India appears to have been carved on a Bhārhut panel which is labelled in Brāhmī as *"Kinnara-Jātaka"*.[41] The relief shows a prince seated on a throne listening to two persons one of whom is a lady. They appear to be wearing leaves of trees around the body (*parṇa* leaf or leather). If these are leaves in the lower parts of the bodies then we find some corroborative references in Gandhara art where Inghlot detected some hybrid forms with human top foliage below (fig. 562) and these according to him are *Kinnaras*.[42] They take bath in stream, swing from creepers and rest on couches of flowers. In Sāñchī *stūpas* a few figures of *Kinnara mithuna* (fig. 563)[43] have been detected. Female riding half-man half-horse or a male riding half-woman half-equine body were found to have been carved in low relief on the railing of the *stūpa* no. 2 (fig. 564).

Bharat Kala Bhavan has a unique terracotta circular skin rubber (rattle). It has a deeply articulated back and its front shows in low relief a *Kinnarī* saluting a *Kinnara* (fig. 565).[44] *Kinnarī* has the body of caparisoned horse with a human torso. Her consort rides the equine body of the *Kinnarī*. Dr. Moti Chandra puts this in the first century B.C., judging its plastic qualities,[45] while Dr. Agrawal places this in the Gupta period comparing perhaps with a similar type of plaque discovered from Ahichchhatrā. Dr. Agrawal considered the saddle motif on its tussel ending in knob and the side girth *(Kakshā-bandha)* on the hind part adorned by a medallion *(chakraka)*.[46] He also studied the flowing rhythm in the decorative lines in the back of this plaque. Moreover,

[27] Dhaky, M.S., *The Vyāla Figures on the Mediaeval Temples of India*, p. 27 and figs. 33-35
[28] Kālidāsa, *Kumāra Saṁbhavaṃ*, I. 8
[29] *Jātaka*, ed. by E.B. Cowell, vol. IV, no. 485, pp. 180, 182
[30] Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Kādambarī*, ed. by Kashinath Panduranga Paraba, Bombay, *Saka Samvat* 1812, pp. 239-240
[31] Alfred Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1918, p. 241, f.n. 1
[32] Sivaramamurti, C., *Sanskrit Literature and Art*, (Mirrors of Indian Culture), p. 50
[33] *Jātaka*, ed. by E.B. Cowell, vol. IV. In. 540, p. 41
[34] Rao, G.N., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras 1916, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 277
[35] Grünwedel, Albert, *op. cit.*, p. 47, f.n. 2
[36] Rao, G.N., *op. cit.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 44
[37] Panchamukhi, R.S., *Gandharvas and Kinnaras in Indian Iconography*, Dharwar, 1957, p. 44
[38] Banerjee, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, *op. cit.*, second edition, p. 336;
Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture, Editors: U.P. Shah and M.A. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 26-34
[39] Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, pt. I, 1976, p. 249
[40] Acharya, P.K., *op. cit.*, ch. XIII, pp. 167-168
[41] Mazumdar, N.G., *Guide to Sculptures in Indian Museum*, pt. I, p. 36
[42] Inghlot, Harold., *op. cit.*, p. 151 and fig. 366
[43] Smith V., *The Jaina Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Arch. Surv. of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XX, p. 22, pl. 15
[44] Rai Krishnadasa, "A Kinnara Terracotta Case from Rajghat", *Journal U. P. Historical Society*, vol. XV, pt. I, figs. 5-6
[45] Chandra, Moti, *Chhavi*, 1971, (Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, p. 13). A *Kinnara Mithuna* dated stylistically in first century B.C. is in the collection of Oriental Art in Rome, *vide*, Casell's *Monuments of Civilization Series*, India, by Baurizio Toddel, London.
[46] Agrawala, V.S., *JISOA*, vol. IX, 1941, p. 10, pl. 11, no. 5

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the latter piece comes of Rājghāt site at Banaras which had been primarily a Gupta site. The details of Ahichchhatrā plaque (fig. 566) has a corroborative literary reference in Baṇa's writing. He said that the *Kinnara mithuna* was pursued by prince Chandrāpīḍa and they had disappeared on a hill top *(achala tuṅga śikharam āruḍha)*.[47] A terracotta round disc in Mathurā represents a female riding on the back of a *Kinnarī* and she is trampling a male under her feet. Mathurā presents also a damaged stone panel. That shows a male riding a galloping *Kinnarī* in her half-horse-half-woman form and like the Ahichchhatrā plaque, it also presents the figure of horse in galloping profile while the torso of *Kinnarī* is frontally treated (fig. 567). A *toraṇa* beam from Mathurā shows the worship of a *stūpa* by two *suparṇas* and five *Kinnaras*. Ghosh points out a winged *Kinnara* at Pitalkhorā[48] that holds a bowl of flower in his hands. His lower limbs are covered with feathers and he has possibly the feet of a bird. The *Kinnaras* at Amarāvatī are shown in the hopping attitude on their bird-like legs. Two such sculptures were discovered by Rea at Amarāvatī in 1908. In Nāgārjunakoṇḍā there is a panel which presents a couple in which the female being dressed upto her thigh and she is standing by the side of her husband who has the face of a horse.[49]

The peculiar iconography of *Kinnara* has also attracted the painters who worked in Ajanta caves. In the ceiling decoration of cave No. XVII, a *Kinnara* couple was painted having half-human-half-bird combination and painted in as floating posture. In cave No. I a *Kinnara* was painted as playing on a flute while his female counterpart engaged in playing on cymbals. They are shown as if entertaining Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who stands gracefully very near them. The Nālandā *Kinnaras*, just as their Ajanta counterparts, are of siren type with delicately carved stylised tails.

Bharat Kala Bhavan has in its collection a beautiful post-Gupta pillar. The three sides of its square capital show three pairs of *Kinnaras* while the fourth side is occupied by a *Kirtimukha*. Of the three pairs, one pair (fig. 568) of *Kinnara-Kinnarī* is shown embracing amorously each other while the other two pairs are engaged in playing musical instruments with the gentle movements of their limbs (fig. 569). Curiously enough in Bharat Kala Bhavan a medieval stone figure of Gaṅgā is shown standing on her mount *makara* and the latter is seen being followed by a fascinating *Kinnara* (fig. 570). Horse-faced *Kinnaras* could be traced as late as the reliefs of Pahārpur.[50] On a panel of Pahārpur temple at Rājashāhī one finds two *Kinnaras* standing side by side and are having an intimate dialogue (fig. 571). A couple with human upper parts and bovine legs and tails, standing side by side are also found to have been modelled on a terracotta plaque found at the same site. Horse-faced *Kinnaris* as seducing men with erotic and erratic gestures, were carved in the temples of Aiholé namely Lāḍkhān, Durgā and Hachchhappāyyanamaṭha.[51] This reminds us the observation of *Kinnaras* in *Amarakosha* which states that they are *amorous*. Pallavas in the South, however, carved both types. Half-man-half-bird *Kinnaras* were carved among the Himalayan fauna in the so-called *Kirātārjunīya* relief (fig. 572) at Mahābalipuram while another panel preferred horse-man type of *Kinnara* (fig. 573). In the temple at Kāñchīpuram and Rāmésvaram half-man-half-bird type of *Kinnara-Kinnaris* were represented. Artists of Pāla-Sena period exclusively went for the so-called "siren type". It is interesting to note that the *Kinnara-Kinnarī* in this period never appeared as separate composition. They are always associated either with a Vaishṇavite or a Buddhist image. They are seen relieved on the back stelae of a main deity and are placed near the shoulder on either side in the attitude of playing musical instruments. Bharat Kala Bhavan has a unique fragment showing a huge Pāla *Kinnara* playing on lyre (fig. 574). By the gentle movements of his limbs he is rejoicing and welcoming perhaps an unknown deity who might have incarnated on earth in human form for the deliverance of human souls with whom he was associated once.

[47] Agrawala, V.S., *Ancient India*, vol. 4, 1947-48, p. 170 and pl. LXV, no. 303
[48] Ghosh, A., *Ajanta Murals*, Archaeological Survey of India, p. 27
[49] Nāgārjunakoṇḍā., *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 54, pl. XXXII a-b
[50] Panchamukhi, R.S., *op. cit.*, p. 46
[51] *ibid.*, pp. 44-45

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S. K. SRIVASTAVA

An Introduction to Mauryan Terracottas in Kediya Collection*

The number of Mauryan terracotta figurines in the Shri Ram Ratan Dasji Kediya Collection is comparatively small, yet the information they supply regarding the history and development of Indian terracotta art is of a valuable nature. Generally, the clay figurines of this collection have been acquired from Kauśāmbī, Mason and Mathura. Some other specimens are from unknown sites, but, on the basis of their style, they can be assigned to Patna and Buxar. A group of figurines remains whose place of origin cannot be categorically ascertained. The collection consists of both human and animal figurines.

On the basis of their characteristic features, the human figurines of the Kediya Collection can be broadly divided into two groups. The first group includes figurines which are completely hand-modelled; the second group comprises examples which have been partly moulded and partly hand-modelled. The specimens of the first group are bird-like in appearance, having short fingerless hands extended horizontally. They exhibit prominent breasts and deep navels and while their waists are narrow and slender, the hips are abnormally large. Generally the toeless legs of these female figurines are separated by an arch. Also, they are adorned with different types of necklaces and girdles (figs. 575-80). In the second group of figurines, the modellers have tried to exhibit some improvement by making faces with moulds and attaching them to hand-modelled bodies. On the basis of their facial features and other related details, these female figurines can be identified as Mother Goddesses. Examples of female figurines of this type have been found at numerous sites, including Mathura,[1] Ahichchhatrā,[2] Kauśāmbī,[3] and Prahlādapura.[4]

According to Coomaraswamy female figurines with bird-like facial features, large breasts, thin waists, broad hips, deep navels and heavy necklaces and girdles can be regarded as the representations of the Mother Goddess.[5] Agrawala, studying the similar terracotta figurines of Mathura and Ahichchhatrā, gave the same identification to such figures but tried to more specifically identify them as representations of Pṛithvī, Aditi, Māyā, Sinīvalī, Kadrū, Suparṇā, Sārparājñī, Mahānagni, Mahīmātā[6] etc. while Coomaraswamy had called them simply Mother Goddess. In support of his theory, Agrawala supplied a long list of textual references.

It seems clear that worship of the Mother Goddess was not a new concept introduced in the Mauryan period or even in the pre-Maurya age but a very hoary tradition going back to the civilization of the Indus Valley where several examples of the Mother Goddess figurines were reported earlier by Marshall,[7] Mackay,[8] Vats[9] and Piggot.[10] It is probable that this ancient tradition of the Mother Goddess which started with the advent of civilization, not only in India but also in other parts of the world, continued into and beyond the Mauryan epoch with certain changes due, perhaps, to the development of iconographical complexities and technical advancements in the representation of the figural art. For this very reason, it seems, Agrawala did not hesitate to identify these as representations of the Mother Goddess.[11]

*Shri Murari Lalji Kediya is a great connoisseur of art in Varanasi. For sheer love, interest and inquisitiveness, Kediyaji built up a very good collection of sculptures, terracottas, paintings, coins etc. of ancient and medieval India. A part of this collection has been donated to Bharat Kala Bhavan in the name of his father Late Shri Ram Ratan Dasji Kediya. The present article relates to a portion of the terracottas which form a part of the said donation.

1 V.S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracottas", *JUPHS.*, vol. IX, figs. 9-13
2 V.S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā", *Ancient India*, no. 4, fig. 10, p. 109
3 G.R. Sharma, *The Excavations At Kauśāmbī*, figs. 3-6, pl. 44
4 A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *The Excavations At Prahlādapura*, 1968, pl. XVI
5 A. Coomaraswamy, "Archaic Indian Terracottas", *IPEK*, 1920, also see *Marg*, vol. VI, no. 2, pp. 32-33
6 V.S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracottas", *JUPHS.*, vol. IX, pp. 8,14,22-24 and 27
7 J. Marshall, *Mohenjadaro and Indus Civilization*, p. 49, pl. XCIV, published by Indological Book House, 1973
8 E.J.H. Mackay, *Excavations At Mohenjadaro*, vol. I, p. 258, pl. LXXII-IV, 1937
9 M.S. Vats, *Excavations At Harappa*, 1940, pl. LXXVII, vol. II
10 S. Piggot, *Prehistoric India*, Pelican Book Series, p. 201
11 V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 37, figs. 9-13, also see *Ancient India*, no. 4, p. 109. fig. 10

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All these figurines (figs. 581 and 583) of the Kediya Collection can be identified with the Mother Goddess as they are technically and iconographically consistent with specimens of that group.

II

The dating of the figurines from the Kediya Collection must be determined on the basis of stylistic considerations alone, as all the pieces are stray finds.

According to Coomaraswamy, figurines with bird or animal-like facial features can be placed earlier than the Mauryan period.[12] Since the production of figurines of Group-I type, with bird or animal faces continued from the Indus Valley to the pre-Mauryan days without any evident change in technique, style or subject matter, Coomaraswamy gave them the general designation of 'Archaic'. Agrawala selected eight examples of this type and called them 'Archaic and pre-Mauryan', (*ca.* 400 B.C.).[13] Das Gupta, however, preferred to designate these as 'post Indus Valley and pre-Mauryan' terracotta figures.[14] Gordon not only disapproved the style formula of dating but also felt that some scholars had singled out certain terracottas and quite arbitrarily classified them as 'Primitive' and 'Pre-Mauryan'.[15] Codrington was also not satisfied with the dating of Bhītā, where Marshall called certain figurines as 'Primitive'. The main objection which Codrington raised against Marshall was that among the terracottas ascribed as 'Primitive', there were many that were comparable to the sculptures of Bharhut and Sāñchī (second-first century B.C.).[16] Kramrisch, instead of preferring any opinion given earlier or indulging herself in any controversy, went for a new nomenclature. What was 'Primitive' to others came to be designated by her as 'Ageless'[17] as the so-called 'Primitive' type of figurines had been found from all periods right from the Indus Valley to the Gupta age.

Although scholars had been coming out with different dates, yet, there had always been a feeling in their minds, that some day, more scientific excavations would solve this peculiar dating problem. Subsequently, the excavations at Ahichchhatrā were conducted by a team of well-trained archaeologists and it was considered that the work that these experts had done, was scientific and accurate. Curiously enough, from the Stratum VIII of Ahichchhatrā excavation, some such figurines had been uncovered which have features similar to those discussed by Coomaraswamy, Agrawala and others. According to the excavation report, the date of the Stratum VIII of Ahichchhatrā may be fixed between *ca.* 300-200 B.C.[18] There was no alternative left for Agrawala but to agree with the excavated findings which he readily did in his valuable paper on Ahichchhatrā terracottas. But with the acceptance of Agrawala, the controversy on dating of the archaic terracottas based on stylistic grounds did not end. About six years later in the year 1950-52 the excavations at Hastināpura were conducted by the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, and a detailed report on the excavated materials was published in 1954-55 in which terracotta figurines of this type were placed in the period III. According to the chart supplied in the report, these figurines can be associated with N.B.P., punch-marked coins, terracotta animal figurines, arrow-head and beads of etched carnelian, crystalline quartz, etc. and they have been assigned a date ranging from *ca.* 600-300 B.C.[19] thus compelling us to reconsider the datings provided by Coomaraswamy and Agrawala.

Earlier, while discussing the issue of identification of Mother Goddess it was stated that Agrawala considered figurines of both groups, completely hand-modelled having bird or animal-like features and moulded human faces affixed to a hand-modelled body, as the representations of the Mother Goddess cult.[20] If this identification of Agrawala is accepted on principle then it can be concluded that the figurines of the Group-I, completely hand-modelled, bearing bird or of animal-like facial appearance with prominent breasts, broad hips, finger and toe-less hands and legs, deep navel, necklace and girdles, are the earlier types of representation of the Mother Goddess cult in the terracotta art which in due course of time, when more technical advancement and iconographic norms had been popularised, were replaced by the specimens of the

[12] A. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 27

[13] V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 13,37; S.C. Kala, *"Terracotta Figurines From Kauśāmbī"*, p. 14, pls. 1 and 4; C.C. Das Gupta, *Origin And Evolution of Indian Clay Sculpture*, pp. 119-21; S.A. Shere, *Terracotta Figurines In Patna Museum*, fig. no. Arch. 6303, pl. no. 1 of Buxar; P.L. Gupta, *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*, p. 17

[14] C.C. Das Gupta, *ibid.*

[15] D.H. Gordon, "The Problems of Early Indian Terracottas", *Man*, vol. XXXV, 1935, p. 117, also see C. C. Das Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 119

[16] K. De. B. Codrington, "A Note on the Pottery of Bhītā, United Provinces, India", *Man*, vol. XXIX, 1929, p. 137

[17] Stella Kramrisch, "Indian Terracottas", *JISOA*, vol. VII, pp. 89-90

[18] V.S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā", *Ancient India*, no. 4, p. 106

[19] B.B. Lall, "Excavation At Hastināpura And Other Explorations", *Ancient India*, no. 10-11, p. 11

[20] V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, also see his article on "Mathura Terracottas".

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Group-II, exhibiting moulded face, affixed on a hand-modelled body with other details similar to that of the Group-I examples. However, in the present state of our knowledge it cannot be concluded that the Group-I type figures were altogether discontinued with the advent of the Group-II images nor can they be assigned any definite date.

III

On the basis of the available materials it can be deduced that the modellers during the Maurya period, irrespective of site, used to take proper care in preparing the clay for terracotta figurines. The clay was well kneaded and was freed from gritty substance. In order to bring levigation the modellers depended on their own labour and skill and did not add any tampering materials. In brief, the clay of the Mauryan figurines was smooth and fine grained.

Two distinct methods were adopted to prepare the figures of the Kediya Collection—completely hand-modelled and partly moulded and partly hand-modelled variety. The number of the hand-modelled type is larger and the specimens portray pinched noses, large breasts, short tapering hands and legs separated by an arch. They exhibit an overall crudity as compared to figurines of the second type which are partly moulded and partly hand-made. Usually the face of the second type has been made out of the mould. Technically, the three female heads (figs. 584-586) are very significant. The modellers, in order to show them in the round, applied two moulds in their preparation. Examples of this technique are rare at Mathura but not uncommon at Buxar and Kumarāhāra. After affixing the moulded face on the body, the modellers, at Mathura used to apply stamped or unstamped rosettes with long strips of clay on the figure to decorate and as well as provide more strength to the attached head. Although the modellers at Patna and Buxar showed an interest in applied decoration, they did not depict the rosette decoration. It is also interesting to note that at Mathura, the modellers prepared only small moulded heads; perhaps they never tried to make bigger heads like those of Kumarāhāra and Bulandībāgha. The modellers of both the places applied finishing touches after the object was taken out of the mould.

In order to make their objects charming, the figurines were coated with slip. At Mathura, the colour of the slip is black but on female heads from Buxar it is red. However, there is hardly any doubt that the shades of the slip depended on the temperature of firing. Modellers adopted additional measures such as stamping punch circlets, applique and incision to decorate their terracotta figurines. Some of the figures also reveal information about the colours applied on them. In this connection the damaged bull head (fig. 588) is of much significance. This broken piece has been beautified by grey stripes on a shining black background. The application of double shades on terracotta objects seems to have been quite popular during the Mauryan period. Even clay pots were decorated through this technique of which several examples have been reported from Hastināpura.[21] It will be of further interest to note that because this type of colouring was applied before firing[22] it retains its value even today. From the Mauryan period figurines have also been reported which bear orange dots on a black surface.[23] Unfortunately, there is not a single example of this technique in the Kediya collection. Another favourite shade of the Mauryan modellers was white of which one complete figure (fig. 575) is available in this collection. G.R. Sharma, while excavating Kauśāmbī, came across a few terracotta figurines bearing patches of white colour which, according to him had been obtained by a coating of lime.[24] Example of post-firing painting have not been found.

From the available lot it can be estimated that the technique of baking during the Maurya age was highly improved and scientific. Except for two pieces (figs. 587 and 588), all the specimens have been fired in controlled heat and their shades are either red or biscuit red. The remaining two figures are the best examples, baked in reduced temperature or in a closed kiln. Out of these two, the damaged fragmentary elephant figure belongs to Mathura and the site of the other is not known. It is generally considered that during the Mauryan period Mathura was the only site where terracotta figurines were baked in reduced temperature, and owing to this, their surface has turned out to be black or grey. Still, this may be true, but one can never be completely sure that the black or grey shade in Mathura figurines was always due to some defect in the firing process and not influenced by the technique of the N.B.P. wares.

IV

Typologically the religious objects of Kediya Collection are of four types. The Type One consists of such specimens

[21] B.B. Lall, *op. cit.*, p. 34, fig. 6, pl. XXIX
[22] B.B. Lall, *ibid.*, p. 32
[23] A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 46, fig. 12
[24] G.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, 1957-59, p. 75

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which bear bird-like facial features (figs. 575-578). Figurines having these features have been reported from Mathura and Ahichchhatrā; Agrawala has identified them as the goddess Suparṇā, who is also described as Vinatā, the mother of the Great Eagle or Garutmā-Suparṇā.[25] These figures have beaked faces with prominent breasts and broad hips, small hands extended horizontally or suspended downward. Heavy necklaces and girdles along with deep navels are the common features. This ideal form of expressing beauty had a long tradition and even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa much has been discussed on this point. According to the text, a woman is praiseworthy if she possesses broad hips, smooth breast region and slender waist.[26] At one place the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa compares the feminine shape with that of the *Uttaravedī* and says, a woman is praiseworthy if she is broad-hipped.[27] The text further offers comparison of the female form with the *Vedī* and relates that the navel is located in her middle.[28] In almost all the figures of the Mother Goddess of this type, special care has been taken to show the details mentioned in the text except in figure number 575 which is devoid of navel mark.

The Type Two of this collection is represented by such specimens which are having large breasts, prominent ear ornaments and necklaces. Occasionally, they are also marked with rosettes (fig. 581). This type of figures have been reported from Mathura[29] and Ahichchhatrā[30] and they have been identified as Mother Goddesses. Generally, the faces of this type of figures are moulded. Unfortunately, the face of the figure of this type, in the Kediya Collection, is completely rubbed off; from the way it has been affixed to the body, it appears that originally it must have been moulded.

In the present collection there is a solitary example of a snake-hooded Mother Goddess which can be termed as Type Three (fig. 582). From the Mauryan period a few such specimens have come to light which along with their snake features also exhibit human traits. Such figures have been reported from Bulandībāgha, Patna and Prahlādapura, and are different from each other in style and decoration. The Bulandībāgha serpent goddess represents a human head with elaborate coils (hoods), decorated with honey suckle patterns,[31] while the Patna specimen has a perfect snake torso with rims affixed to the bust, ringlets marking the navel, circlets impressed on legs, and streaks indicating the toes.[32] The face is not human. Contrary to this class, is the serpent figure of Prahlādapura which is devoid of any decoration; it gives an impression of a star-shaped figure. Its legs are thrown horizontally, hood pointed and the three round pellets form the eyes and the navel.[33]

Scholars differ on its date. Gupta[34] and Shere[35] think that they belong to the Kushana period. Whereas at Prahlādapura this kind of figure was found to belong to a late phase which the excavator dated at 163 B.C. (± 100 years). The material associated with the figure is N.B.P. of degenerated quality.[36] Normally, the date of the N.B.P. is fixed between early sixth century B.C. and early third century B.C. If the above-mentioned date of the N.B.P. is accepted then the possibility of assigning the late Mauryan date to degenerated quality of N.B.P. cannot be altogether rejected. The serpent figure of the Kediya Collection is of fragmentary nature and only the upper portion of the hood survives. It shows two circular stamped eyes and above them five horizontal incised bands (fig. 582).

The Type Four which is also a solitary example, exhibits the bust of a female figure (fig. 583). It has a round face with few facial details. Eyes are absent, and the nose, mouth and ears are underdeveloped. The right ear is marked with two applied grooved earrings. Hands are broken, breasts are abnormally large and the waist is thin. This figure can also be identified as a Mother Goddess. An almost identical figure has been reported from the late phase of Prahlādapura.[37] The date of the late phase of this site along with the associated material has already been discussed earlier.

A number of terracotta figurines of a type that differs from the religious group were also made during the Mauryan period. According to some scholars, these

[25] V.S. Agrawala, "Mathura Terracottas", *JUPHS*, vol. IX, p. 14
[26] Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, *Evamiva hi yoṣāṁ Praśaṁsanti Prithuśroṇīḥ*, 1/25/16
[27] *ibid.*, *Paśchadvariyasī pṛithuśroṇiriti vai yoṣāṁ Praśaṁsanti*, 3/5/1/34
[28] *ibid.*, *Madhye nābhikāmiva Karoti*, 3/5/1/34
[29] V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, figs. 9-13
[30] V.S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā", *Ancient India*, no. 4, fig. 10
[31] C.C. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52, fig. 73, pl. 20
[32] P.L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 223, fig. 44, pl. XLIV
[33] A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, 1960, pl. XVIII, fig. 18
[34] P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 and 223
[35] S.A. Shere, *op. cit.*, fig. nos. Arch. 8722 and 7507, pl. no. 1 of Patna
[36] A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14
[37] A.K. Narain and T.N. Roy, p. 45, pl. XVI, fig. 6

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specimens represent the secular life of the people. This type has been reported from Mathura, Bulandībāgha, Buxar, Patna etc. The so-called 'Secular' objects of Mathura, in fact, do not exhibit the cross section of the social life of the people. Agrawala identified them as Iranians on the basis of facial features with foreign ethnic affinities. They thus portray an Iranian people, with whom the Indians came into more frequent contact during the fourth and third centuries B.C.[38] As compared to Mathura, the figures found from the sites in Bihar, present a brighter picture of secular life. While Mathura has produced only figures of well-dressed standing Iranians nobles and heads,[39] the sites of Bulandībāgha, Patna and Buxar have yielded figures of dancing girls, heads of laughing boys and girls[40] and examples of fashionable ladies.[41] The way the modellers of Buxar have represented the fashionable ladies is, perhaps, difficult to get anywhere. From Mathura no such female figure has been reported which can be attributed to the secular group.

There are three specimens in the Kediya Collection which can be identified as secular figurines. They are all heads of female figures, representing fashionable ladies. On the basis of the characteristic features of these figures, they can be compared to those of the figures of Kumarāhāra and Buxar. The figure (586) of the Kediya Collection very closely resembles a figure from Kumarāhāra published by Shere.[42] In the same way, another female head (fig. 585) bears the same facial features and head-gear with projected knot that are noticed on figures from Buxar.[43] Similarly, the third specimen of which only the head survives, parallels the facial features depicted on the dancing girls of Bulandībāgha (fig. 584).[44]

Numerous examples of animal figures in the terracotta art are also available from the Indus Valley period. It will be no exaggeration to say that the way the modellers of the Indus Valley age grasped and depicted various aspects of the nature and mood of different types of animals is unparalleled in any other epoch. The period after the Indus Valley and before the Mauryan age has yet to provide comparable art objects. But the artistic tradition of the Indus Valley culture, as far as its excellence is concerned, still almost stands in class by itself, and, even in the field of sculpture and in other comparable materials from later ages, would be hard to compare. We may only note that the representation of the animal figures in terracotta art continued in the post Indus Valley period. Hastināpura, Prahlādapura, Atraṅgjīkheḍā and many other sites have yielded a large number of animal figures which form a comparative study of this aspect.

There are only three animal figurines in the Kediya Collection which, on stylistic grounds, can be placed in the Mauryan period. Unfortunately, they are badly damaged but they have still some features which can help to identify them as elephant (fig. 587), bull (fig. 588) and horse (fig. 589). The elephant figure seems to come from Mathura. The sites of the other two are uncertain. Perhaps the elephant was a popular theme with the modellers of Mathura. Other examples of elephant types from Mathura in the Kala Bhavan, but not belonging to the Kediya Collection, have enough common features, as black clay with black patches of slip or colour. The bull figure of which only the two horns and part of the neck survive reveals two shades, black and dull white. However, the broken horse figure can be regarded as a significant example of this group. It is completely hand-modelled and profusely decorated with stamp marks. The interesting part of the decoration is the design of the stamp which is similar to the rosette designs generally noticed on the Mathura figures[45] of this age.

[38] V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 27, figs. 16-25
[39] V.S. Agrawala, *ibid.*, figs. 24 and 16-23
[40] P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, pls. XL and XLI
[41] S.A. Shere, *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 5, 7 and Buxar figs. 10-14
[42] S.A. Shere, *ibid.*, Kumarāhāra, fig. 1 (Arch. 4330)
[43] S.A. Shere, *ibid.*, Buxar, figs. 10 and 12 (Arch. 6584 and 6695)
[44] S.A. Shere, *ibid.*, Bulandībāgha, fig. 7 (Arch. 8510)
[45] V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, figs. 9-10 and 13

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ANAND KRISHNA

An Illustrated Manuscript of the Laur-Chandā *in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin*[1]

1. Introduction

An extensively illustrated manuscript of Mulla Da'ud's *Laur-Chandā* was discovered by my esteemed friend, Dr. Parmeshwari Lalji Gupta. It is a fragmentary manuscript with its last pages missing. In this paper, I shall attempt:

a. To define the stylistic characteristics of this Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s illustrations and to specify their relationship to "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) painting; Sultanate painting; and to sixteenth century Rajasthani painting, especially the *Mṛigāvatī* illustrations and the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

b. To suggest a date and provenance for the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* paintings. It is my contention that these illustrations were produced in a style closely following that of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D.[2] If one agrees that the manuscript is a product of the sub-Mandu (Malwa) style, then it should be dated sometime after 1439 A.D.

2. Stylistic Analysis of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*

The style of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* is essentially a loosened, version of the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) style combined with a more relaxed version of the "Sultanate" style. Breaking away from the formalized conventions of both these styles, the Berlin illustrations possess a freshness not unlike that of folk painting. It is in the "distortions" that the painters show their ingenuity: obviously certain new traditions were being established by these artists. For our purposes, the following components of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s style require further discussion:

a. Page Format and Spatial Organization:

As is the case with other fifteenth to seventeenth century *Sufī* texts, the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations appear on pages that use the Persian vertical book-format. However, unlike Persian texts, the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and other *Sufī* texts have one side of the leaf filled with text and the reverse side with a full-page illustration of that text. Since this placement of picture and text is not known in Persian book-illustrations, we presume that it is Indian in origin. Unfortunately, however, no Indian examples of this system are known before the fifteenth century. Possibly the *chitra-phalakas*, frequently mentioned in ancient Indian texts, were of this type. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the same system, with minor modifications, was followed in the *Hamzā Nāmā* cloth paintings executed for Akbar.

Although apparently influenced by the Persian book-illustration tradition, the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s painter(s) still employs traditional Indian spatial values. The setting most popular with the artist remains the traditional rectangular one which compares favourably in proportions with "Apabhraṁśa" Jain book-illustrations. To the central rectangle are often added upper and lower panels. The upper one contains a colourful, cloud-filled sky and the kiosks of buildings. The lower panels are either thematically related to the main scene or they are filled with simple decoration (for example, forest scenes). Sometimes, too, these panels

[1] The manuscript is now in the Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (W. Germany) *vide* Ms. *or.* fol. 3014, acc. ms. 1900-215. The manuscript has 141 folios, size 10×15.6 cms; nine lines to a page in double column in black ink, written in *naskh* script with red rubrics. Each folio has a full page illustration on the reverse.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Parmeshwari Lalji Gupta for kindly supplying me (and to certain other scholars) this valuable information.

Here, Prof. Dr. Ludwig Berngasser, Director of the Library, and his colleague Dr. Dieter George are especially thanked for their permission to work on this manuscript. I am particularly grateful to Dr. George for his valuable help.

Special thanks are due to my esteemed friend Prof. Dr. Herbert Härtel, Director Staatlische Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Indische Kunst, for kindly supplying a full set of black and white photographs and numerous colour slides of the paintings, without which the present work would not have been possible. Some of the photographs are being published here, through the courtesy of the Director of the Library and Professor Dr. Herbert Härtel.

I gave a preliminary paper on this manuscript at the State Museum, Lucknow Seminar in 1975, in which I was helped by my former student Mrs. Regine Pachner, for which I thank her.

Mr. Joseph M. Dye III kindly went through the text and helped me with the language for which I thank him, without his active cooperation this paper could not have been published.

[2] After this article was finished I discovered *(vide Appendix—D)* that the Asiatic Society Bombay *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 A.D. represents the Bundelkhand, i.e., extension of Malwa style. I have shown similarities between Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and the *Āraṇyaka Parvan*.

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are filled with geometrical designs of the "twisted rope" or "chain" pattern popular with the *ca.* 1450 A.D. *Laur-Chandā* illustrated leaves in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collections. Many of these designs are repeated in the "Hira De" *Rāmāyaṇa* illustrations, and other Malwa paintings; others are stripes (fig. 619), *bel* leaf pattern (figs. 616, 623, 625)—(fol. 60), chequers (figs. 599, 604), *dilhā* or rossettes (fig. 593), flower sprays (fig. 621), water strip (fig. 618) in design.

In battle scenes (fig. 625), the space is divided into a group of superimposed panels—a type of spatial organization ultimately going back to early carvings. Even the setting of "people conversing in the pavilion", popularly used in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā,* is very traditional to Indian art and continued in early Rajasthani painting. This arrangement for battle scenes is known in the Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chandā,* as well.[3]

b. Settings and Landscape Elements:

The usual setting in the Berlin illustrations is a terraced verandah and therefore, except for a few paintings (fols. 19, 32-38, 62-63, 66-67, 102-03; figs. 590-597, 614, *see below*), the scenes are either almost devoid of landscape elements or they have only a symbolic background. This absence of landscape might be a direct influence from "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) painting, which is dominant in other details of the present manuscript. Dotted pattern *(see below)* in the background might be a "Sultanate" characteristic.

The Berlin *Laur-Chandā's* trees seem, on the whole, to be a queer mixture of "new" types and those of the "Apabhraṁśa" tradition, with their extremely slender and slightly bent *(bhaṅgimā)* trunks, oval foliage at the top, and leaves arranged in small, decorative clusters. For example, fol. 19 (in its lower register) shows a tree, possibly a palm (?) which, though presented in a rudimentary form, nevertheless possesses a slim, curving trunk that is delicate in treatment with life. The palm-leaves which are made from star-shaped flowers within circles, wave in different directions (fig. 590, fol. 19).[4] Fol. 63 (fig. 591), being a jungle scene, offers a larger variety of trees. In Sultanate period painting (the "Sultanate" and the "Apabhraṁśa" schools combined), we never have the feeling of dense foliage in the background that we do with early Rajasthani painting. Thus, in folio 63, only two date-palms and a parasitical vine so common in Persian and Indian Sultanate architecture (here leaves simply outlined at the edges of the present scene) are used to suggest a sylvan setting (fig. 591). The date-palm trees are clearly distinguished in treatment from the palm tree in fol. 19 *(see above)*. The date-palm's trunk is thick, plain, and bold; the fronds, whose leaves have sharp and regular veins, sway with a gentle rhythm. The trees in a limited group of scenes (fols. 32-38) are closer to those of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* tradition. Fol. 38 (fig. 592) has broad leaves which was also favoured in seventeenth century Malwa painting. In three of them (fols. 32-33 or 36, fig. 593) we find the dotted edge, an abstract version of the white blossomed edges of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* trees. See the fantasy as the foliage takes heart-shape and peacocks cosily perch themselves in the leaves. Fol. 102 shows a solitary tree whose foliage is fringed with a white band (fig. 594); similarly, the palm fronds (or leaves of a plantain?) in fol. 103 have their lower edges embellished with white dots (fig. 614) : such characteristics are seen in the *Chaurapañchāiśikā* group of paintings.

Folio 66 (fig. 595) presents one of the most interesting backgrounds of the Berlin series. In it the *nāyaka* strolls in a stormy night, his rope forming a strange geometric pattern around him. The main figure appears basically against a solid ultramarine background, dappled with a "four-dotted" pattern; rain drops descend from above. Such a montage background is more characteristic of early Rajasthani than "Apabhraṁśa" painting. The usual red background of Rajasthani painting has been changed into ultramarine because the event depicted takes place at night.[5] The elongated trees are placed in the thin side margins: possibly their forms are derived from trees in Persian *hashiyas,* rather than from contemporary Indian prototypes. Folio 67, again a night scene (the *nāyaka* extending the rope to the *nāyikā's* bed chamber, fig. 596) has the usual floral design *(būṭā)* on a large scale and is rendered with more efflorescence.

The landscape presented in these panels is equally interesting. The ground is covered with clumps of tall grass, painted in light yellow—a convention borrowed from the Shirazi school, and one widely used in north Indian painting. The positioning of the tall grass-clumps on the ground create a sense of depth in the landscape (fol. 123)—a quality generally absent in the main portions of the Berlin set's compositions. Folios 62-63 (showing the *yogī* conversing with *Chandā,* with figs. 591, -597) are two rare examples in which these clumps of grass are shown in the main body of the scene. These give a feeling of wild and dry grass. Folio 62 (fig. 597)

[3] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal,* Bombay, 1969, fig. 188

[4] Also see in a simplified form on fol. 63 lower *hashiya* (fig. 591)

[5] Blue is the background colour for night in the "Elopement at Night" scene in the Kala Bhavan, *Laur-Chandā,* see Karl Khandalavala, "The Mṛgāvat of Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi,* Banaras, 1971, p. 25, pl. 3

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is especially noted for its exaggerated and elongated grass, which seems to sway in the gentle breeze (also see in bottom panels). This effect is diminished to some extent in fol. 63 (the following scene, fig. 591), where the treatment is coarser and the forms stunted.[6] Even though palm trees having ornamental fronds and decorative type are painted, the effect of the landscape is more or less limited.

In the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s lower panels (which we presume to be an indirect borrowing from the Persian *shikargah hashiyas, see column alongside*), too, landscape elements are frequently used. The contents of these panels may or may not be related to the main scene.[7] The vegetal motif often introduced in them is a flowering plant which has either a cluster of discular blossoms with a deep red core or simply plainly outlined petal. This flower is embellished with filaments in the center (fig. 591) or with dots (fig. 606) or thin dashes near the rim (fig. 605). The leaves of the plants can be similarly dotted at the edge. In certain cases these blossoms just hang in the air without the support of a stem (fols. 1, 13) compare similar treatments of architecture in which supporting pillars are also absent,[8] fols. 27, 28, 43, 45; for fol. 27 see below fig. 601). On the other hand, the stems are sometimes quite elaborate (fol. 46, fig. 610) or meandering in the background (fols. 3,10, 88, 90 etc.) in which the branches of a tree were transformed into a bush-like form. Or, the leaves may be bushy (fig. 602). In such cases these blossoms appear like wild flowers springing from the tall grass as contrasted with more symmetrical arrangements elsewhere (fols. 2, 3, 10, 40, 101 etc.; fig. 610).

Tall grass itself is the most popular background in the *shikargah* scenes that fill the lower panels (figs. 591, 597, 606, 615). It appears there with a good deal of flourish and abstraction (fols. 8, 12, 14, 15, 62, 63, 85, 87-89, 92, 94, 95, 97-99, 104, 108, 122). A sharp-leaved "spray"-like shrub which is also shown in a few folios, is quite possibly related to its more evolved counterpart in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group, or subsequently in seventeenth century Mewari or Malwa paintings. We see its swaying branches in the corners or certain lower panels, but its rather non-descript form at this stage is not impressive (fols. 2-3, 9, 40, 89-90, 95-97, 116) for its use in main body of a scene (see fol. 67, figs. 591, 595-96).

Some of the plants in the *shikargah hashiyas* are well-organized and must have been derived from contemporary Sultanate painting or architectural embellishments: ultimately, they refer to Shirazi painting, which resemble those found in our fols. 96, 108, but they are quite simplified versions of those in our manuscript.

The most spectacular amongst the lower borders un-related to the main scene seem to be forest with their frolicking beasts (figs. 606, 610).[9, 10] These scenes, along with those using the "animals confronted by a tiger" motif (figs. 591, 597, 615) might have been, as already observed, derived from Persian *shikargah* scenes. This hypothesis is supported by the treatment of certain animals and the landscape. For example, the heavy, three-quarter profile face of the tiger or the high colour modelling of the deer's torso, the fox-like hare (fig. 595), etc., could be derived from Persian sources. Sometimes, there are quite spirited animals in the panels. The bottom panel (fol. 99, fig. 615) has a lion charging at an elephant. The lion has been considerably enlarged in size to dwarf the poor elephant. The furious attacker is spirited in his action, his long tail (with its foliated end) forcefully swaying behind him. The wretched elephant looks out-witted by the suddenness of the attack.

[6] For somewhat similar treatment in the *Araṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 A.D., see in Karl Khandalavala *et al.*, *An Illustrated Araṇyaka Parvan, In the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay, 1974, pl. 8, p. 38, fig. 42

[7] Possibly a continuation of this tradition is seen in the Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chandā*, see above, *Chhavi-2*, fig. 5. This has its own sky.

[8] This is a feature commonly found in the fifteenth-sixteenth century north Indian painting. See in *New Documents of Indian Paintings—a reappraisal, op. cit.*, figs. 6, 95, 103-04, 118 etc.

[9] The Dev Shāno Pāḍo Jñāna Bhandar *Kalpasūtra* has similar unrelated scenes on its margins, especially at the lower margin. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal, op. cit.*, fig.50; Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, "Miniature Painting", *Jain Art and Architecture*, vol. III, New Delhi, 1975, colour plate 28B

[10] Here I would like to refer to two interesting passages from the fourteenth or sixteenth century Avadhī poems, which mention the same motifs in connection with the wall painting. The *Chandāyan* or *Laur-Chandā* of Mulla Dā'ūd (end of the fourteenth century) while describing wall paintings in the bed chamber, lists:

Sth-sādur miragh mirghāvan ānaū bhāt.....likh lābī jinh pāt [the lion, the tiger, the deer and beasts (other deer) were painted rows after rows]. Here again is the suggestion of the panel-like strips. *Chandāyan*, ed. P.L. Gupta, Bombay, 1964, *Karvaka* 205, p. 198

Similarly, Q'uban (early sixteenth century) in his *Mrigāvatī*, informs: *Sīgh mirig kasturī urehinhi sāuj pātihi pāti* (or *bhātahi bhāt*), ed. Mata Prasad Gupta, Agra, 1968, p. 29. That is to say, that the walls were painted in *rows* (alternatively in "varieties") with figures of lion(s) and the musk-deer etc.

The reading "in rows" has a special meaning to us since that suggests "panels" or borders as also found in Mulla Da'ud's text or in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations.

These were first pointed out by me in my Ph.D. dissertation (unpublished, 1960). Also see Simon Digby, "The Literary Evidence for Painting in the Delhi Sultanate", *Bulletin of the American Academy of Banaras*, vol. I, Nov. 1967, p. 57

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Certainly, the sensitive modelling of the animals, although rendered with broad and bold outlines,[11] is somewhat unusual in Indian art and it is also seen in the lower part of the female figures (*see elsewhere*, p. 277).

Nevertheless, certain local characteristics are also found in these "unrelated borders" especially in the exceptionally elongated ears of the hare. The hare at the bottom of a picture was a motif followed in the P.W.M. *Laur-Chandā* where it appears in one leaf with hare sitting in a forest.[12] In a few instances, the traditional basket pattern (fols. 7, 20, 64), which is generally used in Indian painting to represent a waterscape, is used (fig. 618). The lines are light yellow, a colour usually used for outlining trees and shrubs, etc. A pair of fat fish in basket pattern water (fols. 91, 93, 98, 100) is also a motif known to the illustrators of the present *Laur-Chandā* series. The form of the fish compares favourably to those in the illustrations of the *Mṛigāvatī* manuscript (*ca.* 1525 A.D.) now in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (fols. 39-40, 52-53, 59 etc.).[13]

c. Clouds:

The second and upper component of the background in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations is the sky. Both in the Indian "Apabhraṁśa" and the Indo-Persian "Sultanate" schools of paintings, the treatment of the sky is quite significant and colourful. This practice was followed in most of the later schools of Indian painting. Usually, surging clouds in the Berlin manuscript are dramatic in their form. They change according to the available space in the sky. Many of these clouds in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* have been influenced by Malwa painting of Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D.[14] (figs. 598, 602, 605-06, 608, 610, 617, 622-24; and for changed types figs. 604, 609).[15] The wavy and rhythmic treatment of clouds appear in a small group. It is noteworthy that these are all "shrine" scenes (figs. 594, 601, 614). These are closest to some of the cloud treatment of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 A.D., which I attribute to Bundelkhand *(see Appendix—D)*.[16] These can be divided into the following types:

1. Layer after layer of heavy clouds forming a frilled pattern and having serrated borders (fols. 62, 64, 66, 86, 88, 93-95, 97, 100, 115, 135; figs. 595, 597, 618), which stretch across the horizon. The use of serrated clouds is known in sixteenth—early seventeenth century Indian painting.[17] In another group, the above type of clouds appear transversely and "cut the corners" (fols. 2-4, 9-10, 12-15, 44, 52-54, 56, 75, 80-81, 89, 96, 99, 105, 107-112, 114, 116-117, 126).

2. Clouds taking an architectural form: in this set the form is that of a bracket *(ghuṛiā)* as in fol. 106 (fig. 598; also see fols. 1, 6, 29-31, 61, 76, 83, 92 etc.; figs. 602, 608, 622-23).

3. Clouds assuming animal forms: this variety of cloud appears very rarely in Indian painting and seen only once in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* (fol. 113). In folio 113 (fig. 599), one sees an elephant face[18] on one end of the cloud and a gargoyle face at the other; combined, the two refer to the ancient *jalebha* concept ("water elephant or fish-tailed elephant"). Such animal treatments are used only for rocks in Persian painting. Possibly a goat's or a sheep's head and its crouchant body in cloud form are accommodated in the left corner of folio 113. It appears that the Indian "Apabhraṁśa" painter borrowed this treatment from the Indian "Sultanate" painters who were likewise using Persian motifs arbitrarily.[19]

4. The rolled-up curtain type (fols. 9, 32-38, 78, 90, 92, 99, 114, 116; figs. 592-93, 615, 620): this cloud type was a popular motif in Sultanate painting. The illustrations to the *Khamsa* Amir Khusrau Dehlvi,[20] the

[11] Recently I discovered somewhat similar rendering in the illustrated manuscript of *Vijaya-Chandra Kevalī Charita* (dated *V.S.* 1556 or 1499 A.D.) and painted at Śrī Paṭṭana (modern Pāṭan), *vide* the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, manuscript no. 89. The modelling of the deer figures and hills is a little cruder.

[12] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1969, p. 95, pl. 24. Curiously a hare is shown running in panic in the scene "Rāma confronts Paraśurāma" from the "Shangri *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Chhavi-2*, pl. T).

[13] Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, Banaras, 1971, figs. 78, 84-85

[14] Pramod Chandra, "Notes on Mandu Kalpasūtra of A.D. 1439", *Marg*, vol. XII, no. 3 (June 1959), pp. 51 ff. compare fig. 5

[15] *ibid.*, fig. 6

[16] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *An Illustrated Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay, 1974; for typical examples, see colour plate 8 (p. 38) and fig. 21

[17] See these are restricted to later folios. The wavy ends of the clouds, possibly, were described in *Dholā-Mārū rā Dūhā*, the folk poetry (Rajasthani sixteenth century or earlier), as torques:
"... *Kāli kathāli meh*", edited by Ram Sinha *et al.* Banaras, *V.S.* 1991, *dohā* 43, p. 14

[18] Clouds as elephants: this is an Indian concept. Besides the earliest references Kālidāsa, the famous Sanskrit poet, mentions this in his *Meghadūta* (*Uttara Megha, śloka 18, kalabhatantutām* or the cloud assuming the form of an elephant cub). Similarly, Svayaṁbhū, a(?) seventeenth century Prākṛit poet describes the clouds as elephants: *Meh gayande chadhai jas luddhai* (Svayaṁbhu's *Rāmāyaṇa*).

[19] I am grateful to my ex-student Mrs. Regine Pachner for acquainting me with other arbitrary uses of Persian motifs by Indian painters. (*see Chhavi-2*, p. 299)

[20] Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections*, New Delhi, 1961, pl. 1 (upper); also *see Chhavi-2*, fig. 37

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Shāh Nāmā leaves in the Bharat Kala Bhavan[21] have these curtain-like (?) clouds. This convention is repeated in the late sixteenth century *Rāgamālā* leaves in the same collection[22] (fols. 3, 12, 22, 29-30, acc. no. 9070). The "curtain clouds" are even "embroidered" in the examples of the *Bālagopāla-stuti* illustrations.[23]

5. Clouds heavily modelled at the edges (fols. 30, 39, 57, 62, 66, 125 etc.; figs. 595, 597, 618) : (fols. 3-4, 12-15, 44, 52-60, 64, 66, 80, 83, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93-97, 105, 107, 110-11, 115, 117, 132, 138, 141 etc.; figs. 595, 597, 618, 622, 625) show clouds with spike-like ends and at the same time heavy colour modelling.

6. Plain clouds having bands of colour with no embellishment : it is the colour washes that indicate the limited modelling of their forms (fols. 9, 32, 35, 38, 63, 78, 90, 114, 116 etc.; figs. 591-93, 615).

7. Clouds from which raindrops fall (figs. 591, 605) : this treatment is an early example of a convention later elaborated in Rajasthani painting of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries (also see fig. 594 for similar treatment in the Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chandā*).

d. Human Figures:

Inhabiting these various settings are human figures whose forms are consistent to a degree, though variations due to different painters' hands do appear. In the Berlin set, the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) types are somewhat altered under Sultanate norms to create a new figure type. Its distinctive characteristic is the use of the Indian profile face with the extended "farther" eye (in addition to the usual attributes). This eye type's nearest equivalent is in the Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā*, the lost *Sikandar Nāmā*[24] or in the S.S.B. *Ādipurāṇa* (Group A) where it appears in a decadent form.[25] This type seems to be derivative of Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D. and also known in some of the Indian faces of the *Niāmat Nāmā*. Curiously enough, both eyes are placed on one side of the face in several of the Berlin leaves (figs. 592, 597, 601-02, 605, 618-19, 622-23). This mannerism starts in this school from *ca.* 1500 A.D —the proposed date of the Berlin manuscript.

A mannerism which closely corresponds to this is in the peculiar treatment of women's breasts on one side to the chest which are extremely small in some of the paintings, they appear like dots (figs. 591-92, 596-97, 608, 618-19) and sometimes painted on the arm (figs. 591, 597, 605, 608, 623).

Another figural alteration of the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) tradition is in the rhythms of the Berlin set's human figures—a change largely due to the use of different flexes (*bhaṅgimā*, figs. 590-91, 597-98, 600-02, 614, 618-20 etc.) and is eventually a result of the narrative character of the paintings. Certain features, however, do continue, such as the hand gestures of explanation *(vitarka mudrā)*. Many instances of the protruding farther chest (in heart shape) can be seen (fig. 619), especially in the *yogī* figures (figs. 590-91, 597, 621) and sometimes in the *chaurī*-bearers (fols. 6, 10-13, 22-23). The appearance of these characteristics can be attributed to the work of certain special hands who also preferred a frontal view of the men's chest (figs. 590-91). This is similarly favoured in the treatment of women's chest, of which numerous instances are present (for example, in figs. 592, 596, 598, 602-03, 610, 614-15, 618-19, 622-23); or sometimes this treatment is interrupted by a raised hand (figs. 591, 594, 597, 601, 605, 607-08).

The major difference between the human figures in the Berlin manuscript and those in the two other "Sultanate" manuscripts—the Berlin *Hamzā Nāmā* and the *Sikandar Nāmā*—which are to some extent, its stylistic parallels, is that in the former one, "three-quarter" profile (or "Śahi" type) faces, are nearly eliminated (except in fol. 84). The losening of the *Sikandar Nāmā*/ Berlin *Hamzā Nāmā* traditions in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* human figures is reflected in the elongated body, especially its lower portions[26] (figs. 590-95, 597, 605, 608-10,

[21] Anand Krishna, "An Early Ragamala", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. IX, Ann Arbor, 1961, figs. 3, 12, 22, 29-30

[22] *ibid.*, figs. 3, 12, 22, 29-30

[23] For "curtain-like" clouds in the Kala Bhavan *Rāgamālā*, see above, foot note 17. Some of these "embroidered" designs. I attribute this set to Gujarat.

"Embroidered" clouds are popular with the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* illustrations. See in Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1969, figs. 159, 161, 163-165, 171-173.

Several of these are "curtain-like". Note that the scene, *Lorik lamenting for Chandā at the snake bite*, the plain vaulted clouds are quite the same here (*ibid.*, fig. 165), as in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. I attribute this manuscript to Malwa, *vide*, *Malwa Painting*, *op. cit.*, p. 6, pls. 1-2

[24] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, 1969, figs. 101-116

[25] Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, *op. cit.*, 1975, pl. 282A, colour pl. 36A

[26] Possibly this again is a later characteristic which appears, though in a modified form, in the "S. S. B." *Ādipurāṇa* manuscript of *ca.* 1500 A.D. *(op. cit.)*. This is somewhat true in the accentuated modelling of the posteriors of standing woman.

Possibly the same attitude towards human body is expressed in the *Dholā-Mārū rā Dūhā*, *op. cit.*, *dohā* 460 etc. : *Maru des upanniyān sar jyauñ paḍḍhariyañh.*

Here the *nāyikā* is likened with an arrow. Moreover, a description still closer to the female form used in Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, see *ibid.*, *dohā* 460 etc. : *dimbhu lank, maral gaya . . .* or "she has the waist-like a wasp, "gait" of a female goose or swan". This wasp-like description exactly corresponds with the "distortion" of female figures in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*.

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614-16, 618, 622, 625) sometimes, taking a flask-like form. Here, this feature, which contributes a rare flexibility to the human figures, is accentuated by the flowing outline, prominently shown in the rear portions (figs. 592, 594, 597, 603, 605). The *sakhīs*, painted by a special group of artists (fols. 24, 29-31, 42, 44, 46-47, etc.), show these elongated forms: they seem to have a special sense of dignity about them (figs. 594, 601, 605, 607-08, 614-15, 622-24). The most daring treatment is that of the hero whose inflated ego as a warrior is quite successfully expressed in fols. 139-141 (fig. 604).

The women in general stand with a forward thrust. Mulla Da'ud, *Laur-Chandā* author, describes this as if she is "flying".[27]

One cannot help but think that the illustrators of our manuscript were also definitely aware of the proto-*Chaurapañchāśikā* style, perhaps in its rudimentary stage. The Berlin *Laur-Chandā* female faces, closely correspond to those in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group and to those in certain other early Rajasthani schools (loosely speaking the early Bundi style, which geographically borders on Malwa). The main distinction is that while in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group (excepting the faces in the Prince of Wales Museum *Gīta-Govinda* illustrations), the faces are pointed, those in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* are more rounded (a feature which naturally follows from the general pattern of its drawing). This is especially noted in the big and round chins.

e. Architecture:

The usual treatment of roofs in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations reminds us of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D.; in both sets, there is a preference for projecting kiosks, with stunted elevation and triangular or curving roofs (figs. 598, 602, 605-08, 615, 622-23).[28] Sometimes double roofs are shown (figs. 598, 615, 623). However, the artist of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* delighted in a special type of abstraction by barring the upper portions of a building with its framework of pillars and cross-bars (figs. 606, 623)[29] also refer to fols. 1, 3, 5-6, 11-14, 20, 29, 31, 42, 53, 54, 56, 60, 65, 78, 80, 83, 89, 92, 105, 107, 114 116, 126 etc.): this treatment is only seen in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and in no other manuscript known to us.

f. Deity:

The deity is represented in a number of folios (fols. 24-26, 28, 43, 45-46, 66, 101-04 etc.; figs. 594, 601, 614). It always has multiple animal faces, like the *Pañcha-mukha* Hanumān, supported by a many-armed human body (figs. 594, 601). Strangely enough, its form does not correspond to that of any known Hindu deity.[30] In one instance, it (fol. 43) has an elephant (Gaṇeśa?) as the central face. In several cases, the deity holds *vīṇā*, which relates it to Śaivism (being close to the *Vīṇādhara-dakshiṇā-mūrti* manifestation). Most interesting (possibly the earliest in medieval Indian painting) in one scene (fol. 102, fig. 594) is the deity's association with a harp and a donkey-*vāhana*. In the next scene, not only does the donkey serve as the *vāhana*, but also as the principal face (fol. 103; fig. 614). It could be one of Śiva's *gaṇas*. The deity's association with the Śaiva pantheon is also suggested by the bull held in one of his arms (fol. 103) and the mouse (Gaṇeśa's *vāhana*) that follows him (or serves as the attending *yogī*'s *vāhana*?).

g. Four-Dotted Motif:

A motif popular in fifteenth century Northern and Western Indian painting, namely, the "four-dotted" design is frequently used in these illustrations. This motif appears both in the clear or overcast skies (in the latter example, sprinkled over the clouds; figs. 592-95 600-02, 604-05, 609, 614, 617, 620, 622) and on the dress of men and women (figs. 590-94, 596-604, 606-09, 614-15, 617-25). The interior of a room like the other floating motifs in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, (here folios 24-25, 28, 43, 45-46, 52-54, 61, 63, 68, 78, 80-82, 99, 105-09, 111-12, 117; figs. 591, 596, 598, 601, 605, 622-23) on shield (fols. 105, 128, 140-41), painted faces and trappings of elephants (like fols. 121-23, 127-28, 134-35) or on horse trappings (like fols. 49-51, 70, 72, 75-76, 121-24, 127-28, 133, 135) or on body of a fish (like fols. 93, 98, 100) etc. etc.

h. Palette and Use of Colour:

My comments on the colours employed in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* are necessarily limited because they are largely based upon observation of a group of slides that I received from Prof. Herbert Härtel. It would seem that the illustrator's colour sense was deeply rooted in the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) tradition. The scenes are divided into compartments filled with bold colours. The colours are laquer red, ultramarine, pale green, yellow, and white. Carmine is also lavishly used.[31]

[27] *Laur-Chandā*, 94.6 i ed. P.L. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 128

[28] This is also confirmed by the *Aranyaka Parvan* illustrations *op. cit.*, pls. 6-7, figs. 23-24 etc.

[29] I feel that this is something like the visual impact of the canopy atop the Jahāz Mahal, which will give exactly the same impression if seen from the banks of the water tank.

[30] The deity is a crowned Hindu *devatā* in the P.W.M. *Laur-Chandā* and the *Śiva-liṅgaṃ* in the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* (our fig. 511)

[31] One very interesting phenomenon in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, is that all the colour tonalities approximate with the colours of the 1634 A.D. *Rasikapriyā* in Malwa style. This fact is useful to us since this helps us in establishing relationship between the two and thereby in understanding our suggestion, namely that the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations were produced in Malwa.

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Red is the principal colour found in these illustrations and its extensive use is definitely an inheritance from the Indian tradition. Red is employed in nearly every possible background, from bed chamber to court scenes, to wilderness (fols. 32, 35-36, 62, 63, 85, 103, fig. 593), to battlefields (fols. 51, 121-22, 135, 139 etc.). In many cases, the red colour patch is the most prominent one in the painting.

Red appears in combination with other important colours like ultramarine or green. Red denotes the "indoors", in some cases it specifies. For example, fol. 67 (fig. 596) has the bed chamber and fol. 77 the guardroom (fig. 607) painted with a red background, while the rest which is meant to represent the night sky, is ultramarine (for example, fols. 57-66; fig. 619). This combination of red and ultramarine is also found in the "Elopement at night" scene in the Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā*.[32] Here red is used in some of the dresses and also at the top of the buildings.

Mostly the ultramarine background was reserved for the secret of night (figs. 595-96, 608, 622-23 in fols. 52-53, 58, 66-67, 77, 82, 112 etc.), "the couple converse in the bed chamber" scenes (fig. 622, fol. 59), the effect of night is emphasized by the red glow of the lamp wick. As contrasted with the main scene, the sky is surprisingly red and this colour is repeated in a strip at the bottom of the painting where the maid slumbers deeply, undisturbed. Looking at this example, one can not fail to notice that the painter was deeply interested in creating a colour pattern of alternating red and blue, with the main panel and its blue background acting as the nerve centre of the scene. Only very thin pale green stripe at the bottom or the red dress of the hero "disturb" this general colour scheme. This pattern was reversed in case of the main panel being in red or green. Other uses of the ultramarine background can be seen (fols. 25-26 for the shrine, fol. 135 for cityscape).

Green, which is found in the bottom strips, indicates verdure and is seen in innumerable examples. This colour also indicates night in a private conversation in a bed chamber (here again the maid sleeps obliviously and the wick lamp emphasizes night effects (fols. 56-57, 59-61, 106-09 etc., figs. 598, 605, 608, 622). Because of its very earthly nature, however, green was not used for the clouds.

Black, rarely used for background in "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) painting, is never found as a background colour in these leaves: the dark night sky, for instance, was indicated by ultramarine rather than black. Nevertheless, following the old tradition, the bright lamp black has been used to outline human figures or objects in some instances, or to show such dark elements as hair, a moustache, or beards, the down of a deer, arrow or lance tips, small pom-poms, belts, sheaths or quivers, textile designs, clouds, and so forth. As its supplimentary colour, opaque white is also used in similar instances.

Yellow, the least frequently used colour, is never employed for the ground. However, following the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) tradition, it is the principal body colour of fair couples (the darker men or women are brown)[33] and it is also used in dresses (fols. 21, 30-31, 67, 102-03, 140; figs. 596, 602, 614) clouds (fols. 29-32, 35, 62, 75 etc.; figs. 597, 602, 617) and architecture (1, 3, 5, 13, 17, 30-31, 52-53, 58, 61, 67, 77, 79, 106, 110; figs. 596, 598, 602, 607, 616, 623). It is often employed to show the modelling with black to give some roundness to architectural details (fols. 7, 56, 61, 106 etc.), human contours, and dress (fols. 56, 66-67, 77, 92, 102; figs. 598-99)[34] for this purpose a white outline or stripes of a dress are also freely used (fols. 17, 23, 41 52-53, 56, 63, 75, 106; figs. 591, 598, 603, 616). The borders of most of the trappings of war-horses are outlined in yellow. Moreover, many tree trunks, the edges of foliage, floral designs, blossoms or tufts of grass, etc. are painted in yellow. Fol. 30 (fig. 602) shows parrots outlined in yellow (fols. 5, 7, 36; fig. 593) have peacocks with yellow contour). Water ripples as in Malwa painting are in basket pattern and are yellow (fols. 64, 93, 98; fig. 618). Ochre yellow as border strips, is popular with the Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* painter; it is also used in the seventeenth century Malwa paintings for this purpose.

The application of colour, as we would expect in this style, is flat; yet surprisingly enough, colour modelling is used in the Berlin leaves—a fact which suggests that such a treatment was known in the sixteenth century Apabhraṁśa style or the proto-Rajasthani schools.[35] Such techniques were, of course, widely employed in Eastern Indian and Nepali painting. Possibly,

[32] Karl J. Khandalavala, "The Mṛigāvatī of Bharat Kala Bhavan", *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume*, Banaras, 1971, p. 25, pl. 3

[33] This tradition is followed in "Sultanate" and proto-Rajasthani schools: such as in the 1516 A.D. *Āraṇyaka Parvan*, *Mṛigāvatī* or *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.

[34] Yellow-outlined objects were popularly shown in the sixteenth century Malwa school, a fact which helps us substantiate the Malwa-origin theory of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, suggested above. Besides the yellow outlined foliage in the *Niyāmat-Nāmā*, the later examples from this class are the 1634 *Rasikapriyā*, Hira de *Rāmāyaṇa* and the early Malwa *Rāgamālā* (Bharat Kala Bhavan) etc.

[35] Possibly this technique was followed in Central Indian manuscript of the fifteenth-sixteenth century (see in Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, *op. cit.*, pl. 281, fig. A).

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the appearance of such colour modelling in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* is due to some interaction between the Eastern Indian schools, the Malwa sub-style of Western Indian painting or the Himalayan school, thus it represents a particular tradition of Indian painting having its pan-Indian character. However, this was denied in the Rajasthani schools. In certain cases, the use of carmine or yellow as the bold outline of humans, animals, kiosks, birds, sword blades, lances and arrow tips, dresses, appointments, etc. gives a sense of modelling. But the most effective colour modelling appears in the clouds, where black, carmine, or ultramarine is softly blended by means of washes with the next colour strip. Such colour modelling is a major departure from the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* tradition, and simultaneously correspondence to known types of the Indian Sultanate paintings is the heavy colour modelling at the edges of humans and material objects.[36]

i. Painter's Hands:

It is difficult to distinguish the different hands that painted the illustrations of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, yet one can assume that several artists must have worked on them. For example, one group of paintings—Group A—seems to have been executed by a very refined hand (or group of more accomplished artists). In these paintings, the human figures, especially the women, are relatively slimmer and more well proportioned: the artist(s) evidently delighted in presenting the beautiful curves of their bodies. Some of the faces in this group, which are practically silhouetted and oval in shape, seem to be the precursors of the small faces in early Malwa painting (of the seventeenth century), except that the beady eye is not used. The illustrations from this group show an exaggerated treatment of the *oṛhanī* (scarf) of the women, which usually has an "S" shape (figs. 591, 594, 597, 614-15, 618, 623). The textile designs are also carefully rendered. In certain examples, we see a delicate treatment of the transparent dress (fols. 39, 41, 52-54, 56, 59, 66-67, 77, 80, 106, 117, 137, 139; figs. 595-96, 598-600, 603, 607, 617, 622). Many of the illustrations from Group A contain a variety of decorative scrolls, the details of which have been carefully worked out. In rare instances the *shikargah* scenes are introduced and they are much more refined than those executed by the other group of painters. Many leaves from fol. 53 to 83 and again from fol. 101 onwards figs. 594, 597, 600, 604, 607, 609-10, 614-15, 619, 623-24 belong to Group A, although one can see a few illustrations of inferior quality among them.

Group A is also noteworthy for some of its very expressive scenes. In fol. 137 (fig. 600) the limp and lifeless bodies of the two beheaded victims are rendered with skill. The depiction of the dead, being devoured by scavenging birds and animals in fol. 119, displays the artist's stoic observation of such frightful scene. Hares running away in confusion at the time of the army march (fol. 129) successfully suggests the fury of the incident.[37] In fol. 70 and fol. 136 (fig. 609) we see the last effort of a soldier, pierced by an arrow, to extract its tip before dying. The soldier, running for his life and being struck by the attacker's blade, desperately looks back in fol. 136 (fig. 609). Tall and graceful figures of the *nāyaka* or the *nāyikā* appear in several folios (fols. 17-18, 27, 30, 38, 40-42, 44, 52, 58-59, 61-63, 65-67, 77-78, 80-81, 87, 90, 95, 99, 102, 105-07, 109-110, 112, 126, 139 etc.; figs. 591-92, 594-99, 601-05, 607-08, 614-15, 621-22). The heroic soldiers leaving for battle, in fols. 139-141 (fig. 604) is exceptional in his expression. The representation of the *nāyaka* stealing his way in the dead of night in fol. 66 (fig. 595) bears witness to the painter's skill. The rope in these folios, with its changing twisted geometric pattern exhibits the artist's ability to create a bold representation (fols. 66, 68; fig. 596). His great talent is even seen in such small details as the tapers of the wick lamps, which twist and curve (fols. 57, 59, 106 etc. figs. 598, 622-23 *see above*) in the gentle breeze. Several paintings depict maids in humorous postures, sleeping under the bed (fols. 59, 80, 105-06, 108, 112, 117). Fol. 58 has lover hiding under the cot (fig. 623).

The second group—Group B— is distinguished from Group A by its heavier, flatter faces and tubular bodies. The chest, which is also exaggerated, is shown in three-quarter view, and it is heart-shaped, especially in the case of the men or women; for example, fols. 38, 57 figs. 592, 608 etc. (also *see above*). The women have smaller faces and sometimes their eyes closely approximate those seen in the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* leaves.

Group B is also noted for certain other characteristics; the bottom panels, although coarsely drawn, are more spirited. The sky generally has heavy clouds

[36] Parallel to these broad modellings are in the illustrations of *Khamsa* Amir Khusarau Dehlvi *(op. cit.)*, the Kala Bhavan *Shāh Nāmā* leaves *(op. cit.)*.

For Pāla-Sena illustrations, one might refer to the colour modelling in the *Aṣṭa Sahasrikā Prajñā Pāramitā* illustrations. The details are not clear in the reproductions.

For early regular "Apabhramśa" illustrations, see in Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, *op. cit.*, pl. 267, fig. B, pl. 270, fig. C, H. 271

[37] It is interesting to find that this motif—showing hares running in panic—is preserved in a "Shangri" *Rāmāyaṇa* leaf (Kala Bhavan acc. no. 11103). Here Rāma confronts Paraśurāma, *Chhavi-2*, colour pl. T

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in certain cases with sharp edges (*see above,* figs. 598, 601-02, 608, 617-18, 622-23). Perhaps differences in cloud treatment indicate a change in painter's hands. Similarly, the mannerism of showing one of the women's breasts painted on the arm (*see above,* figs. 591, 605, 608) should also be studied closely for it could possibly indicate a difference in the painter's hands. In folios 56, 108 both breasts are painted on the arm; this convention is parallel to that of showing both eyes on one side of the face. Similarly, some of the women's exaggerated *paṭakās,* many times rhythmic in treatment, might belong to a special tradition (fols. 25-26, 41, 46, 57, 64, 86, 88-95, 98-104, figs. 603, 608).

One finds that in certain folios the painter has used a special treatment of the jewelry and other similar ornamentations. The jewelry is shown with prominent beads, possibly a survival of the "medieval" sculpture. This particular treatment was popular in the "Apabhraṁśa" (W. Indian) school in its later phase (second half of the fifteenth century), examples of which can be cited from both its western or eastern sub-styles in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā,* such handling of the jewelry is commonly found on the tiaras (figs. 596, 600, 606, 608-09, 617-20 etc.) of men (fols. 1-7, 92, 97, 114 etc.) and women (fols. 93-94, 98-101, 104 etc.; figs. 591, 597, 601-02, 615, 619, 622 -23). In many instances, men and women hold *mālās* of the same character (fols. 73-76, 84, 88-89, 91, 109, 113 etc.; figs. 600, 605).

Besides, in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā,* one finds a variety of applications of the dotted design, the simplest being on the edges of the *yogī's* robe (fol. 12), on man's *paṭakā* (fols. 51, 79, 108 etc.), the fringe of a woman's *sārī* (fols. 47, 53-54, 56, 60, 70, 77, 92, 107-08, 112 etc.; fig. 607).

The water pond in the foreground (fol. 79; fig. 614) is sprinkled with dots in one of its (?) channels. Trees have dotted fringes (fols. 32-33, 36, 103; figs. 593, 614). This device is known in many other cases; for example, on the edge of a curtain[38] (fol. 67; fig. 596), as the contour line of the *chaurīs* (fols. 12, 103, 114; fig. 614), rim of a shield (fol. 38; fig. 592), decoration on a sheath of a sword (fols. 36, 97; fig. 593), on helmets (fols. 17, 120, 139; figs. 592, 604), caprisons of horses and elephants (fols. 19, 50-51, 70-72, 103, 118, 123 etc.; figs. 590, 600, 624) or even as embellishment of a bolster.

Whether particular artists of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* series preferred such dotted treatment, is not certain. Yet there could be a possibility of such individual treatments in the present tradition-bound style. This suggestion is reinforced by an analysis of the above folios, which go in definite groups.

j. Retouching:

This study of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā,* based as it is upon only a brief examination of the original leaves and mainly on photographic reproductions, imposes some limits upon a discussion on retouching. Nonetheless, we would like to make a few comments with regards to this subject. It appears to us that some unknowing person tried to retouch the illustrations, possibly in the eighteenth century. It was at this stage that in some cases, the "farther eye" was rubbed out. The faces, beard or eyes in fols. 113-16 etc. (figs. 599, 620) are such touched-up examples. Caste marks on men's foreheads (fols. 113-14 etc.) were possibly added later. The modelling of women's chest or breasts in fols. 26, 57 (figs. 608, see the *sakhī*), 84 ?, 92, 98-101, 104 seem to be redone by a later owner out of sadistic pleasure. In fols. 6, 49 the decoration of the circular cushion seems to be later work. In fol. 56 this person has added a cone-like object on the *nāyikā's* back, her *mālā* (necklace) appears to be a later addition (for the redone *mālā,* also see fol. 89) could the strap of the hero's knife in fol. 59 (fig. 622) be an addition? Sometimes merlons were retouched (fol. 56). Rossets decoration on the shield was retouched (fol. 37). Considering the special fondness of this later "vulgariser" of the illustrations for round forms, it seems likely that most of the textile designs—a thick contoured ciricle enclosing dots—(all or part of it) was "reinforced" by him; however, this conclusion would require a close examination of the original leaves. The reasons for the difference between the well-defined contours in fols. 23, 74, 78, 114 etc. and the more cursory drawings and the arbitrary use in fols. 1, 9-11, 13-15, 24, 29, 47, 53, 56, 59, 61, 71-72, 76, 93, 112 (fig. 622) are worth checking in this connection, as also are the chequered patterns in fols. 17-18 etc. The *pallū* (end of women's *paṭakā*) with broad stripes and dramatic upturned ends could be a later addition *(see above).* Some of the folios *(see above)* have women's *paṭkās* that do not seem to "belong" to the original style and, therefore, might be later additions. In fol. 117, one sees an exceptional facial modelling— *i.e.* by means of thin wash. The treatment of the eye or face in folio 117 seem to be inconsistent with the original style. In folio 113 (fig. 599) edge of the beard, an eye or the added hair bun is a definite case of later retouching. Perhaps the hatching *(ḍaṇḍā pardāz)* on the

[38] Since the above was noted, I found a very important reference to the same motif in one of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* paintings (*vide* Leela Shiveswarkar, *The pictures of the Chaurapañchāśikā,* New Delhi, 1967, pl. VIII). This is simply an edge of a colour patch rather than a "curtain". Thus, this motif was widely used in the sixteenth century.

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animals in the *shikargah* lower panels in certain folios or the moustache or tuft of hair on tiger's tail (fols. 2, 12, 63, 68, etc.; figs. 591, 597) needs to be checked to see if it is not a later addition. Many more instances of retouching could probably be found with further scrutiny.

3. Provenance and date of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*

It is my opinion that the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations were probably executed in Malwa about 1500 A.D. Fifteenth century Malwa painting, on the basis of our present knowledge, seems to have been divided into three sub-styles: the first or standard type, is seen in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra*[39] of 1439 A.D.; the second is a Gujarati style; the third style is one known from a manuscript of the *Durgāpāṭha* of 1487 A.D.[40] from Pipalner, a center near the Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Malwa borders.

The Pipalner *Durgāpāṭha*'s female figures are entirely different from those of the other two fifteenth century Malwa styles. Most importantly, they approximate some of the female figures in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā;* the figures in both sets are tall and slim and have tubular, almost wooden legs (around which a *sārī* is tightly wound); they stand with a slight stoop (fols. 26-28, 46-47, 62-64, 94-95, 98-104 etc.; figs. 597, 601, 615). The eye types in both manuscripts share certain characteristics. Of course, the sharp angularities in the faces of the Pipalner leaves are slightly rounded off in the Berlin illustrations presumably because traditions have been diluted—a process also seen in other elements of the Pipalner manuscript. The Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s similarity to the 1487 Pipalner manuscript provided *positive* evidence that it was executed in Western Malwa at the end of the fifteenth century, perhaps about 1500 A.D.

I realise that some scholars would probably place the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* in Eastern India, but I think that a comparison of it with the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra*[41] of 1465—the most relevant dated manuscript from that region—would suggest otherwise. In my opinion, the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and the Jaunpur *Kalpasūtra* represent two divergent trends. The female figures in the Jaunpur manuscript (which is completely different in style from regular Gujarati illustrations), have sharper noses and different, red-edged, eyes than those of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. Their well-modelled faces are fuller and heads are flat at the top. One also sees in the Jaunpur manuscript that the dress is heavily decorated with broad strips. Usually the ends of the scarf *(āñchala)* fly sideways taking an angular form. The *oṛhanī* covers the chest, in a very broad form, as was prevalent in North Indian styles. Textile designs also differ. Jewelry is changed. The tree types—whatever are known to us—are similarly different from those in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. Moreover, the Jaunpur artist only rarely uses clouds in the sky, which are so profuse in the Mandu style manuscripts. Finally the colour tonalities are different between the two manuscripts. In light of these innumerable differences between the two manuscripts, it would not seem proper to me to attribute the Berlin manuscript to Eastern India. Moreover, it is distinct in style from regular Gujarati illustrations or the examples attributed to Delhi[42] or Gwalior.[43] By simple process of elimination, then, and in addition to the positive evidence presented above, the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* was probably painted in Malwa.

It should be mentioned, in concluding our discussion of provenance and date, that the closest stylistic cognate of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* is the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā,* a work that I believe comes from Central India. Stylistic similarities between the two sets of illustrations can be seen in many areas, especially in their selection of "eye-type". The Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations, however, are in a looser, more lax and folkish style than those of the Bharat Kala Bhavan set; such laxity would suggest that the Berlin paintings were rendered at a later date than those from Bharat Kala Bhavan—probably, as we have mentioned above about 1500 A.D.

Conclusion:

I do not claim that the above discussion (including the points raised in *Appendices—A-D*) on the Berlin *Laur-Chandā,* is complete; this manuscript offers unending possibilities for study, since it seems to be a meeting ground of a number of traditions. Moreover, a good example, where the "Apabhraṁśa" (Western Indian) style was breaking away from the rigid control of the later Śvetāmbara disciplines. The *Laur-Chandā* theme itself offered much wider scope to the painter, who fully exploited this situation. These combined, helped emergence of the Rajasthani schools. Creative aspect of the illustrations can not be overlooked.

[39] P. Chandra, "A Unique Kālkāchārya Kathā Ms . . .", Bulletin of the American Academy of Banaras, vol. I, p. 14

[40] Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, Banaras, 1962, figs. 3-4

[41] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1969, pl. 4, figs. 23-42

[42] Karl Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi, "Miniature Painting", chapter 31, Jain Art & Architecture, New Delhi, 1975, p. 415 and illustrations.

[43] *ibid.*, p. 418

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Certain other observations have been made above, especially in exploring the thematic values in painting which show definite and well-established setting to continue in the *Laur-Chandā* paintings, as a class, irrespective of change in styles. This adds a new dimension to the study of Indian painting.

I have also tried to give a regional attribution, namely Malwa, to these illustrations but am humbly aware that this might not be the final word; in fact, my suggestion might only serve as a ground for discussion. My dating of the Berlin manuscript paintings (*ca.* 1500 A.D.) may not be acceptable to some scholars; I have tried to give my reasons, which I hope will receive attention of the scholarly world. Similarly, the question of retouched portions needs a more careful examination. Certain other aspects of study remain to be included. Despite the problems, enumerated above, I delighted in this game for several months, for which the owners of the manuscript and the other helpers in preparation of this text are once more thanked.

APPENDIX—A

Indian Love Poetry and the Sufis

The *Laur-Chandā* or *Chandāyan* by Mulla Da'ud is a text devoted to the popular romance of Laurik and Chandā.

Chandā, a beautiful girl, who had left her husband, fell in love with Laurik, a hero of the town of Gover, who salvaged her from the invading army of Rai Rūp Chand. Laurik himself fell headlong deep in love with Chandā and left his home, wandering as a *yogī* and lamenting for her. He was invited by her to share her bed. Laurik's wife Mainā, quarrelled with Chandā at a temple, after she had discovered this.

The lovers eloped but were chased by Chandā's husband Bāvan. Chandā had her first snake-bite in a Brahman's house, but was revived by a charmer. While encamping in a forest, Chandā was again bitten by a snake and Laurik lamented; but again she was cured.

They reached a town, a *yogī* cast a spell over Chandā who losing her memory followed him, leaving Laurik behind who succeeded at last in retrieving her.

Next at the city of Hardīpāṭan, they were welcomed by the local king, Rai Chhetam. Sensing this Mainā, sent a heart rendering *Bārah-māsā* to Laurik. Laurik and Chandā returned to Laurik's town Gover and were welcomed by Mainā.

Disturbing news awaited Laurik, in his absence Chandā's husband Bāvan had threatened Mainā, who was saved by his *guru*, Ajayī. Moreover, one Makar had invaded Kunvarū (Laurik's brother) and killed him...

The fragmentary story, as retrieved by Dr. P.L. Gupta, does not give the finale. This popular story was embellished by Mulla Da'ud in his *Chandāyan*, or *Laur-Chandā* (completed in 1397 or 1398 A.D.), which he wrote for Jauna Shah, Khan-e-Jahan and Diwan of Firoz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi.[44]

In ancient India, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* recommends a lover to approach a girl through confidante with an *ālekhya-paṭa* (or a cloth painting on a story), vide, *Dūtī-karma Prakaraṇa* or the Fourth Book.[45] The *dūtī*, as a professional would entertain the girl with story telling with the cloth painting as the base. Elsewhere, in the same book, Vātsyāyana mentions a few stories, including the Śakuntalā story, which could have been one of the themes for such an *ālekhya-paṭa*. Yaśodhara, the celebrated medieval commentator on this text, calls these *ākhyāna-paṭas* as: *yam-upadiśya-ākhyāyanakāni chitra likhitaṃ* or a cloth painting based on a theme (story).

The above reference corresponds to the gay life presented by Śūdraka in his *Mṛichchhakaṭikaṃ* (Act 5):

Here the pimps are depicted holding (possibly) similar cloth paintings (*Chhavi-2*, page 260, f.n. 20).

In medieval India, love poetry enjoyed great popularity. The Indian *sufis* made much use of these folk tales of love.[46] Several such stories mentioned by Malik Muhammad Jayasi (second quarter of the sixteenth century) were already used by the earlier *sufis*. Many other characters were drawn from Indian myths but in popular and altered form (for example, Vidura, Sahadeva, etc.). Even several versions of a particular story were available; the story of Jayasi's *Padmāvata*, for instance, was rendered in Deccani as *Ratan Kahān*.[47] Similarly, the story of *Mṛigāvatī* besides Qutaban's version, was transformed into *Rājkunwar* (an illustrated copy, in Salim's style at Allahabad is now in the Sir Chester Beatty Library, Dublin).[48] Similarly, the

[44] New Documents of Indian Painting, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-94

[45] I am grateful to Dr. Devangana Desai for the above information.

[46] Similarly painted versions, on wall, of some of these stories are known from these texts themselves. This point was first raised by me in my Ph.D. thesis (submitted 1962, still unpublished).
Karl J. Khandalavala *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 7-8 these need a "reappraisal".

[47] Douglas Barrett, "Painting at Bijapur", *Painting from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder—Wilson, London, 1969

[48] Robert Skelton, "Two Mughal Lion Hunts", *Victoria and Albert Museum Year Book*, no. 2, London, 1970, pp. 44-45; figs. 13-14; Asok K. Das, "Bishan Das", *Chhavi*, 1971, figs. 354-55

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Gulshan-e-Ishq (1643 A.D.) is a Deccani version of the *Madhumālatī*.

These love stories were extremely popular in the Sultanate and early Mughal periods. Abul Fazl observes in his *Ā'in-e-Akbari*,[49] "The Hindi story of *Nal and Damana*, which melts the hearts of the feeling readers. . ." Similarly, the noted scholar at Akbar's court, Abdur Qadir Badāunī,[50] although a staunch *sunnī* Muslim, lauded Mulla Da'ud's *Laur-Chandā (Chandāyana)*: "In the year 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-jahān the Vazir, died and his son Junā Shāh obtained that title, and the book Chandaban which is a Masnavī in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chandā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā'ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and *Mukhdūm Shaikh* Taqīu-d-dīn Wāiz Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit, and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and when certain learned men of that time asked the *Shaikh* saying, what is the reason for this Hindi Masnavī being selected? He answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplating of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Āyats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover, by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive."

Elsewhere he records the popular appeal which the *sufis* enjoyed in that period. Badāunī did not fail to notice the rousing welcome Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior received in the streets of Agra[51] in 966 A.H. (1558-59 A.D.). One must not forget that Muhammad Ghaus had two famous disciples—Tansen, the Great Singer, and Manjhan, the author of the Hindi *Sufī* poem, *Madhumālatī* (a text in the tradition of Mulla Da'ud's *Laur-Chandā*. Moreover, Badāunī refers to another *sufi* Muslim, a noted saint, Shaikh Burhan, who also composed Hindi poetry, and enjoyed the following of the elite of that period. Finally, a Jain Jeweller, Banarasi Das of Jaunpur (Akbar-Jahangir period) gives a vivid account of the popularity which *Madhumālatī* and *Mṛigāvatī* texts enjoyed in his times.[52]

However, it should be emphasized that the *sufis* were not universally acknowledged. The Great Muhammad Ghaus was given a cold shoulder by Bairam Khan (Akbar's Khan-e-khanan) and Abul Fazl failed to recognize his virtues. Tulasi Das, the famous Hindi poet obliquely denounced them,[53] "In the *Kali* age the (so-called) devotees expound *bhakti* by means of *Sākhī, sabad, dohās* (these refer to the *nirguṇa* saints like Kabir) or through narratives (*sufī* poems like *Laur-Chandā*) and criticize the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas*, that is traditional and orthodox Hinduism."

APPENDIX—B

A Note on the Three-Tiered Spatial Division in Indian Painting

Scholars have noted that one important change between the Shiraz painting and Indian styles lies in the Indian attitude towards spatial division in painting. Though the Indian artist borrows certain motifs from the Shirazi style, he maintains the old tradition of dividing the scene into a few (usually three) registers. This particular type or spatial organization is quite prominently featured in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations. It was known since the period of the Bharahut and Sāñchī carvings. The battle scenes, dividing into three bands is a device which is purely Indian, known from the ancient sculpture, traditions and is also followed in the Lahore *Laur-Chandā* set.[54]

The three-tiered spatial division was vividly shown in "Apabhraṁśa" and "Sultanate" paintings. A few illustrated leaves of a *Shāh Nāmā* manuscript[55] in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, accepted as Indian Sultanate and datable to *ca.* 1500 A.D., display the use of such spatial division. Here the upper limit is suggested by a thick white band comparable to the "line of

[49] Translated into English by H. Blochman, reprinted, Delhi, 1965, p. 112 and f.n. 1 at p. 113.

The royal and illustrated copy of the *Nala Damana* (early seventeenth century, is now in Pakistan) *vide* Prof. Muhammad Baquir's "A Rare Moghul Manuscript. . . Akbar's Copy of Faizi's *Nal-wa-Daman*", *Pakistan Archaeology*, no. 8, Karachi, 1972, pp. 169-72, pls. XL-XLV. This has eighteen illustrations.

[50] *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, vol. I, English translation by George S. A. Ranbing, reprinted, Patna, 1973, p. 333

[51] *ibid.*, English translation by Sir Wolsley Haig, vol. III, reprinted, Patna, 1973, p. 8; "I saw him riding along in the market place at Agra, a throng of common people surrounding him, so that no one could pass through the crowd . . ." vol. III, p. 11, *ibid.*

[52] Vide his autobiography, *Ardha kathānaka* (old Hindi verses), edited by Nathu Ram Premi, Bombay, 1957, p. 38 : while Banarasi Das lost his fortunes and had no business left in Agra, he used to spend time in reading out the texts, *Madhumālatī* and *Mṛigāvatī*, in the evenings. A knot of people used to visit him to listen to the narrative poems. These must have been from the illiterate mass.

[53] *Dohāvali, dohā* no. 554 :
Sākhī sabadī dohrā, kahi kihinī upākhyān
Bhagati nirupahin bhaget kali, nindahin beda purāna

[54] *New Documents of Indian Paintings*, *op. cit.*, fig. 188

[55] Anand Krishna, *op. cit.*, Ann Arbor, 1961, figs. 37-39, *New Documents . . . ibid.*, figs. 127-128

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horizon" in the later Malwa school *(see below)*.[56] A similar band also appears at the bottom *(see below)*.[57] This device has been used by the illustrators of the manuscript of the *Khamsa* Amir Khusrau Dehlvi, (Indian Sultanate, *ca.* 1500 A.D.) whose pages are widely scattered in various collections.[58] In a leaf, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, showing Majnu at Laiyla's Tomb[59] a flower band is used in much the same way as those in the Bharat Kala Bhavan leaves appear. The same arrangement is in Sultanate *Khamsa-i-Nizami* Sikandar Nāmā (for example, see *Chhavi-2* fig. 37).

Strange treatments are found in the 1516 A.D. *Āranyaka Parvan*. The concept of three-tiered arrangement is changed to three independent panels to a page. This attributes a narrative character to the scenes. Nevertheless, one can see the three-tiered division in the scene, "Draupadī converse with Satyabhāmā".[60] The lower panel has a stylised lotus, while the illustrator has cleverly, as a flashback, shown a bare drawing, Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana discoursing the myth. Other instances can be cited. In other panels this arrangement is "disturbed" like in Hanumān's cosmic manifestation to Bhīma;[61] this compositional type was quite normal in the sixteenth century manuscripts.[62]

The Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chandā* seems to be a more developed stage in the series. This is illustrated by its using both the traditional three-tiered settings and also its diffusion in other panels. Clear-cut divisions can be seen in certain folios (*Chhavi-2*, figs. 5, 9) or in the scenes "army on the march". The "disturbed" of diffused three-tiered arrangement is fig. 6 of Basil Gray's article *(see above)* or my fig. 612. In Basil Gray's fig. 7, the clear-cut divisions are avoided yet is applied as principle. Most of the scenes have Mulla Da'ud in his chamber (top panel) corresponding to Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana corner of the *Āranyaka Parvan*, just noted above.

A conventionalized survival of the lower panel is known in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings where a lotus pond is usually appended to the bottom of the scenes, which are reduced to a few such abstractions as green and red dots in one of the *Krishnalīlā* scenes from Isardā set, now in a private collection.

This convention continued even in the Rajasthani sub-schools. We can see remnants of it in seventeenth century painting from Mewar or Malwa and possibly from other schools. The Chāwand *Rāgamālā* scenes have such arrangements, although the tradition is diffused. The famous scene of the *Mārū Rāginī*,[63] for example, shows hunting dogs and tufts of grass at the bottom as one sees in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* scenes; and the background colour is similarly changed in both pictures to suggest a clear-cut division. For a comparison, we might take a similar scene painted in 1628 by Sāhibdin[64] where such divisions have been dissolved.

The Malwa school has been a great preserver of traditions and, therefore, one finds in the *Amaru Śataka* illustrations (of *ca.* 1652 and 1680 A.D.) a geometrical band in the foreground and/or a "thick line of horizon". In a painting like *Desakh Rāginī*[65] (Kala Bhavan acc. no. 94/2 *ca.* 1685 A.D.) for instance, a floral band has been painted.

Interesting examples of such spatial divisions can be seen in such early Bijapuri paintings as the illustrated manuscript of *Ratan Khān*[66] of *ca.* 1590 A.D. in the British Museum. In illustrations by "hand A", we find that though the bottom strip is dissolved, the sky rendered as a pronounced strip, is close to that seen in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*.[67]

The Mulla from the Johnson Album, India Office Library collection[68] (Bijapur, *ca.* 1615, here fig. 420) has a similar division of space; two birds appear in the foreground and the effect of the sky is quite intensified with linear clouds.

Akbar's royal painters were similarly aware of this tradition. We find in *Akbar Nāmā* paintings in the well-known scene "Adham Khan Thrown from the

[56] Anand Krishna, *ibid.*, pl. 10, fig. 37
[57] *ibid.*, pl. 10, figs. 37-38
[58] Richard Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, New Delhi, 1961, pl. 1
[59] A.S. Melikian Chirvani, "L'école de Shiraz les origines de la miniature monghole", *Painting from Islamic Lands*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson, London, 1969, p. 130, fig. 84
[60] Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, frontispiece, fig. 4, p. 19
[61] *ibid.*, pl. 3, p. 17
[62] For comparison see in Khandalavala and Saryu Doshi's "Miniature Painting", *op. cit.*, pl. 282A, colour pl. 36A
[63] Gopi Krishna Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani Ragamala", *Journal of The Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, vol. XIX, 1952-53, pp. 5, frontispiece.
[64] Karl Khandalavala, *et al.*, *"Miniature Paintings"* (A Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Sri Motichanda Khajanchi Collection), New Delhi, 1960, no. 23a, fig. 29
[65] Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, Banaras, 1963, colour plate J.
[66] Douglas Barrett, *op. cit.*, London, 1969, pp. 142-159; especially p. 158 for the suggested date of the manuscript copy.
[67] *ibid.*, figs. 91-92, 95-96
[68] R. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India*, London, 1976, no. 175, p. 71

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Rampart Walls"[69] (in the Victoria and Albert Museum), the artist Miskin has used this device by introducing a band of calligraphy at the bottom.

If one looks at the compositional division of portraits of Jahangir-Shahjahan periods, which were followed in later periods, one will notice that they (including the "conceptual portraits" of the women) have a "bottom panel", in idealized and quite distinct foreground and a top panel with a colourful, clouded sky. Similarly many more instances can be seen from Indian painting.

APPENDIX—C

Traditions in *Laur-Chandā* Paintings

After studying the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations, we come to one more conclusion: there seems to be a tradition, that governed the *Laur-Chandā* illustrations as a whole (it would also be worthwhile to trace such tradition in case of other manuscript illustrations).

The similarities between Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations and the Kala Bhavan series are obvious in many details like the geometrical frames and certain compositional features. Amongst these similar scenes the "Elopement at Night" scene (fol. 77, fig. 607) and its Kala Bhavan counterpart (fig. 613) are brilliant examples. The hare in the foreground, so common in the Berlin bottom panels, is also found in the P.W.M. series, although the motif's use in the latter is quite incongruous, *(see above)*.[70] Fols. 32-38 (figs. 592-93) of the Berlin manuscript correspond to similar compositions in the P.W.M. *Laur-Chandā*.[71] It is interesting that the general arrangement of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations, has been changed to introduce such a Persianised setting. The scenes at the shrine (figs. 594, 601, 614), in both the manuscripts, have a two tier division.[72]

Similarly, the Berlin and Lahore-Chandigarh *Laur-Chandās* share a common element. For example, the battle scenes—both sets have a common features, *i.e.* both have the scenes running into strips (figs. 609,625).[73]

The transparent long *jāmā* found in selective illustrations of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* illustrations (figs. 595-96, 600, 607, 617) is preserved in the standing figures of Mulla Da'ud in the Lahore-Chandigarh version (fig. 611, *Chhavi-2*, fig. 7). This is a definite tradition since the others—actors in the *Laur-Chandā* scenes—were the *Chākadār* type.

Moreover, certain characteristics of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* are found in the Kala Bhavan *Mṛigāvatī* illustrations. For example, similar bed chamber scenes are popularly used in both the manuscripts. The bed chamber overlooking a pond is also common to the two manuscripts (fig. 619).[75] The treatment of fish *(see above)* is similar in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and the Kala Bhavan *Mṛigāvatī*.[76]

Thus it seems to us to be more than a coincidence that so many common features are found among the *Laur-Chandā* illustrated manuscripts and *Mṛigāvatī* (both being *sufī* narrative poems) illustrations. In a traditional society, like that of medieval India such affinities should have definite significance, they seem not to be the result of mere chance.

APPENDIX—D

Kachhauwā and Chandrapurī

I find a number of similarities (despite a number of divergences) between the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and the Bombay *Āraṇyaka Parvan* illustrations of 1516 A.D.[77] Some of the points of similarities have already been pointed out in the body of my article. This encouraged me to check the colophon of the manuscript; I am happy to announce that I was successful in identifying the two relevant place names, namely, Kachhauwā *jala-durga* and Chandrapurī, to my full satisfaction. However, I look forward to the comments of the scholarly world in this matter.

If my identifications are approved the style of *Āraṇyaka Parvan* illustrations belong to the Bundelkhand or of the "greater Malwa" style.

I must confess that I was never convinced by the identification of the place names, in the colophon of the Asiatic Society, Bombay *Āraṇyaka Parvan*. Khandalavala and Moti Chandra explained these names as places

[69] Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Paris, 1929, pl. 13
[70] Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, *Chhavi-1*, p. 25, N. 5
[71] Karl Khandalavala, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1969, pl. 45
[72] *ibid.*, figs. 165, 171
[73] Also *ibid.*, fig. 193
[74] Compare Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, *ibid.*, fig. 188
[75] Khandalavala, *Chhavi*, *op. cit.*, 1971, fig. 79
[76] *ibid.*, figs. 78-79
[77] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *An Illustrated Āraṇyaka Parvan in the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay, 1974, pp. 24-25, fig. 56

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in Agra district (U.P.).[78] The inscription itself requires a more careful reading.[79] Yet the main points remain undisputed. The identification of the place-names in the colophon is vitally important for us, since Khandalavala and Moti Chandra have based their regional attribution (as from "northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur") of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* Group on that basis.[80]

Modern Chanderī is a better possibility for "Chandrapuri", the celebrated capital of the local Sultans of northern Malwa, and Kachhwā for Kachchhauwā of the colophon. Babar mentions these places, while he marched to Chanderī from Kālpī in Bundelkhand[81]: "On Friday the 24th of the month we dismounted near Kachwā .... Kachwā is a shut-in place, having lowish hills all round it. A dam has been thrown across between hills, on the south-east of it, and thus a lake made, perhaps 5 or 6 *kuroks* (10-12m.) round. This lake encloses Kachwā on three sides, on north-west a space of ground is kept dry; here, therefore, is its Gate.." "There are two other lakes before Kachwā is reached... made by throwing a lake across the hill."[82]

Nothing can suit better a *jala-durga* of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* manuscript colophon than the above account of no less a person than Babar himself. This Kachwā was about one day march from Chanderī;[83] which I have already suggested as Chandrapurī of the colophon.

It appears that Khandalavala and Moti Chandra surmised under the conviction that "Kachhauwā" and "Chandrapuri" must be Sikandar Lodi's territory.[84] However, the colophon refers to Sikandar as the King of Yoginīpura. This suggests, more or less his overlordship, rather than his direct rule: "... *tatsamaye Yoginīpure sulitrāṇa Sikandar vi (jaya ra) jye pravartamane/ / ...*" or "while Sikandar, the Sultan, was ruling in Yoginīpura (Delhi)."

In case Kachchhauwā was in Sikandar's own dominion, the colophon would not call him as king of Delhi, but as its own king, by simply using the term *vijayarājye*.

On the other hand Kachwā was ruled by Sikandar Lodi's vassal at Chanderī. Babar has summarised the political upheavals in that region, quite clearly. It appears that the Sultan of Delhi and Malwa competed between themselves in controlling Chanderī.

Sikandar Lodi sided Muhammad, a scion of Mahmud of Mandu and put the former as ruler of Chanderī. Chanderī's allegiance with the Lodis of Delhi continued even in the time of Ibrahim. Ultimately, Ibrahim captured Chanderī from a minor son of Ahmad, son of Muhammad.[85]

Chanderī was a traditional centre of Sultanate culture and thus it is quite plausible that early sixteenth century "Rajasthani" style was prevalent there. The faces and the human types in the Bombay *Āraṇyaka Parvan* illustrations closely correspond with the Gwalior painted ceiling of Man Singh Tomar period.[86]

[78] As Chandawar on the Jamuna in Tahsil Firozabad and as Kachaurā also on Jamuna, fifty-seven miles from Agra. Thus the style was supposed to be fore-runner of the Palam manuscript, *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal, op. cit.*, p. 64. However, the divergences between the two style are obvious.

The authors further explained Kachchhauwā of the colophon as Kachurā in the Bāh Tahsil of U.P., where Sikandar Lodi started building his fort in 1504 A.D., *op. cit.*, Bombay, 1974, pp. 24-25

Subsequently they revised their view on Chandrapurī of the inscription and identified it as modern Chandrapur about ten miles from Kachurā, *ibid.*, p. 26

[79] These are minor points though, I take the opportunity to point out certain discrepancies:

(a) The name of Chaudhrī Vinaya is not clear; perhaps it was Bithala(?). This needs to be rechecked from the original.

(b) Chaudharī Kalhā should be read as Kaṇhā. The form of *ṇa* is like modern *la*, as in the case of the word Vaishnava in the same line.

[80] *ibid.*, p. 25; *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal, op. cit.*, p. 64

[81] His route was (more or less south of the present Central Railway track from Kālpī to Bhāndīr, as follows: January 6 left Kālpī, January 10 Erach, January 11 Bhāndīr, January 17-18 Kachwā, January 19 passed Burhanpur and dismounted within 3 miles of Chanderī.

[82] *Bābur Nāmā* (Memoirs of Babar), English translation by Annette Susannah Beveridge, reprinted, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 590-591

[83] *ibid.*, p. 592

[84] *op. cit*, Bombay, 1974, p. 25 "... Obviously the Kachchhauwā of the colophon *has to be* within the dominion of Sikandar Lodi ..." (Italics mine).

[85] *Bābur Nāmā, op. cit.*, p. 593

[86] Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, Banaras, 1963, p. 8

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REGINE PACHNER

Motifs and Designs in the Laur-Chandā *Manuscript from Berlin*

Viewing photographic reproductions of paintings in the *Laur-Chandā* manuscript now in the Museum for Indian Art in Berlin can be a rather revealing experience. In black and white, the paintings seem to combine the rugged warmth of such "bourgeoise" Sultanate manuscripts as the *Sikandar Nāmā* with a lyrical, often exuberant, but still not "balanced" line. In colour, however, it is the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s red and green backgrounds and the powerful presence of its bold patches of blue, green, black, white and yellow that seem lacking in "balance", and rather "Rajasthani" in character; the line appears more settled and the relationship between ground and design is, to some extent, relaxed.

The Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s style has such a multivalent "personality" because of its diverse origins, or its twilight appearance. Its paintings are related to various Sultanate Persian manuscripts as well as the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā*, the *Sikandar Nāmā*, all the *Laur-Chandā* manuscripts, the *Hamzā Nāmā*, the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakāchārya Kathā* manuscript, the *Ni'mat Nāmā* in the India Office Library, London, and the Chawand *Rāgamālā* of 1605 A.D. The more relaxed style of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* shows that by the end of the fifteenth century, the *Apabhraṁśa* traditions had already been loosened.

The various components of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s style are very clearly revealed in its motifs and designs, particularly those found on its borders. These borders appear at the top or the bottom of the painting's main scene, and contain either decorative patterns or genre scenes. The use of such borders is probably of Indian rather than Persian origin. Early precedents for them in manuscript painting may be found in the *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D. (acc. no. 48. 175, National Museum of India, New Delhi) from Mandu in Malwa, where the *ālekhya sthāna* (painted space) extends in the margins above and below the painting's main scene. Though the Mandu *Kalpasūtra*'s borders are rarely defined by a dividing line, they are sometimes filled by a frieze of animals boxed into squares like an architectural plinth or by mountains upon which the Tīrthaṅkara sits,[1] etc. Such borders appear to have a long life in Malwa,[2] for in seventeenth century painting thought to have been rendered in that region, borders are frequently seen at the bottom of the picture. Since a border above or below a scene of Persian type seems to indicate Indian Sultanate and Malwa provenance, their appearance in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* (among other reasons) suggests that this manuscript belongs to the Malwa-Gujarat region.

The decoration of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s borders is of two types: some are boldly stripped with a colour wash and are rather Indian; others, which seem more "Islamic", are rather calligraphic and consist of floral (figs. 600, 616) and pseudogeometric designs (fig. 619) and animals drawn in thin yellow lines. The calligraphic style is probably related to pottery decoration not only by its lightness of application and swiftness of stroke, but also by its use of a thin yellow colour wash. Islamic designs were introduced on the glazed-ware in the Sultanate period in India, but most patterns were influenced by the indigenous form. The same treatments of Islamic designs, taking Hindu and Indian forms, appear in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. Sultanate illustrations of higher standard also use this type of ornamentation, compare a leaf from a dispersed *Shāh Nāmā*, McNear collection, United States, particularly in the textile prints.[3] Indeed, many of these designs are found on pottery as well as in Calico printing (for instance, a piece of a bowl from Champaner—A-1, B, no. 14, collection of the Department of Archaeology, M.S. University of Baroda).

The braid pattern is the most frequently employed Islamic design in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. It appears

[1] *Marg*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1959, fig. 6

[2] See the Malwa *Gīta-Govinda* leaves (*ca.* 1630-35 A.D.), recently sold (December 1979) by Messrs Sotheby Park Bernet Inc., New York, published, *vide* their sale catalogue: Fine Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts, Islamic works of Art, and 19th Century Paintings (New York, 1979), nos. 70-71, where they are dated *ca.* 1600-05 A.D. These leaves seem to be closely related to the *Gīta-Govinda* set reported in the collection of Shri Bhavani Singhji (ex-Maharaja of Jaipur). It is reported that the entire series has a bottom panel with white waves (?) on a monochrome mica colour patch. On the top it is bounded by a band of chevrons—Anand Krishna.

[3] Fig. 155 in I

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either in a fully articulated or in a more abbreviated version and surrounds the illustration (figs. 591-96 etc.). This braid pattern replaces the hatched border seen in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D.[4] In its abbreviated version, the braid was already a common feature in Persian pottery and is seen later in India; it figures in the *Sikandar Nāmā*, the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Laur-Chandā* (acc. nos. 226-231, 5440—with exactly the same function in our manuscript) and in various other manuscripts of the same period, but belonging to different stylistic levels. In its fully articulated version, the braid pattern is used in Islamic stone or metal work; but it also enters Persian painting at an early date, for example, the "Domotte" *Shāh Nāmā;* in Indian Sultanate painting, it appears in Persian type manuscripts, around (fol. 40, *Jawamial Hikayat* manuscript—BM Or. 11676) thrones, and in the bourgeoise *Hamzā Nāmā* manuscript from Berlin.

The Seljuq half-palmette shield (fol. 125, 17, fig. 593) is seen in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. Though found in India as early as the Alai Darwāzā in the Quwwatul Islam Campus and in pottery (especially the very thin, unglazed and unbaked variety with incised and deep-cut designs, from Champaner—see A-I 31 nos. 72 and 76, Deptt. of Archaeology, M.S. University of Baroda), examples of this motif in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* are remarkably lacking in balance and rather clumsily placed.

The *bel* designs seen in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* borders retain their simple Islamic form (Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, fols. 22, 137, fig. 600), but they become Indianized in their elaboration (fol. 11). Though common to all branches of Islamic art, their particular treatment in the Berlin manuscript is related to Calico printing and glazed-ware. They are seen as late as *ca.* 1680 A.D. in the border patterns of Malwa paintings.

Some Islamic formulae seem to have been adapted to suit Indian sensibilities: one example of this is the flower creeper that grows from the center of the border (fol. 66, fig. 596). Large blossoms from Inju painting as well as flowers growing on a hill in later Persian painting and the *bel* motif have been woven into this design. It is quite typical of the Indian artist to show vegetation in the form of a flower creeper. The centers of energy in these borders are the long flame-like tufts of grass (fig. 597), a buoyant Indian interpretation of the tame Persian lawn grass, which later appears in the 'Nānā Shāh *Mithā Rām' Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[5] and the Chavand *Rāgamālā* of 1605, in its *Mārū Rāgiṇī* scene with rugged desert shrubs and sniffing dogs.

The *Jālī* designs seen in folios 39, 114 (figs. 599, 604) etc. are both Indian and Islamic. In *Apabhraṁśa* painting, they have greater affinity, though, to Calico printing and to examples of glazed-ware such as those from Champaner (A I B no. 14). The Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s *Jālī* designs are equally related to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group of paintings and continue in the Malwa repertoire, especially in the borders up to the *Rasikapriyā* of 1634 A.D. and the *Rāmāyaṇa* series of 1640 A.D. in the Bharat Kala Bhavan.

The Islamic patterns used in the borders of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* belong to the basic repertoire of Islamic art, but their execution seems primarily related to Calico printing and pottery rather than to other forms of painting: the process of fusion, it would seem, had taken place before and in another medium.[6]

The Indian designs used are very basic. Sun and diamond or bead and reel (fig. 605), sunflowers or *chakras* (fig. 620) and flowers set into boxes (fig. 621) point to their architectural character. The friezes and plinths in *Apabhraṁśa* painting and the plinth motif in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D. are the forerunners of these borders.

The architectural background in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* border designs is also apparent in the borders of the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript of 1465 from Jaunpur. Sultanate bourgeoise manuscripts like the *Khamseh* of Amir Khusraü in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (and other collections also) share this feature. As a matter of fact, the whole notion of the broad border above or below the main scene suggests that illustrational space is understood in an architectural way. Besides the already mentioned manuscripts, all *Laur-Chandā* sets, except the one in the Rylands Library, Manchester, a *Mathnavi* of Rum from 1433 A.D. in the National Museum of India (acc. no. 48.6/15) and the *Śrī Rāga* from Bijapur of *ca.* 1580 A.D. formerly in the Khajanchi collection (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan)[7] and the *Ni'mat Nāmā* from Mandu possess this architectural conception of picture space. It has no Persian precedent, but a forerunner in Arabic and Seljuq painting (the Hariri manuscript from Syria, 1237 A.D.).[8]

It is common practice not only in this manuscript, but in others, to place three domes or kiosks at the top

[4] *Marg*, *op.cit.*
[5] *Chhavi*, Banaras, 1971, cl. pl. appearing on advertisement donated by Walchand Group of Industries.
[6] Gopi Krishna Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani *Rāgamālā*", *JISOA*, vol. XIX, Calcutta, 1952-53, frontispiece.
[7] *op.cit.*, *Chhavi*, cl. pl. 1
[8] D.T. Rice, *Islamic Art*, London, 1965, fig. 141

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of an illustration (figs. 598, 607). Frequently, the space below these domes in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* is divided into a central and two side scenes, often placed into three distinct compartments (fig. 607), just as it is, for instance, in the *Khamseh* of Khusraū in the Freer Art Gallery, the Prince of Wales *Laur-Chandā,* and our manuscript (fol. 24). In traditional Sanskrit drama, too, the stage is divided into a *vedikā* for the musicians in the background, and an *āsana* on each side of the stage, so as to allow simultaneous action on stage.[9] There are many instances from manuscripts of the early sixteenth century (Bharat Kala Bhavan *Mṛigāvat,* Prince of Wales *Laur-Chandā,* the poet assembly in the National Museum of India, etc.) as well as from later Indian painting, particularly from Malwa and Mewar and even from Basohli, in which this stage-like background is used.

The sky is depicted in three rows of boldly coloured scallops, one placed directly above the other. This convention unites the triple-coloured sky segment of Arabic painting (manuscript of *Galen* from the Abbasid school) combined with the *Apabhraṁśa bandanwār* and the triple curtains over doors or under thrones in Shirazi Turkoman painting. In the first two sources, the colours employed are gradations more or less of the same colour, whereas, in the Turkoman examples, the curtains are rendered in such different colours as green, orange, and may be yellow. The colours used in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* sky are blue, pink, white and yellow. In the Bharat Kala Bhavan *Shāh Nāmā* of the second half of the fifteenth century the sky is still of early Islamic painting, but it has the double outline at the bottom, which gives it the appearance of cloth. Strongly coloured, heavily moving skies in layers appear already in the *Kalpasūtra* from the Boston Museum (acc. no. 1 17.2276, fol. 49)[10] and in a mature form in the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D.

The number of motifs actually employed in the main scenes (central panel) of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* is very small and restricted to cross, dots, triple dots and quadruple dots, circles with and without dots, and curls in calligraphic designs, stripes and dots in the case of colour washes. The calligraphic designs are from the *Apabhraṁśa* tradition, but the majority of these decorative patterns were already accepted in Sultanate and other schools of Indian painting as well as in Timurid and Turkoman painting. The triple dot motif, for instance, is prominent in later Pāla manuscripts and also appears in *Apabhraṁśa* and Sultanate painting. It might be difficult to determine the exact source of the motifs, but on the whole, Sultanate or even direct Persian influences appear less in individual pictorial details and more in broader areas such as the understanding of picture space.

In the realm of the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s minute designs, direct Persian relations can be seen in the circle, which was magnified on cloth in Inju paintings where they sometimes have a dot in the center. In the Berlin set, they have triple and quadruple dots, double rim, etc., and are very often reminiscent of designs from Indian punch-marked coins.

Ornaments of calligraphic type in the illustrations are simple and of little variety. The calligraphic designs are such as appear as commas, nail-shaped, dashes and so on, but in a limited variety. This tradition is more vocal in the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā* than in our manuscript from Berlin. Watered down treatments in this tradition can be seen in a Sultanate manuscript from collection S., Paris.[11] Originally these were used in Persia, as grass tufts in a rising hill, tiled interiors of an architecture or embellished clouds; for example, in the Anthology of 1410 A.D., for Iskandar Mirza of Shiraz, now in the British Museum. The tiled-window-treatment was borrowed in the *Ni'mat Nāmā* illustrations, following that arbitrary use of such motifs on any space, especially in the void space. Such floating motifs are abstracted in red dots in the *Mṛigāvat*[12] or *Mahāpurāṇa*[13] of 1540 A.D.

Many of the designs in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* decorate several different kinds of objects in various manuscripts: for example, the design for the *chunnaṭ* (fold of cloth), that is densely folded and the folds crossed by a few nervous lines at regular intervals. This type of *chunnaṭ* is also found in the Prince of Wales *Laur-Chandā* manuscript, where a dotted row is added below the horizontal stripes.[14] This design with fanned alternating staffs and dots appears in Sultanabad pottery (bowl no. 1972/2.155 in the collection of the College of Archaeology, University of Michigan), in Lepākshī as swaying tree in the *Kirātārjunīyaṃ* scene; as roof in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* manuscript from the N.C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. In the *Mathnavi* of Rum from

[9] I am indebted to Mrs. Nibha Joshi for this information.

[10] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts,* Boston, pt. IV, 1924, pl. 2

[11] A.K. M. Chirvani, "Ecole de Shiraz et les origines de la miniature moghole a propos de la decouverte d'une miniature persane de L'Inde", *Paintings from Islamic Lands,* ed. R. Pinder Wilson, London, 1969

[12] *Chhavi, 1971,* figs. 94, 97-98, 102, 108

[13] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal,* Bombay, 1969, figs. 143 and 147

[14] *ibid.,* figs. 129-30

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1433 A.D. (48/1.25 National Museum of India), it forms a serial design for a straw mat or border at the bottom of the illustration in a similar way, also in the *Laur-Chandā* manuscript from the Rylands Library, Manchester.

The Berlin *Laur-Chandā* manuscript has a Sultanate or Persianized "cast" not so much by its use of Islamic designs, as is the case with the Prince of Wales Museum *Laur-Chandā*, but rather by its layout and by the conception of its illustration. The designs in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s borders are more Islamic than those in the main scenes—a feature that it shares with the *Apabhraṁśa* manuscripts in the orbit of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* of 1439 A.D. and the *Kalpasūtra* in the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhandār of about 1475 A.D. (but in the Berlin manuscript, the variety is limited and the execution rather careless).

So strong is the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s artists' sense of the decorative that even parts of the human body are treated in an ornamental fashion. The "ear" ranges from a simple and harmonic pattern as in folio 104 to the obscure sight of that on fol. 177. Hands have mostly six or even seven fingers and are often placed the wrong way round, a feature that we noticed in the *Miftah-ul-Fuzala* manuscript from Shadiabad in the sixteenth century (fol. 1036 and 271a).[15]

The Berlin *Laur-Chandā*'s painter's love of motifs, however, did not dull his artistic sensitivities. For example, his depictation of a hill in scenes where Laurak laments Chandā, who has been bitten by a snake (fol. 36, fig. 593) is full of feeling. Turkoman painting commonly depicts a tree on top of a hill, its foliage out in the margin of the illustration. In the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* scene, the tree is set against the hill whose horizon line is related to the crown of the tree by bold colour stripes which gradually surround the crown like vibrating waves. The tension of the highly strung, bow-like curve of the hill is equivalent to the emotion laden content of the scene. We find the same composition in the *Laur-Chandā* manuscript from the Prince of Wales Museum; and the medallion tree in a cruder form may be seen in a painted niche from the nobleman's house in Champaner (A-I collection of the Department of Archaeology, M.S. University of Baroda). The concept of a tree as a medallion, however, is (here so explicit in the peacock tree—fol. 36) not all new to *Apabhraṁśa* painting. It appears in the borders of the Mandu *Kalpasūtra* (fols. 16, 40), and the *Kalpasūtra* from the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhandār, etc. It is, however, not difficult to imagine that the idea for the tree as a medallion could have been derived from the tree under an arch motif so common to Gujarati architecture of the Sultanate period.

We find use of red or black outline of figures in the Berlin *Laur-Chandā*. This is distinguished from the Persian tradition, where no such treatment is known, or the outline colour is related to the flesh tone. On the other hand, red or black outline was quite popular in Indian manuscript illustrations like Mandu *Kalpasūtra*, *Khamseh* of Amir Khusraü or in the later period in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* and the Nānā Shāh *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* illustrations.

We have already noted the common prints of style and treatment between the Berlin *Laur-Chandā* and the other illustrated manuscripts in the contemporary Sultanate and *Apabhraṁśa* styles. The *Apabhraṁśa* traditions had already loosened in *ca.* 1500 A.D., the Indian painting freely borrowed from Persia, but usually Indianised the Persian traditions. These experiments heralded the advent of Rajasthani painting.

NOTE: All the folio numbers given in the present article and Anand Krishna's article are based on the photographs kindly supplied by Prof. H. Härtel. These follow the order of folios, in the copy bound in the present manner. These are disturbed pages (see p. 307). Moreover, we find a discrepancy of one folio number between Dr. P.L. Gupta's and Prof. Härtel's recurrings.

—*Editor*

[15] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting—a reappraisal*, Bombay, 1969, figs. 143 and 147, pl. 24

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CAROL G. LIN-BODIEN

An Early Yaksha from Aktha near Sārnāth (Varanasi Dist., U.P.)

While exploring the small village of Aktha,[1] about two kilometres southwest of the ancient Buddhist site of Sārnāth, I discovered a hitherto unnoticed Yaksha datable, for reasons detailed below, to the first century B.C. (figs. 626-29). The torso of the Yaksha and its detached head were found lying partially buried about one foot apart in a small mound of rubble just south of the settlement proper.[2]

This image is a significant addition to the limited corpus of freestanding Yaksha images from the early period found at sites throughout India[3] and is especially important because it comes from the area of Varanasi, a city regarded as a major centre of Yaksha worship.[4] While a large triple Yaksha statue and the corpulent torso of a dwarf Yaksha (fig. 630), both with upraised arms, have been found respectively at Rājghāṭ and Sārnāth, Yakshas with an iconography that ultimately contributed to the representation of the standing Buddha image of the first century A.D. have not been previously observed in the area.[5] Furthermore, this image provides clear evidence of a new phase in the evolution of what may be called the regional style of Kāśī,[6] which, unlike the schools in western Madhyadeśa, is characterized by restraint in detail and a preference for abstracted surfaces unimpeded by sensuous rhythmical patterns.

The Aktha Yaksha stands in an erect frontal posture with the weight evenly distributed on both legs, a stance that is typical of cult images of the early Indian school. The image is smaller in size, however, and thinner and more elongated in proportion than Yakshas of this type from other regions in India, and thus departs from the tradition of colossal figures as seen in the famous Yakshas from Parkham, Noh, Barodā, and especially Vidiśā.[7] In this respect, the Aktha image is more comparable to Yakshas found in the relief sculptures of railings *(vedikā)* and gateways *(toraṇa)* of Buddhist *stūpas* in the second and first centuries B.C.[8]

The ankles and feet, as well as the entire right arm, are missing[9] and the face and abdomen are abraded. The left arm is preserved and the elbow, held against

[1] Aktha (25.22° N., 83.1° E., near Benīpura) may be found on Survey of India Map 63 o/3 First Edition, 1975. Fragmentary Hindu sculptures and Hindu and Buddhist architectural pieces dating from the Gupta period and later have been collected at localities on the west side of the village. Several badly weathered architectural fragments of the late medieval period were also lying on the rubble mound which yielded the Yaksha. I am grateful to Vladimir Zwalf for bringing the village to my attention. This study was undertaken in connection with dissertation research sponsored by a junior fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies.

[2] Efforts are now under way to bring the image to protective surroundings.

[3] For Yaksha and Yakshī images of the third to first centuries B.C., see: Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 111; and Pramod Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshī Images from Vidiśā", *Ars Orientalis*, 6 (1966), pp. 157-158

[4] Moti Chandra, "Some Aspects of Yaksha Cult in Ancient India", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, no. 3(1952-53), pp. 53-54, and 61-62; V.S. Agrawala, *Matsya-Purāṇam—A Study*, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 279-281; *The Matsya-Purāṇam*, edited by Jamna Das Akhtar, Delhi, 1972, Chapter CLXXX, pp. 157-162; and R.N. Misra, *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, (in press), p. 113

[5] The Aktha Yaksha belongs to the group of standing Yaksha cult figures constituting an important type posed with the right hand raised and the left hand resting on the hip. Cf. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, reprint, New Delhi, 1971, p. 29; and V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 183. The torso of a small standing female figure, probably a Yakshī, has also been unearthed at Sārnāth (cf. *A.S.I.A.R. 1914-15*, pp. 112-113, pl. LXV, c). The statue from Rājghāṭ is badly damaged, but shows three adorsed Yakshas, one of grotesque aspect, and all with arms uplifted to support a weight overhead. See: V.S. Agrawala, "Four New Yaksha Statues", *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vols. 24-25 (1951-52), pp. 189-190, fig. 5 (reprinted in *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 135, fig. 41); and Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, "The Triple Yaksha Statue from Rajghat", *Chhavi*, Banaras, 1971, pp. 340-342. R.N. Misra (*Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, p. 114) identifies a head from Sārnāth, belonging perhaps to the late Mauryan period, as a Yaksha (cf. *A.S.I.A.R. 1914-19*, pl. LXVI, 3). Two other examples from this group of early heads may also have belonged to Yaksha images. See: Daya Ram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, reprint, Varanasi, 1972, p. 32; and *A.S.I.A.R. 1914-15*, p. 112, no. 5; pls. LXV, f and g; and LXVI, 1

[6] Sculptures from the city of Varanasi and surrounding region, including Rājghāṭ and Sārnāth, can be taken to express the distinctive local idiom of the ancient region of Kāśi.

[7] V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, p. 174; and Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 117. References for these images are given by P. Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshī Images from Vidiśā", (see note 3).

[8] Cf. Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, reprint, Varanasi, 1962, pls. XXI-XXII; and Sir John Marshall and Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Calcutta, n.d., vol. II, pl. 36 a and b.

[9] The broken right arm was not attached to the side of the torso. It is likely that the forearm was raised, as shown by other figures of this type (cf. note 5) and, perhaps, the hand held a *chauri*, which may have produced the large rounded break on the right shoulder that tapers downward on the back.

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the Yaksha's side, is bent in a sharp angle. The hand is broken, but appears to have held or rested upon an object incised with a *śrīvatsa* symbol and an unidentified curled element beneath the forearm. As no parallel for these unique and fragmentary iconographical features can be found on any known cult images, the exact position of the hand and what it held is difficult to determine.[10]

The Yaksha wears a turban and loin cloth *(dhotī)* which are the typical garments of figures in the early Indian period; the rather humble display and plain treatment recall the styles of Bodhagayā and artistic centres in eastern Madhyadeśa.[11] The turban is smaller than on most Yaksha images and sits high on the crown of the Yaksha's head. It is held in place by two thick crossbands which overlap at the front and back. The bands secure the topknot (now broken) and portions of the headdress which bulge softly at the sides. The turban is completely plain except for evenly spaced lines incised between the crossbands. A fine hairline is visible below the turban extending to the ears, which seem to have been distended, and assume a plant or animal form at the top as in most Yaksha images.[12] The Yaksha must have worn great earrings which rested on his shoulders; their shape is no longer discernible.

In addition to earrings, the Yaksha wears a long necklace that falls in a flat triangle on his bare chest. Consisting of four strands of small circular beads, the necklace is secured in the centre by a trapezoidal clasp.[13] On the left upper arm there is an armlet, apparently of the "trefoil"-type, while bracelets in the shape of plain heavy coils encircle the wrist.

The *dhotī* is completely diaphanous and without folds; it covers the loins down to the ankles and projects in a stiff narrow crease at the outer side of each leg. A loose end (whose gathers are described by simple straight incisions) falls between the legs, and is pulled up in back where it is tucked over a flat strap *(paṭṭā)*, which secures the whole around the waist. This strap, articulated with a single line along the border, is knotted in the centre; its ends fall rather stiffly between the thighs over the pudendum.

The stylistic features of the image would seem to suggest a dating in the first century B.C. The soft modelling of the headdress, for example, is also repeated in the full face with its large bulging eyes which slant upwards. The nose and mouth have been badly damaged, but the remains of a gentle smile, set between round swelling cheeks, shows that the face did not lack expression. The torso, too, whose breasts are described by two folds, one beneath the other, possesses subtle modulations which impart plasticity to the surface. Although these stylistic attributes suggest an evolution in the direction of Bodhagayā and the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī,[14] several mannerisms still recall the earlier

[10] Sri Krishna Deva has suggested to me that this may have been a piece of jewelry such as the "trefoil" or "fleur-de-lis"-type armlets worn by figures in the early Indian period, including, it seems, the Aktha Yaksha himself (cf. J.L. Davidson, "Begram Ivories and Early Indian Sculptures", in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 2-3). The *Śrīvatsa* symbol, one of the Eight Auspicious Signs *(Aṣṭamaṅgala)*, is not found elsewhere on Yaksha cult figures of this type, although it is worn frequently by Yakshīs and terracotta figurines identified as mother goddesses in the headdress or as part of the chest ornament (cf. P.K. Agrawala, *Srīvatsa. The Babe of Goddess Śrī*, Varanasi, 1974, pp. 2, 4, note 2 and 16 ff.). On the Aktha Yaksha, it assumes the typical shape found on sculptures of the second and first centuries B.C. and closely resembles examples from Sārnāth itself (*ibid.*; and D.R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum at Sārnāth*, pl. VI). Also, its somewhat clumsy articulation is consistent with the style of the linear renderings elsewhere on the image, and so seems contemporary with the image itself.

[11] P. Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona, n.d. p. 20

[12] This may be a variety of the *śaṅkuk* common among Yaksha figures. Cf. P. Chandra, *ibid.*, p. 55, no. 68, pl. XXIV; and Chandra "Yaksha and Yakshī Images from Vidiśā", pp. 160 and 163

[13] The necklace it considerably worn, but two square clasps seem also to have been indicated. The type would be similar to an example worn by the torso of a *chaurī*-bearer in the Sāñchī Museum (no. 2807; cf. Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. II, pl. LXVII, h). A comparison with this piece is also instructive to show the earlier chronological development illustrated by the Aktha Yaksha.

[14] The conventional dating for the older portions of the railing of the Mahabodhi temple and the Jewel Walk at Bodhagayā is approximately midway between the sculpted railing and gateway of Bharhut and the gateways of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī in the early first century B.C. See: Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhagayā*, Ars Asiatica, XVIII, Paris, 1935, pp. 10-11; Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, first Indian edition, 1973, pp. 20, 27, and 30; and Sir John Marshall, "The Monuments of Ancient India", *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, second Indian reprint, Delhi, 1962, p. 567-8. Phillipe Stern ("Les ivoires et os découverts à Begram leur place dans l'évolution de l'art de l'Inde", in J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, Paris, 1954, p. 45) has suggested that Bodhagayā might be later than Sāñchī and before certain works from Mathurā. Pramod Chandra (*Stone Sculptures*, p. 20) notes that after Bharhut "two trends can be seen in early Indian sculpture, one evolving in the direction of the railings of the Mahabodhi temple and the Jewel Walk at Bodhagayā and the other in the rich and sensuous splendours of the gateways of the Great Stupa at Sanchi". Many of the differences exhibited by Bodhagayā and Sāñchī may, indeed, be due to regional considerations for, as noted by Bachhofer (*Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 30), they share stylistic features that suggest a parallel development. The integration of rounded volumes, the easy movement and smooth flowing contours of figures in both monuments partakes of a similar conception equally far removed from Bharhut; the modelling at Sāñchī has a warmth and fleshiness that is subdued at Bodhagayā, however, Bodhagayā retains a few motifs reminiscent of Bharhut, such as the end of the *dhotī* that falls in formal folds between the legs and the collar-like necklace. Taking these observations into account, Bodhagayā may be placed just before Sāñchī in the first century B.C. Compare Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhagayā*, pl. XXXIX, poteau 91 with Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. II, pls. 36 a and b.

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style of the Bharhut period. The contour, as well as the outline that give shape to each thing, exhibit a stiff hesitancy as if it had just learned to move in a continuous fashion and had not yet discovered ease and rhythm. The body itself maintains a lingering rigidity, particularly noticeable in the stiff legs, and the surfaces still possess an unyielding hardness that has only partially given way to the softness of flesh. These features indicate that the image belongs to an intermediate phase of development, somewhat later than Bharhut, yet earlier than Bodhagayā.

The context of several important sculptures from the nearby Allahabad district, which chart progressive phases of stylistic change in the early Indian period and begin to fill the chronological gap between the sculpture of Bharhut and Sāñchī Stūpa I, is helpful for a more precise dating of the Aktha image.[15] For example, a Yaksha on a railing post from Bhīṭā, on account of similarities to Sāñchī,[16] can be dated *circa* second half of the first century B.C. In the shape of the head, the facial expression with slanting eyes, and the manner in which the headgear is worn above the ears, the Bhīṭā Yaksha reveals a close resemblance to the figure from Aktha, suggesting that strong stylistic affinities must have existed between these centres.[17] The Bhīṭā Yaksha, however, is of a later date, possessing greater volume, plasticity of modelling, and ease in movement, while the Aktha Yaksha, whose stylistic features have more recently emerged from an angular mode, still partakes of the visual perception defined in two Yakshas on railing posts from Kauśāmbī, datable to the late second century B.C.[18] The closer relationship of the Kauśāmbī Yakshas to the headless Yaksha from Pratapgarh in the stiffer movement and flatter modelling establishes their antiquity over the Aktha example.[19] Therefore, a dating after the Yakshas from Kauśāmbī and before the Yaksha from Bhīṭā in the early first century B.C. seems appropriate for this image.

In terms of the course of artistic evolution in the Kāśī region in the second and first centuries B.C., the Aktha Yaksha provides a useful marker for the dating of other sculptures, of which a few major pieces, datable within a half century before and after the Aktha piece, should be mentioned.[20] For example, a coping stone depicting the worship of a *stūpa*, and the torso of a dwarf Yaksha (fig. 630), both excavated at Sārnāth, belong to a period prior to the Aktha Yaksha in the second century B.C., showing more of the flat modelling and angular contour so characteristic of the style of Bharhut.[21] In contrast, the triple Yaksha statue from Rājghāṭ seems more advanced than the Aktha image, possessing great volume and circular rhythms especially noticeable in the full swelling face and headdress, and the protruding belly, over which falls a long heavy necklace made of large rounded beads. If the Aktha Yaksha can be placed in the early first century B.C., a slightly later date in the same century might be suitable for the Rājghāṭ image.[22] Another image from Sārnāth is the torso of a small Yakshī, holding a garland in her right hand while her left hand rests on the hip. Exhibiting graceful curves and a softer surface, she also belongs to a phase following the Aktha Yaksha. The high constricted waist and large hips, with heavy girdle in particular, recall a Yakshī from the Jewel Walk at Bodhagayā and a Yakshī on a post from Mathurā,[23] all of which seem to belong to approximately the same date that could approach the end of the first half of the first century B.C. Thus, an approximate date for the Aktha Yaksha can help situate other works from the Kāśī region, and gradually reconstruct the development of the local style in the early period.

Besides revealing clear evidences of regional contacts with centres in the neighbouring Allahabad district, and possessing unique iconographic features such as the *śrīvatsa* symbol, the Aktha Yaksha assumes one more point of significance. It provides evidence in the Kāśī region for the type of cult image that served as the iconographic and stylistic precursor of the stand-

[15] P. Chandra, *Stone Sculptures*, pp. 20, 54-59, pls. XXIV-XXXI

[16] *ibid.*, pp. 54-55, pl. XXIX, no. 61

[17] These links with centres in the vicinity of Allahabad are not surprising in view of the proximity of the two regions and the many parallels apparent throughout the evolution of their artistic schools, although the character of their individual styles always remains distinct. The centres in the Allahabad district seem to have experienced closer connections with the great school of Mathurā, developing a heavier, bolder style with greater liveliness and warmth in line and surface. The idiom of the Kāśī region, on the other hand, tends towards cooler surfaces, with greater restraint in detail—in many ways having affinities to the plain style of Bodhagayā.

[18] P. Chandra, *Stone Sculptures*, p. 55, pl. XXVI, nos. 70 and 71

[19] *ibid.*, p. 55, pl. XXIV, no. 68; and pp. 59-60, pls. XXIV-XXXV, nos. 80 a and b.

[20] For a more complete discussion of the development of early sculpture from this area, see the author's Ph.D. dissertation "The Sārnāth School of Sculpture" (The University of Chicago).

[21] For the coping stone, see: *A.S.I.A.R. 1914-15*, p. 107; and Adris Banerji, "Sunga Sculptures in Banaras—A Study", *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. XXIII, nos. 1 and 2, 1952, fig. 10. The Sārnāth Yaksha may be compared with A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. XV

[22] For illustration, see: P.K. Agrawala, "The Triple Yaksha Statue from Rajghat", fig. 491

[23] For the Sārnāth Yakshī, see note 5, and compare with A.K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhagayā*, pl. XXXIX, poteau 110; and J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. XVII, b.

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ing Buddha in human form.[24] The earliest known Buddhist image in this area, which comes from Sārnāth (Sārnāth Museum No. 349), was not based on the local tradition of imagery that the Aktha Yaksha establishes, however. Instead, this image seems to have been modelled on the famous Bodhisattva dedicated by Friar Bala and imported from Mathurā in the early Kushāna period.[25] It seems, therefore, that the representation of the Buddha at Sārnāth in this period was primarily due to the stimulus of the Mathurā school, a surmise further supported by the overwhelming scarcity of Buddhist images from the first to third centuries A.D. and the reference to the Mathurā model again in another standing image from Sārnāth in the late fourth—early fifth century (Sārnāth Museum No. 352, 353).[26] Thus, in spite of the Aktha Yaksha and the evidence it would provide for a proto-Buddha image iconography in the Kāśī region, it appears that credit may ultimately go to the Mathurā school for the origin of the image of the Buddha.

[24] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, first Indian edition, 1972 (orig. *Art Bulletin*, IX, no. 4), pp. 15 ff.

[25] D.R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum at Sārnāth*, p. 37. For an illustration of this image, see Ludwing Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 80. Except for the first two lines indicating the edge of the upper garment worn across the chest, the cursory linear incisions, meant to describe the folds in this garment on the chest and left arm, seem to be later additions; they are difficult to reconcile with the style of the image as a whole which is carefully sculpted and of considerable quality. In addition to the resemblances noted by Sahni, which suggest that this image is a copy of the Friar Bala Bodhisattva, the confused workings of other parts of the drapery seem indicative of a tendency resulting from the copying process. This image has been compared to another copy of a Mathurā model found at Bhiṭā. Cf. P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture*, p. 60, no. 82, pl. XXXVI

[26] D.R. Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum at Sārnāth*, pp. 37-38

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SHRIDHAR ANDHARE

The Dholā-Māru *MS of the National Museum A Consideration in Style and Date*

The illustrated MS of *Dholā-Māru chaupāi*, No. 51.52 was acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi, sometime in the year 1951, and had remained obscure for years due to its unusual style and date. Its colophon was never published. Dr. Anand Krishna first published two folios from this MS in his book Malwa Painting[1], giving it a date of *ca.* 1610 A.D. Subsequently, O.P. Sharma of National Museum, published some folios in his two exhibition catalogues, namely, the Brussels[2] and Petit Palace, Paris,[3] giving a date of 1630 A.D. He only makes a mention that the MS was painted at *Aghāṭapura* near modern Udaipur.

The romance of *Dholā-Māru*, which was composed in the *dōhā* and *chaupāi* form, has been a popular Rajasthani subject of illustration. This is perhaps the only earliest non-Persian romantic text which goes back to *ca.* 1000 A.D.[4] But the composition may not have been in its present form in any case before the fourteenth century. The present text is in a *chaupāi* form and appears to be Kuśalalābha's version composed in V.S. 1617= 1560 A.D.[5] The poet has made it clear before composing that "हूहा घणा पुराणा आछई, चउपई बंध कियो मई पाछई" meaning that the romantic text of *Dhōla-Māru* was older than the sixteenth century and Kuśalalābha composed it later. Among the other prominent and popular Persian romances, the *chhitāi-kathā*, *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-chaupāi*,[6] *Ushā-Aniruddha*, and the *Nala-Damayanti* are important.

The importance of the above MS lies in its colophon which poses certain problems today as some portions of the colophon page—the edges—have been damaged over the years. The colophon is in *Devanāgarī* script in a mixed Mewari dialect which states (figs. 631-33):

"ढोलूजी राज्य सुष (ख) भोगावा छि। घरे बिठा दरीषाना करे छि। संवत्, १६०९ वर्ष चैत्र सुदि १३ बुध वा. श्री. ५ श्री. चोहयजी देxत्पन्न हुवा।।पा।। चत्रवाल गच्छे वा. श्री वाघाजी तत्पट वा. श्री. ५ चोहयजी तत्पट सादूल (सार्दूल) तत्पट रूपाकर्मसाह (सींह) वीर भाणकस्य पोथी:। अघाटपुरनगर मध्ये लिषी। छि।"

A short substance of the text can be translated in the following way:

"Dholuji enjoys kingly pleasures sitting with his fellowmen in his drawing room. In the year V.S. 1609, on a Wednesday in the month of *Chaitra*, the 13th, Sri. 5 Chohatji expired or went to heaven. His followers belonging to the *chatrawal gaccha* Sri Vaghaji, then Chohatji, then Sadula, then Rupa and then Karma Shah (siṁh) and lastly, Vīra Bhāṇa possessed this *pothī* which was written at *Aghāṭapura nagara*.

The problems that arise are given below:

1. The date cannot be read correctly as the upper portion over the *saṁvat* has been damaged and lost revealing only the bottom portion of the third letter. It can be either '0' or '4' and thus the date could either be 1609 or 1649.
2. The word देवोत्पन्न cannot be seen completely as the letters after दे are faint. Only दे and त्पन्न can be read today. In no case the word could be read as देवसूत्र हुआ as was previously thought.
3. The word देवोत्पन्न means—born, where as देवसूत्र denotes passing away or death.
4. The names of the individuals who succeeded each other do not seem to be Jain monks of the *chatrawal gaccha*. They appear to be गृहस्थी or the *śreshṭhī* class who were prevalent in that region. Their names do not appear in the *paṭṭavali* of the *chatrawal gaccha*.
5. The word वा. (वाचक) appearing before the names of Sri Vaghaji and Chohatji, creates problems. The title of वा. is only granted to a

[1] Anand Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1963, pls. 6-7

[2] O.P. Sharma, Indian Miniature Painting, Catalogue de la exposition la Bibliotheque Royale, Bruxells, 1974, p. 12, pl. 29

[3] Adeline Cacan de Bissy, *Inde—cinq millean ans d'art. Musée du Petit Palais*, Paris, 1979, no. 156

[4] Sham Manohar Pandey, *Madhyayugin Premākhyān* (Hindi), Mitra Prakashan, Allahabad, 1967, p. 89. See *Dholā-Māru rā dohā*, *Nāgarī Pracharini Sabhā*, Kashi, p. 80

[5] *ibid.*, p. 90 "संवत् सोलह सतोत्तरई, आशा द्विजि डिवीस मनि परई
पड़िवेल वली जिहाँ पांतरउ नेह विचारि करियो वरई" (परई)
Dholā-Māru rā dohā, p. 315

[6] Moti Chandra and U.P. Shah, *New Documents of Jaina Painting*, Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Bombay, 1975, p. 22. Discuss about an early dated MS of *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā*, dated *V.S.* 1550—1493 A.D., painted at Patan.

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particular learned class of the Jainas and not to the ordinary individuals. In view of these difficulties, the set becomes more important from the point of view of scholars and a deeper study becomes essential. In course of my research, in building up the chronological development of Mewar painting, I consulted a number of important scholars and tried to seek their advice.

The history of this set goes back to 1951 when it first appeared in Bombay market and was seen by Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra at the instance of the late Dr. V.S. Agrawal, the then Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi. A photograph of this colophon was sent to Delhi to verify the date with the help of the Indian Ephemeris. On verifying the same he wrote letters to Khandalavala and Moti Chandra stating:

"that the date of V.S. 1609 is correct according to Indian Ephimeris Vol. V. P. 305 and denotes the date of death of Shri Chohatji. He read the word as देवसूत्र हुवा, i.e., expired or went to heaven. Therefore, he writes that we have to add at least 40 years to the V.S. of 1609 to compensate for 4 generations which have passed". This takes the date to V.S. 1649-1592 A.D. (this is taken from Hindi translation of his letter to Dr. Moti Chandra). The English letter to Mr. Khandalavala is given at f.n.[7]

Dr. Brijmohan Jawalia, of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur, is also of the same opinion that the word cannot be read correctly but probably pertains to the death of Shri Chohatji and agrees to add 40 years to the V.S. of 1609.

Dr. Anand Krishna had seen the colophon earlier when it was being discussed and confirms that the date was V.S. 1609 and the word देवसूत्र could be read correctly then. He had dealt with this colophon in his Doctoral thesis.[8] Nevertheless, he gives the date as *ca.* 1610 A.D. for this MS in his book. He says 'the illustrations of the *Dholā-Māru* (pls. 6-7) 1610 A.D. done at *Aghāṭapura*, Mewar and now in the National Museum, exhibit certain characteristics shared with the early Malwa painting.' However, the discovery of the early generic group, already discussed, suggest the prevalence of that style in a very wide area from which style like Mewar, Malwa and Bundi branched.

I, however, believe that the date can be read as V.S. 1649 on two considerations:

1. The zero is the lowermost portion of the *Devanāgarī* letter 4 which appears elsewhere on folios of the same MS. The size of the zero is small and therefore could only be the *Devanāgarī* letter 4.
2. If the size of the zero was as big as that of the other letters, it could have been read as zero and the date could have been V.S. 1609. Therefore, we maintain that the date cannot be other than V.S. 1649.
3. This date corresponds to the date given in Indian Ephemeris Vol. II. equivalent to 15th Feb. 1592 A.D.
4. I do not know of any single example of any illustrated MS, Jain, non-Jain, Rajasthani or Mughal, where in the date of death of any dignitary has been recorded in the colophon.
5. When we calculate a generation, it is usually accepted of being 20 years or more. In that case, if we imagine 20 years period for each individual, we have to calculate at least 80 years and not 40 as suggested by the scholars. Thus in both cases the date is pushed much beyond imagination which does not correspond with the style of the painting of the *Dholā-Māru* MS.

Stylistically, such a MS without the colophon, would have been ascribed to the so-called popular Mughal school of a date somewhere around *ca.* 1610—1625 A.D. But looking to the recent discoveries of the so-called popular Mughal paintings from centres other than the Mughal, we have to consider earlier dates for such documents. The present author has given a long list of such so-called popular Mughal or early

[7] English letter to Mr. Khandalavala from late Dr. V.S. Agrawal, Delhi, 14th November 1950

New Delhi,
11th November, 1950.

My dear Khandalavala,

May I invite your kind attention to your promised note on the following two items received from Pandit Amritlal Mohanlal on approval for the National Museum?

1. An illustrated Dhola-Maru Album of 104 paintings dated V.S. 1609; painted at Aghatapur, Rajasthani school. Price Rs. 1900/-.
2. One illustrated MS of the Kalpasutra and one of Kalakacharya Katha with 50 paintings of the Western Indian School. Price Rs. 450/-.

I am also sending you a photograph of the last page of the Dhola-Maru Album. After going through album more carefully it appears to me that the date V.S. 1609 refers to the death of Sri Chihatji, who was the teachers' teacher of the person—Rupakarma Siha. Vira Bhanaka; who was the owner of the book and who seems to have got it written at Aghatapura. Thus, the actual time of the manuscript would be shifted to about forty to fifty years later. Please consult Dr. Moti Chandra in the matter and then let me know. I am sending the transcript as best as I could copy.

Yours sincerely
(V.S. Agrawal)

[8] Reference from his unpublished thesis submitted at the Banaras Hindu University.

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Rajasthani sets[9] which have been obtained from Gujarat and Rajasthan with a marked Rajasthani influence having dated colophons.

The common understanding that due to retrenchment at the Mughal atelier after the *Hamzā Nāmā* project the lesser known artists sought patronage all over Gujarat, Rajasthan, Malwa etc. may prove only partly true. There were artist families living in Jaisalmer area right from the time of *Rāṇā* Udai Singh (1537-1572 A.D.) the founder of the city of Udaipur, and must be working on there.

In this connection the latest discovery of a genealogy chart *sigrā* obtained from a living member of Muslim artist family from Udaipur throws significant light. Although the genealogy does not go beyond *ca.* 1675, the personal interview revealed that his ancestors (artists) had migrated to Chitod area during the time of *Rāṇā* Pratap and had sketched few scenes of the Haldighati battle (1576). They also quote instances of having done painting jobs at the Bhama Shah's *havelī* for which they were given certain land in Chitod. That, there were paintings in the Bhama Shah's *havelī* at Chitod is undisputable. Bhama Shah's brother Tarachand was also a patron of art and music. A MS of *Gorā Bādal Charitra*[10] was composed under his patronage by one Hemaratan. That, there was painting activity at Jaisalmer, the Dungerpur area and on the border of the Mewar and Gujarat as well as at Kankroli and nearby Chitod is amply proved by documents that have been published. They exhibit a mixed Rajasthani style which may have been the early Rajasthani or Mewari style during that period. For instance, the dated *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā chaupāi* 1603 A.D., composed by Hari Raj at Jaisalmer[11] must have been painted there. The dated *Rāgamālā* of 1605 A.D.,[12] now preserved at the Berlin Museum, are the examples of the prevalent style which have a strong Mewari character. In addition to these, U.P. Shah has recently published two new MS (fragmentary) which afford a much closer comparison to the *Dhōla-Māru* MS. The *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha Ṭīkā*[13] from the collection of Baroda Museum, is in a smaller horizontal format with identical script as seen in the *Dhōla-Māru* MS. This MS is undated but could easily be ascribed a date of *ca.* 1600-1610 and attributed to Mewar area. The other fragmentary leaves from a *Rāgamālā* dated 1608-09 A.D.[14] have also been published by U.P. Shah. This set has a colophon with a date V.S. 1665 and a name appears as *Raula* Mahadeva. The title of *Raval* or *Raula* is prevalent only in Dungerpur or Jaisalmer area. Therefore, whether *Raula* Mahadeva was a patron or the painter, one thing is clear that this set is an index of the style which was in vogue there.

I was told by the dealer who brought these leaves to the Prince of Wales Museum that they came from Gilund area a *ṭhikānā* of Mewar near Chitod.

Kankroli had also been an important centre for Mewar painting. We come across various types of paintings from the temple collection, which has a long history. A *Gīta-Govinda* set in the style of the N.C. Mehta *Gīta-Govinda,* of the end of sixteenth century has been studied by U.P. Shah along with other Jain MSs.[15] In the temple collection there is an interesting painting depicting Śri Dwārkeśvarjī *Mahārāj* with his disciples[16] in the early Rajasthani style of a date of *ca.* 1600 A.D. It shows that artists working in the so-called popular Mughal style were already there and were catering to the needs of the temple from time to time.

Therefore, to conclude, the words देवसूत्र or देवोत्पन्न, whatever they may be, do not matter as such a practice of writing date of death is a rare phenomenon. What is more important from our point of view is the date and the corresponding style. In reading the date as V.S. 1649—1592 A.D., we have to still push back the date of early Rajasthan from 1605 of the Chawand *Rāgamālā*[17] (fig. 634) to 1592 A.D. Secondly, in a MS of over 104 folios, if we tried any instance of a late turban, we do not necessarily take the MS to that date. We also do not accept the theory of adding 40 years to the date as we firmly feel that the possessor of the *pothī, Vīrabhāṇa,* has given a genealogy of his ancestors to elevate his own position.

The *Dhōla-Māru* MS is in the early Mewari style as it can well be compared not only to the Chawand *Rāgamālā* but to many other documents, which afford a closer stylistic affiliation. The colophon date of 1592 A.D. gives further proof to this MS the credit of being the earliest dated MS from Mewar.

[9] Sridhar Andhare, An Early *Ragamala* from the Kankroli collection, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India,* Bombay, vol. 12, 1973, fig. 47

[10] Ram Vallabha Somani, *History of Mewar,* Kitab Mahal, Jaipur, 1976, p. 241, f.n. 105

[11 & 12] *op. cit.,* p. 63

[13] U.P. Shah, A note on four paintings of *Bhāgvata Daśamaskandha, Museum Bulletin,* Baroda. vol. XXV, 1973-74, pp. 87-88

[14] *ibid.,* p. 94

[15] U.P. Shah, *More documents of Jaina paintings and Gujarati paintings of the sixteenth and later centuries,* L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, 1976, figs. 45-48

[16] Shri Kanthamani Shastri, *Kankroli kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Sri Vidya Vibhag, Kankroli, 1939, col. pl. at p. 121

[17] Gopal Krishna Kanoria, *An early Dated Rajasthani Rāgamālā, JISOA.,* vol. XIX, 1952-53, pp. 1-9

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KARL KHANDALAVALA

Two Bikaner Paintings in the N.C. Mehta Collection and the Problem of Mandi School

The subject of the present article consists of a group of illustrations to the *Bhāgavata* on which there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst writers on Indian miniature painting. Two paintings from this group are in the N.C. Mehta collection in the Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad (col. pl. V and fig. 635) while one is in the Chandigarh Museum (fig. 639) and five are in the Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay, of which one is reproduced herein as fig. 640.

The five paintings in the collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir came to the notice of the late Dr. Moti Chandra and the present writer when we were compiling our catalogue of the exhibition of the late Sir Cowasji's sculpture, bronzes and miniatures.[1]

These five paintings are of vertical format (fig. 640) along with that in the Chandigarh Museum (fig. 639) and one of the two in the N.C. Mehta collection (col. pl. V). The other painting in the N.C. Mehta collection (fig. 635) is of horizontal format. The paintings which are of vertical format all belong to one and the same series while the painting of horizontal format (fig. 635) also belongs to the same series, or to another similar series. That paintings of both horizontal and vertical formats can belong to one and the same series has been noticed in the *Bhāgavata* paintings of the Chamba school dated 1757 A.D. by the artist Laharu[2] and also in other sets.

Anand Krishna, B. Goswamy and Jagdish Mittal are of the opinion that the group belongs to the Mandi school of Pahari paintings, while the late Moti Chandra, the late W. Archer, Douglas Barrett and the present writer have been of the viewpoint that these *Bhāgavata* illustrations belong to the Bikaner school of Rajasthani paintings. For this reason, Archer excluded this series from his *magnum opus* on Pahari paintings,[3] while Moti Chandra and the present writer labelled them as Bikaner in their abovementioned catalogue.[4] Douglas Barrett who examined these paintings at length, along with the present writer, at Ahmedabad, came to the same conclusion.

In the present article we have sought to show that a Mandi provenance is not acceptable nor, in fact, any Pahari provenance.

While writing the catalogue of the Pahari paintings in the N.C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad (now in press),[5] we found two paintings, namely, a portrait of Hari Sen of Mandi, another of two Central Asian Turkmans, which we regard as having been painted at Mandi by a Mughal school artist of the late Aurangazeb period. They have the typical green background of the period and in the execution are very different from what we know of the Mandi school portraits, the earliest of which are contemporary with the latter part of Sidh Sen's reign, *i.e.*, 1720-27. Both were formerly in the Mandi Darbar collection as can be seen from the Mandi library stamp, similar to that illustrated in fig. 641, which appears on the reverse of both these paintings. The same Mandi library stamp also appears on the reverse of the two *Bhāgavata* miniatures, viz., col. pl. V and fig. 635. But the presence of the Mandi library stamp on the reverse of paintings which come from the Mandi Darbar collection is of no significance whatever with regard to the provenance of a painting in that collection. To illustrate this fact we have reproduced the Mandi Library stamp (fig. 641) on the reverse of a Guler school portrait of Rājā Devī Chand of Bilaspur. There are several other paintings from the Mandi Darbar collection which have no connection with the Mandi school yet also bear the Mandi Library stamp on the reverse. The Mandi Darbar collection,

[1] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra. Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir Bart., Bombay, 1965, p. 24, fig. 73. One miniature from the series similar to those in the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir is reproduced in *Indian Painting Mughal and Rajput and a Sultanate manuscript*, P & D Colnaghi & Co. Ltd., Londor, 1978 as fig. 59 where it is attributed to Bikaner, *circa* 1680 but stated that the origin could be the Pahari school of Bilaspur. These paintings, however, are unlike any Bilaspur painting known to us.

[2] V.C. Ohri, "Laharu and Mahesh the Miniature Painters at Chamba in the mid-eighteenth century A.D.", Lalit Kala, no. 3, p. 59, figs. 1-3

[3] W. Archer, *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, London, 1973

[4] Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, fig. 73

[5] Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Paintings in the N.C. Mehta collection* (in press).

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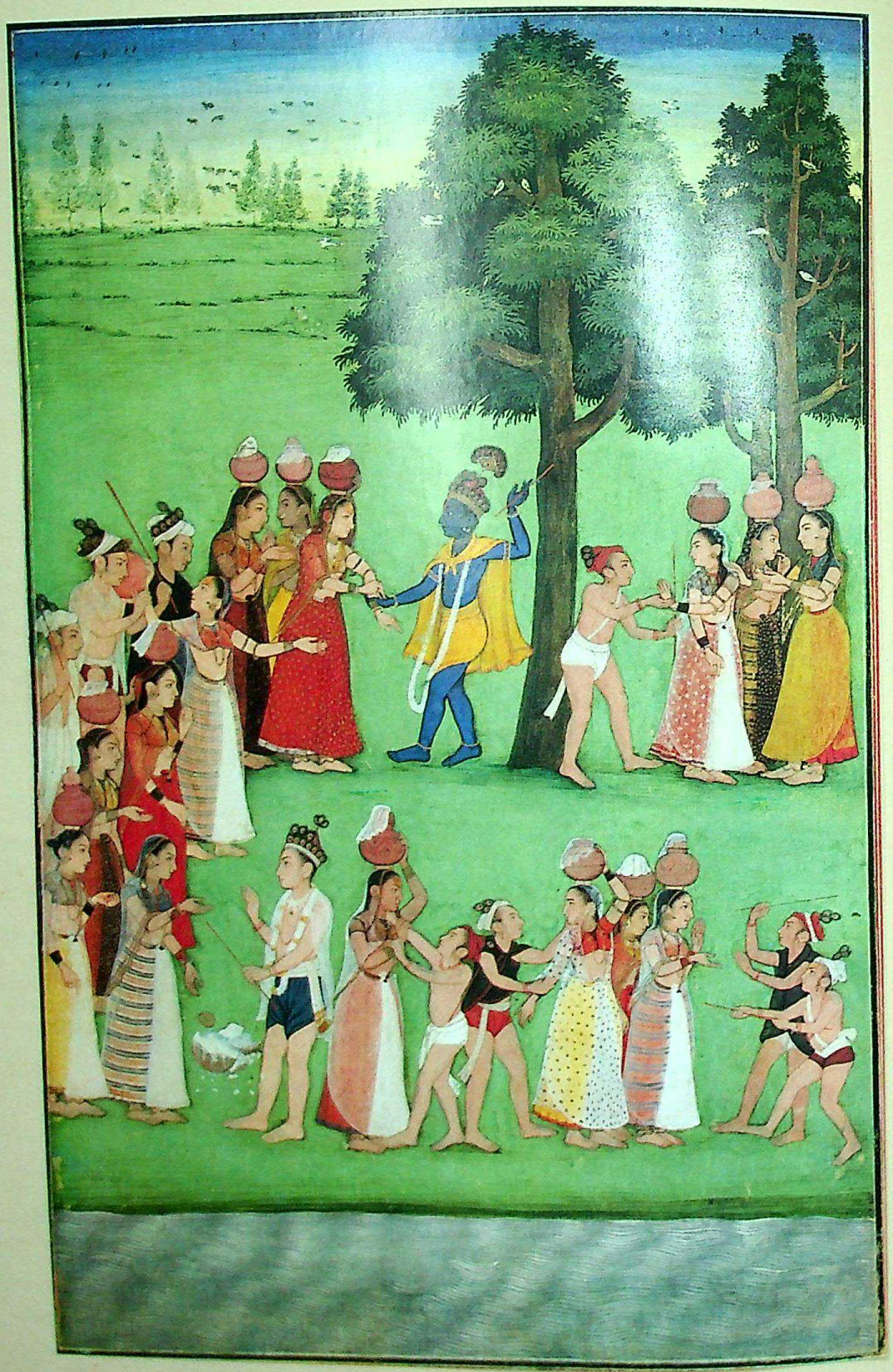

Pl. V *Dāna-Līlā*, Rajasthani, Bikaner, *ca.* late seventeenth cent., N.C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad

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before its dispersal, was a very large one of over three thousand paintings as can be inferred from the library numbers endorsed on the reverse of paintings along with the library stamp. It is obvious that the Mandi Darbar collection contained numerous paintings also of other Pahari schools along with those of the Mandi *kalam*. Both the *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and fig. 635) have backgrounds of a rather similar green colour to that of the portraits of Hari Sen and of the two Turkmans. Perhaps this circumstance taken together with the presence of the library stamp of the Mandi Darbar collection has influenced some critics to regard the two *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and fig. 635) as being products of the Mandi school. It is, however, significant that none of the *Bhāgavata* paintings in the Cowasji Jehangir collection bears the Mandi Library stamp. This clearly establishes that the series was not painted at Mandi as a 'royal commission'. Had that been so painted then, even if the paintings got dispersed, they at least would have borne the Mandi Library stamp. Incidentally, we have ascertained that even the painting (fig. 639) in the Chandigarh Museum does not bear the Mandi Library stamp on its reverse. One further factor which might have influenced this viewpoint is the presence of tiny flying birds in the sky, as also larger birds, both categories of which appear frequently in Mandi paintings.

But for many cogent reasons it is not possible to accept the Mandi attribution or even a general Pahari attribution for these paintings. The green background is a common feature of Aurangazeb period Mughal paintings as also of Bikaner school paintings, because the Bikaner school was greatly influenced by Mughal painting of the second half of the seventeenth century. The presence of the library stamp on the reverse, as already observed, can also have no bearing on the provenance of any painting in the Mandi Darbar collection. So also the presence of flying birds is not a feature peculiar to the Mandi school. In fact, the idea must have been borrowed from Mughal paintings or what is even more likely this convention in the Mandi school was probably borrowed by Mandi artists of the court atelier from the two Bikaner *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and fig. 635) after they came into the possession of the Mandi Darbar by purchase or gift. Such flights of tiny birds in the sky can be seen repeatedly in the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Akbar nāmā*, to give just one such instance, and even in examples of the Popular Mughal school as for instance in the *Pañchama Rāgiṇi* reproduced as colour frontispiece in Waldschmidt, Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, vol. III. This feature is also seen in Bikaner painting.[6] Therefore, the presence of the tiny flying birds in no way establishes a Mandi provenance as it was a frequent device also in non-Pahari schools.

There are several considerations which militate against the suggested Mandi or even a Pahari provenance:

(a) The quality of the two *Bhāgavata* miniature paintings is far superior to anything ever done in the Mandi school and so also is their refined technique. To accept the Mandi attribution would lead to most incongruous and unlikely results for we would then be forced to conclude that by some extraordinary twist of fortune Mandi had a brilliant school of artists at the end of the seventeenth century which produced the *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and fig. 635) and nevertheless by about 1720 A.D. when according to us we have the earliest examples of the Mandi school, in the reign of Rājā Sidh Sen (1684-1727), these superior artists and their work as well as the excellence of standards set by them all suddenly vanished into thin air! The usual Mandi school, as we know it, is something entirely different in colour, technique, composition, drawing of trees, male and female figures and cattle. Such a sudden transformation from a highly superior style to a much inferior one, *albeit* an interesting style, is difficult of acceptance. If, however, it be suggested that these *Bhāgavata* paintings may be by the same artist who painted the portrait of Hari Sen and that of the two Turkmans, referred to above, then obviously the *Bhāgavata* paintings cannot belong to the Mandi school but are the work of a visiting Mughal artist of the Aurangazeb school. We have seen a portrait of Chattar Sen of Chamba (1664-1695)[7] in the Seattle Museum which is obviously the work of a visiting Mughal school artist and another of Jagat Singh of Nurpur with his minor sons in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, which is also plainly the work of a visiting Mughal school artist. Chattar Singh, who was at the Mughal court as a young boy, never went to the Mughal court again for he incurred the displeasure of Aurangazeb, while the unruly Jagat Singh is never known to have gone to the Mughal court with his minor sons. Thus these

[6] H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, fig. 95, depicting a camel encampment.

[7] The usual date accepted by almost all writers namely 1664-1690 is incorrect. He was reigning upto 1695 A.D.

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abovementioned two portraits indicate that they are the work of occasional visiting artists and are not to be classified as Pahari school paintings. But a stray painting here or there by a Mughal school artist visiting Hill States to carry out some portrait commissions in order to gain remuneration during the lean times, which artists experienced during the Aurangazeb period, does not convert their work into Pahari painting. If a deviation in lighter view be permitted then if perchance Sir Joshua Reynolds had painted a portrait in Paris would it be classified as belonging to the French School?

(b) Several features of the Bikaner school are to be seen prominently in the *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and fig. 635). The carefully drawn naturalistic trees in the Mughal-cum-Bikaner manner and with pronounced light and shade effects, are foreign to Mandi paintings where the characteristic tree is the pine with tufts of cones coarsely drawn. Moreover, the placement of groups of trees in an ascending order in different parts of the picture space, as seen in the Chandigarh example (fig. 639) is repeatedly seen in the Bikaner school but not in Mandi painting. Again the background covered with rows of little tufts of vegetation is a Bikaneri and Deccani characteristic not seen in the Mandi school.

(c) In fig. 635 the group of *Sādhūs* is painted in the Mughal manner with subtle characterization and what is very significant is that the pillars of the small shelter where they are seated are pink in colour, a feature which originated with Mughal painting and was never adopted by the Mandi school, though seen in several Rajasthani schools including that of Bikaner.

(d) Another important factor to take into account is that not a single one of the *gopīs*, in the *Bhāgavata* paintings (col. pl. V and figs. 635-37 and 638), wears the characteristic Mandi school *baṇḍī* (jacket) coming well down onto the stomach as seen in fig. 644 but in contrast are all shown as wearing the short bust-bodice known as *cholī*. In almost every Mandi painting this characteristic *baṇḍī* is to be seen and is as though it were a hallmark of the Mandi school in miniatures where female figures are portrayed.

(e) Equally noticeable is the fact that while in Mandi painting the figures are wooden (fig. 643), those in the *Bhāgavata* paintings are highly animated and lively. We have also reproduced details of the faces of male and female figures from the *Bhāgavata* paintings (figs. 636-38) to show how different are their countenances from the typical male and female faces in Mandi painting (figs. 643 and 644).

(f) Another feature frequently seen in Bikaner painting, but not in the Mandi school, is the manner in which a line or group of hazily painted trees of small size are seen in the far distant background to emphasize perspective (col. pl. V).

(g) Water in the Mandi school is almost always shown in the 'basket pattern' but not so in the *Bhāgavata* paintings.

(h) The turbans worn by the cowherds (in col. pl. V and fig. 635) are also typical of the Aurangazeb period turbans and unlike the characteristic turbans of the Mandi school (fig. 643).

We have always maintained, both on circumstantial and documentary evidence, that Pahari miniature painting by which we mean the paintings produced in the court ateliers of the Hill States, had its beginnings at Basohli under Rājā Kirpāl Pāl (1678-1695)[8] and that the Basohli style then spread rapidly, with variations of course, to Chamba, Guler, Nurpur, Kulu, Mankot, Mandi, etc. and remained in vogue in the Hills till about 1740 A.D., when it began to give way gradually in some states to the influence of the pre-Kangra *kalam* which emanated from Guler under its master artist Māṇak at the royal court of Govardhan Chand (1744-1773) and from Jammu under its master artist Nainsukh at the princely court of Rājā Raṇjīt Dev's brother Balvant Singh, who was born in 1724 A.D. and died in 1763 A.D. or may be even later as he appears to be considerably more than thirty-nine years of age in several of his later day portraits. The *bahī* entry from which the date 1763 A.D. has been deduced by Goswamy may require re-interpretation. But that is another matter.

Thus there is no place for any school of Mandi painting or even any other school of Pahari painting in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century in which miniatures of the style and technical excellence of the *Bhāgavata* group (col. pl. V and figs. 635-38, 642-43 and 644) could have been painted.

[8] The usual dates 1678-1693 given by most writers following Hutchinson and Vogel and Khan Singh are incorrect. Documentary evidence establishes that Kirpāl Pal reigned upto 1695 A.D.

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PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

The Berlin Chandāyan *Codex*[1]

Background

Mullā Dāu'd, a *sufi* from Dalmau (presently in the district Rae Bareli in Uttar Pradesh), composed a *masnavi* in Hindavi[2] called *Chandāyan* (1377 or 1379 A.D.)[3]. It describes the romance between Laur (Lorik) and Chāñdā. From the reconstructed text we figure out its length: about five hundred stanzas of seven lines each.

The Story

Chāñdā, the heroine born of Rāi Mahar Sahadeva, was married to Bāwan at the age of four. Twelve years later at first visit to her husband's home, she felt dissatisfied with him and returned to her father. An itinerant Bājir (? a Vajrayānī *yogī*) was dazzled with a glimpse of Chāñdā, lost senses and when recovered back, sang mystic songs on Chāñdā's beauty. This brought him to Rāo Rūpchand's court. The Rāo hearing Chāñdā's beauty in the songs decided to seize her and marched against Sahadeva, her father. Sahadeva routed him by the aid of his ally Lorik. Chāñdā was captivated by Lorik's good looks and valour. Biraspat, the maid, arranged their meeting.

He was led to her chamber in a pitch dark night, the following morning Chāñdā concealed him under her cot. They were husband and wife.

At home Lorik succeeded in pacifying his wife Mainā. However, at a festive day Chāñdā and Mainā collided at the temple, over the Lorik affair. A free fight ensued. Now it was the talk of the town.

Lorik and Chāñdā eloped to the town, Hardīpāṭan. Misfortune overtook them: twice or thrice Chāñdā was bitten by snakes but miraculously revived. Countering hardships they arrived at Hardīpāṭan, where they lived for a year as the chief's protegés.

The forlorn Mainā was greatly distressed. She persuaded Lorik to return to her through Surjan, a caravan leader bound for Hardīpāṭan. Lorik obliged and the two co-wives lived in peace. Their happiness was shortlived since Lorik was attacked by Chāñdā's ex-husband, Bāwan. Lorik prepared himself to go to the battle-field . . . . . (none of the available codices gives the following events).

Codices of the *Chandāyan*

During my research on the *CHANDĀYAN* text, I identified the illustrated pages in the Kala Bhavan collection as belonging to a *Chandāyan* manuscript; I was fortunate in discovering the illustrated manuscript, now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.[4] This is noted for its illustrations. These illustrations are one of the missing links in the development of the sixteenth century paintings. The Berlin *Chandāyan* manuscript, discovered by me, is another landmark in the History of Indian painting. All the available manuscripts of *Chandāyan* are, unfortunately fragmentary. On their basis I restored the available text barring a few stanzas missing here and there[5] or the last stanzas. Interestingly most of the *Chandāyan* manuscripts are illustrated and that the full page illustration faces the text on the recto/verso of the preceding folio.

The Berlin Codex[6]

This illustrated manuscript is fragmentary and presently has 141 folios, which account for roughly one-fourth of the original text. Unfortunately the folios are badly mixed up by an unknowing binder and given a new sequence and running folio numbers. The manuscript did not have the original pagination, as would be expected on the right corner of a folio. Nor do the folios

[1] This is the correct title of the text and not the *Laur-Chandā*, as has been generally called.

[2] The two dates have different origins: Parasuram Chaturvedi (vide *Hindi Sahitya*, vol. II, p. 250. fn.), basing himself on a heresay dated this in A.H. 779 or 1377 A.D. The second date (viz. A.H. 781 or 1379 A.D.) is derived from the poem itself (vide the Bikaner manuscript of the *Chandāyan* now in the library of the K.M. Munshi Hindi Institute, University of Agra).

[3] Usually the language of these texts has been identified as Avadhī (or dialect of Avadh in Uttar Pradesh). I believe that this is not a regional dialect, but the spoken language of north India, the "*Hindavī*" of the Muslim poets and the "*Bhāshā*" of the Hindus.

[4] Karl Khandalavala, Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra, Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, "A New Document of Indian Painting", *Lalit Kala*, no. 10, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 45-54 and pls. B, XXXIII-XXXV

[5] *Maulānā Dāu'd Kṛit Chandāyan*, Bombay, 1964

[6] The Staatsbibliothek Berlin acc. no. 1900. 215, Oriental Section no. 3014

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carry the usual *tark* (the catch word at the bottom of a folio). As such it is a random collection of certain sections. On the basis of my reconstructed text the concordence is as follows:

folios 72-79 (present folios 16-23); 80-81 (9-10); 83-87 (11-15); 88-95 (1-8); 96-99 (126-129); 100-101 (124-125); 102-103 (122-123); 104 (121); 105 (72); 106-108 (75-77); 110-111 (73-74); 112 (134); 114-116 (131-133); 117 (70); 118-122 (135-140); 124 (141); 125-126 (40-41); 127 (39); 128 (130); 129 (120); 130-133 (49-52); 138 (71); 143 (119). Thus we have here stanzas 72 to 143 (with stanzas 82, 109, 113, 123, 134-137 and 139-142 missing).

Folios 72 ff. dwell upon the events following the Bājir's description of Chāñdā to Rūpchand ending up with the latter's defeat at the hands of Lorik.

Thereafter we find the next twenty-seven stanzas missing; the present manuscript restarts with stanzas 169 (48); 170-172 (42-44); 174-176 (45-47); 177-178 (24-25); 182-187 (26-31); 196 (61); 197-203 (63-69); 204-210 (78-84); 211 (114); 212-218 (106-113); 219-221 (53-55); 222-224, 224a 224b, (56-60); and 224c (62). Thus stanzas 169 to 224c (with stanzas 173, 179-181 and 188-195 missing) appear in this section. Here the text deals with Lorik's love at first sight with Chāñdā, his pangs of separation and aided by Biraspat, his visit to Chāñdā's apartment.

Next we find in the Berlin manuscript more than forty stanzas missing and the story restarts with the Chāñdā-Mainā duel at the temple and Chāñdā preparing for elopement (Berlin stanzas 265-271 = folios 99-105; stanzas 272-281 = folios 85-96 and stanzas 289-289a = folios 97-98). Again, a gap of sixty stanzas after which the stanzas 350 to 356 are scattered, stanzas 350-351 (folios 37-38), stanzas 352-354 (folios 34-36), stanza 355 (folio 33) and stanza 356 (folio 32). They deal with the snake-bite episode.

In the end we have stanzas 429-431 on folios 114-116. The text relates Surjan conveying Mainā's pangs of separation to Lorik.

The colophon page is missing. However, on the basis of the illustrations, the Berlin manuscript appears to be either earlier than the Kala Bhavan pages or contemporary to them. The Berlin *Chandāyan*'s place among the illustrated manuscripts of the fifteenth century has been discussed independently by Anand Krishna.

NOTE: The numbers within the parentheses represent the folio numbers attributed to the manuscript in the present binding. The figures outside the parentheses denote the stanza numbers.

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Description of the Illustrations :

Figure No.	*MS. Folio*	*Stanza of the Text*	
616	17	72	Rāo Rūpchand summons the Bājir and asks the reason for singing the songs of separation
621	18	73	The Bājir describes to Rāo Rūpchand Chāñdā's beauty
590	19	74	Rāo Rūpchand presents a horse to the Bājir
606	8	94	The Bājir describes Chāñdā's beauty (her dress) to Rāo Rūpchand
624	126	95	Bājir narrates beauty of Chāñdā (this painting relates to the stanza that describes her ornaments)
609	138	118	Fight between Dhanwaru, a warrior of Sahadeva's side and Bantha, the warrior of Rūpchand
600	137	119	Rāo Rūpchand's Court rejoicing the victory over Sahadeva
604	139	121	Lorik prepares for the battle
617	39	126	Lorik visits Mahar Sahadeva; the latter offers a betal leaf to Lorik
625	119	142	Lorik in hot pursuit of Rūpchand's army
603	42	169	Biraspat brings Chāñdā's message to Lorik
601	27	182	Chāñdā's visit to the temple to see Lorik
602	30	185	Chāñdā and Biraspat discourse on amour
618	65	198	Biraspat leading Lorik towards the apartment of Chāñdā
623	59	224	Lorik hides under Chāñdā's cot after spending the night with her
597	63	196	Biraspat visits Lorik in the forest
591	64	197	Biraspat acquaints Lorik about Chāñdā's pangs of separation
595	67	200	Lorik steals his way to Chāñdā's house in the night
596	68	201	Lorik recognises Chāñdā's apartment in the flash of lightning
607	78	203	Chāñdā grasps the rope-end thrown by Lorik
619	80	205	Chāñdā's apartment (painting related to the stanza that describes that the walls were decorated with paintings. Here in the bottom panel *Chakravyūha* is drawn, which find mention in one of the lines of the related stanza)
598	107	212	Lorik in Chāñdā's apartment
605	110	215	Lorik in Chāñdā's apartment (continued); in the particular stanza he ridicules Chāñdā for his love with her
608	58	223	Lorik in Chāñdā's apartment. Chāñdā discloses her love to Lorik
622	60	224	Lorik in Chāñdā's apartment. Lorik making love with Chāñdā
615	100	265	Chāñdā and Mainā in argument
594	103	268	Fight between Chāñdā and Mainā at the temple
614	104	269	The God fleeing from the temple, frightened at the fierce fight between Chāñdā and Mainā
610	97	288	Biraspat conveying Chāñdā's message to Lorik about leaving the town
592	38	350	Lorik laments the unconscious Chāñdā after the snake bite
599	114	428	Surjan conveys Mainā's message to Lorik
620	116	430	Lorik's lamentation over Mainā's plight, that he heard from Surjan, the Caravan leader

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AJAYA KUMAR SINGH

Wall Paintings at Sum-Tsek, Alchi

Amidst the solitude and fastness of mighty Karakoram Himalayas, there is a strange world of Lamas—Ladakh. This cold desert of India invites us to untold fantasy of Buddhist Paintings. In this desolated world lies a picturesque valley known as Alchi, which boasts of its fascinating monastic establishment. One cannot easily imagine at this remove of the civilisation that the inner walls of a forgotten monastery could be decorated with frescoes of highly accomplished order which preserve the early Indian pictorial tradition in its later phases.

Very little is known of the early history of Ladakh. There are evidences that Ladakh was an outpost of India since the time of great Mauryas where Emperor Ashoka sent missionaries for the propagation of Buddhism.[1] In the Kushana period it was an integral part of their domain as Kaniska sent five hundred Kashmiri missionaries to Ladakh and Yarkand in Central Asia.[2] An inscription of Vima Kadphises in Kharoshthi script is found at Khalatse in Ladakh,[3] which bears the testimony of Kushanas' interest in the region. Ladakh being situated at the Northern periphery of India was widely open to absorb the rich artistic and cultural tradition of North-Western India.

We turn to the period of renaissance of Buddhism in Ladakh and Western Tibet, when it had very close relationship with Kashmir. At this time Kashmir was the main source of borrowings of art trends and religion in Ladakh as is evident from the stone sculptures and bronzes found in Ladakh being largely based on Kashmiri prototypes. Tibetan chronicles record that Kashmiri missionaries and seventy-five Kashmiri artists were working throughout the Western Tibetan Empire with Lotsava Rinchen bzang po (958-1055 A.D.)[4] a devoted Buddhist patronized by the Kings of Guge. Rinchen bzang po is said to have built one hundred and eight temples in the provinces of Western Tibet from the river Indus to the river Satluj by the help of Kashmiri craftsmen and embellished them with the sculptures and wall paintings of the time.[5]

Alchi is one of the most important monasteries in Ladakh among the establishments ever associated with Rinchen bzang po. At Alchi the three-tiered temple known as Sum-Tsek is best preserved and conceals the most beautiful paintings and several inscriptions recording the date of its construction in the tenth-eleventh century A.D.,[6] during the lifetime of Rinchen bzang po.

The style of the paintings at Sum-Tsek may be designated as Kashmiri since it bears a close resemblance with the wall paintings of Mang nang in Western Tibet discovered by Prof. Tucci and assigned as the work of Kashmiri artist of tenth-eleventh century A.D.[7]

We can begin our study of the paintings under examination by noting the characteristic features. We observe that the paintings reveal the same attitude towards colour modelling and naturalistic treatment which is found in the frescoes of Ajanta. This feature is more obvious in the representation of female figures. The chiaroscuro consists in the deepening of the outlines and in the highlights of mellow hues of the body colours. Sometime figures appear conventionalized though the draughtsmanship is delicate with careful modelling of the limbs. The sensuous fullness of the bodies with flowing movements or somnovalent relaxation characterized in the Gupta art is successfully carried out here with slight transformation. Thus the figures convey a sense of plasticity and volume. Bodies are characterized by the elongated proportion such as long tapering arms with sensitive and attenuated fingers, narrow waists with broad shoulders and prominently modelled bellies showing the muscular treatment of

[1] Waddell, L.A., *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, London, 1895, p. 43; Cunningham, Sir A., *Ladak: Physical, Statistical and Geographical*, reprint, New Delhi, 1970, p. 356

[2] Cunningham, Sir A., *op. cit.*, pp. 317-357; Petech, L., *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 104-105

[3] Francke, A.H., *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, pt. I, Calcutta, 1914, p. 94; Stein R., *Tibetan Civilization*, London, 1972, p. 36

[4] Tucci, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol. I, Rome, 1949, p. 272

[5] Tucci, G. & Ghersi E., *Secret of Tibet*, London and Glassgow, 1935, p. VIII; Shuttleworth, H.L., "Lhalung temple spyi-i", *Memories of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 39, Calcutta, 1929, p. 1

[6] Francke, A.H., *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 95; Petech, L., *op. cit.*, p. 109

[7] Tucci, G., "Indian Paintings in the Western Tibetan Temples", *Artibus Asiae*, no. 8, 1937, p. 130

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abdominal muscles. Faces are marked with prominent noses, small mouths with pinched lips, double chins, full cheeks and highly arched eyebrows with narrow almond eyes. In three-fourths profile of the faces, a projecting eye into space is a salient feature of the early paintings from Alchi as well as Mang nang, Tabo and Tsaparang etc., in Western Tibet.

The physiognomy of the figures show a relationship with the Gandharan tradition while the details of naturalistic type of draperies have distinct echoes of Central Asian and Persian costumes. A close examination reveals that in spite of a general uniformity in the style there are several hands at work, some of the paintings are different from each other. All the paintings are executed within the framework of the same style and follow more or less orthodox monastic conventions, but in the treatment of human figures other than gods and goddesses startling variety and liveliness can be observed.

Fig. 645 represents Mañjushrī seated on a lion-throne in complete frontal view. Two confronted lions are shown making an arch above the head of the figure. The complete frontal and static quality of the figure is reminiscent of the Bodhisattva figure of Bamiyana.[8] The face has none of the heaviness of the Sassanian paintings but radiates the same delicacy and beauty that characterized the Gandharan sculptures and later the terracottas from Uskur and Akhnoor in Kashmir. The figure of Mañjushrī shows considerable similarities with the figure of Akshobhya from Mang nang[9] and Kashmiri bronzes of Mañjushrī recovered from Western Tibet.[10] Relatively larger figure of Mañjushrī is surrounded by the figures of devotees and subsidiary divinities. In the treatment of costumes of the figures, we observe the naturalistic type details of the design and embroidery which bear marked resemblance with Sassanian textiles.[11] Also the flying ribbons from the headdresses remind the streamers of Sassanian kings at Naqsh-i-Rustam and in the paintings from Kakrak[12] and Bamiyana[13] in Afghanistan although they are removed from each other by several centuries. A female clad in cloak of toe length and white cape represents a type of costume which is not found in India proper. The mode of dress is still observed in the Central Asian tribes and Tibetan world.[14] Below the female figure, a monk appears in saffron monastic robe and a conical cap which seem a local mode of dress in Ladakh and Tibet. An emaciated figure of ascetic on the extreme left of the upper frieze shows details of anatomy, and is parallel to ascetic figure at Mang nang.[15] Studying the treatment and details of the figure we can reasonably assume that its prototype lies in the relief figure of emaciated *Sādhu* of Harvan tiles and Gandharan sculptures of emaciated Buddha. On the right side a male deity is shown wearing a *dhotī* decorated with roundels design, seems to have been influenced by the Sassanian design.[16] Much of the beauty of this panel lies in the vividness of colours such as lapis blue for back ground, yellow and earth colours for the flesh and various shades of costumes.

The preaching Buddha (fig. 646) is also related to the style of first example (fig. 645), particularly the draughtsmanship and delineation of the physical forms are of the same type. This is from painted decoration of the lower garment of a colossal image of Maitreya. The group of paintings represent various events from the life of Gautama Buddha. In the painting framed in a medallion, Buddha is represented in a complete frontal view, clad in maroon monastic robe and seated under a tree. The figure of Buddha shows similarities with Mañjushrī (fig. 645). We observe that the body is modelled with abstraction without much emphasis on naturalistic modelling though the artist has modelled the muscles by darker shades to produce chiaroscuro effect and plastic relief.

Studying the delicate physical type and accomplished treatment of the female figures we find that in spite of some variations from the male figures, the technique

[8] Rowland, B., "The Wall Paintings of Bamiyana", *Marg*, vol. XXIV, no. 2, pl. 10

[9] Tucci, G., *Transhimalaya*, Geneva, 1973, pl. 119

[10] Pal, P., *Bronzes of Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1975, pl. 53, 54, 58 etc. Illustrated bronzes are dated to the tenth-eleventh century A.D. by the author.

[11] The decorative designs of the costumes show a close resemblance with those of Sassanian textile designs which can be seen in the paintngs from Kizil, Pendjikent etc., although in the example under discussion, a rich variety of costumes is observed where some are of Indian cut such as *dhotī* decorated with roundels.

[12] Talbot Rice, T., *Ancient Art of Central Asia*, London, 1965, ill. 151, painting of the hunter king, dated fifth-sixth century A.D. The style is described to have been derived from Sassanian Persia.

[13] *ibid.*, ill. 152. The *fluttering* ribbons and other *Iranian* motifs can be seen much earlier in the Harven tiles from Kashmir, probably derived from Central Asian repertoir. Direct relationship of Kashmir with *Iranians* is known from Kalhan's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* where Kalhan has recorded the settlement of Persian emigrants. For detail please see Pal P., *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43

[14] The mode of dress represents Scythian costumes which may be seen in Kashmiri bronzes where Shahi males are clad in long coats, tight breaches and boots, and their women are shown in cloaks, capes and boots.

[15] Tucci, G., *Transhimalaya*, pl. 114

[16] Ghirshman, R., *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, London, 1962, ill. 275, 276

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remains the same. The figure of flying divinity (fig. 647) is close to Ajanta as regards the physical type and treatment. The figure is executed in four-armed manifestation wearing a close fitting blouse with wide open neck, a muslin skirt, a long fluttering scarf and sort of socks reaching up to her calfs. The facial type of the figure shows close similarity with the *Apsarā* at Mang nang.[17] Similar facial type can be seen in the figures of two gods executed on the right side in figure 645. The face of the deity is oval in shape marked with highly arched eyebrows, almond eyes—one projecting into space, double chin with chubby cheeks and small mouth with full lips. Its parallel facial type much early in date (fifth century A.D.) can be seen in the ivory figurines from Kashmir in the collection of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[18] In the representation of hands we find curious claw type hands which seem a constant feature of the paintings. Almost similar type of hands are found in the Central Asian paintings from Kizil[19] and Bezeklik[20] and in the ivories of Kashmir[21] and stuccoes from Fondukistan[22] in Afghanistan although they are centuries earlier. Contemporary representations of the same type are noticeable in the paintings of Mang nang[23] and Iwang[24] in Western Tibet.

Despite the iconographical similarities we find a difference in the manner of composition such as the painting representing the paradise of Vairochana (fig. 648). The figure of Vairochana is shown in the centre in preaching gesture. The central figure is surrounded with the figures of monks, priests and devotees. The representation of the figures is more conventionalized and seems to belong to orthodox monastic style. A slight difference in the quality of the work is apparent presumably due to the transformations in the Kashmiri pictorial traditions. Extent of this process can easily be envisioned by comparing the treatment of composition of fig. 648 with figs. 647 and 649.

In the painting (fig. 648), we find an archaic stiffness of posture and hardness in lines. The artist has given prominence to the lines while colour modelling is toned down and movements are congealed. In the execution of such paintings the artist reveals predilection for primary colours such as red and blue with a contrasting effect. The refinement of the lines makes composition almost linear, although in some figures attempts at modelling of chest and abdomen by abstract shading of darker hues can be noticed. The painting may be assigned as the work of a traditional artist of inferior hand. Other features of interest in the painting are stylized trees, a parasol with streamer over the head of Vairochana and costumes worn by priests.

The painting (fig. 649) depicted within the rectangular frame is representation of Goddess Prajñāpāramitā in eight armed manifestation. Completely frontal delineation of the goddess is infinitely superior to the earlier discussed examples. The painting is worthy of appreciation for its extremely pleasing and fluid movements with great delicacy of plastic relief. The artist has rendered green shade to the body with naturalistic quality of sensuousness where tonal gradation is employed to produce the sense of volume. In case of mellow shading the outlines are given emphasis to bring out relief from its background.

The figure of Prajñāpāramitā represents a well balanced and proportioned bodily form with well developed and sensuous limbs without a trace of plumpness. Noteworthy is the skill of the painter in rendering the minute details of costumes. The goddess is provided with a richly embroidered skirt fanning at bottom and touching the floor, a diaphanous blouse of close fitting with wide open neck and a long gossamer scarf covering the head and reaching down to the floor. Lower opening of the blouse reveals a beautiful and sensuous modelling of the belly and abdominal muscles which is a typical feature of the physical type in the medieval Kashmiri sculptures.[25] The figure of the goddess shows its closest affinity with the figure of female attendant in the Kashmiri bronze of *Vishṇu Chaturānana*[26] (*ca.* 800 A.D.) and bronze figure of Tārā[27] (eleventh century A.D.). The decoration around the aureole of the goddess unfolds the narrative scenes where folk elements have come to the surface. Details of the frame (fig. 650) show a queen in adoration wearing richly decorated cloak, white cape, boots and a scarf tied on the head. She holds a rosary

[17] Tucci, G., *Transhimalaya*, pl. 117
[18] Moti Chandra, "Ancient Indian Ivories", *Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, Bombay, no. 6, 1957-59, pl. 7b, 10c
[19] Talbot Rice, T., *op. cit.*, ill. 176
[20] *ibid.*, ill. 193
[21] Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 6
[22] Rowland, B., *op. cit.*, pl. 2, 3 and 4
[23] Tucci, G., *Transhimalaya*, pl. 118
[24] *ibid.*, pl. 124
[25] Goetz, Herman, *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya*, Wiesbarden, 1969, p. 71, pls. XXII, XXIII
[26] Pal, P., *op. cit.*, pl. 9
[27] *ibid.*, pl. 68

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in her hand. Her mode of dress is still common in Ladakhi, Tibetan and Central Asian women. Skillfully executed scenes portray male figures being attacked by lion and fire as they rush to the goddess for shelter. Above they are shown praying while the lion and the fire are subjugated. The physiognomical features and treatments of the figures remarkably resemble the figures of donors in the painted book covers of Gilgit manuscripts,[28] and iconic representation in the Kashmiri bronzes of eighth-ninth century A.D.[29]

Stylistically the paintings in Sum-Tsek may be designated to the beginning of eleventh century executed by the Kashmiri painters. Regarding the influence of Kashmiri art on the art of Western Tibet, Prof. Tucci has dealt elaborately in his monumental work *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.[30] The specimens from the temple of Alchi show close affinity with the paintings of Mang nang although they may be of slightly later date. The treatment of figures and suppleness of plastic relief unmistakably suggest their origin by the hands of Kashmiri artists who were inspired by the Indian pictorial tradition transmitted from Ajanta in the middle ages. The style of paintings represents conglomeration of Western Indian, Eastern Indian and local idioms largely based on Gandharan tradition and also witnesses the last phase of evolution of Kashmiri style. The beginning of this process can be traced in the last phase of art represented at Fondukistan and Bamiyana.[31] Herman Goetz has remarked that the artistic tradition of Central Asia, Sassanian Persia, Tang China, Gandhara, even Byzantine Rome and over all Gupta India crystalized in medieval Kashmiri art from the time of Lalitāditya in the mid of eighth century A.D.[32] The style reveals that the artists of tenth-eleventh century A.D. have assimilated the early hybrid style of Kashmir with post Gupta spirit of Indian art, thereby creating new canons of beauty which are best applied to the wall paintings in Ladakh and Western Tibet. Most probably due to its hybrid nature we observe certain elements common to the paintings of Central Asia[33] and Kashmiri paintings from the Buddhist chapels of Western Tibet as well as in the paintings on the book covers of Gilgit manuscripts designated to the ninth century's Kashmiri style[34] by P. Banerjee.

[28] Banerjee, P., "Painted Book Covers of Two Gilgit Manuscripts", *Oriental Art*, no. 14, 1968, fig. 1 and 2

[29] Pal. P., *op. cit.*, pls. 22a, 30a

[30] Tucci, G., *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 vols., Rome, 1949

[31] Goetz, Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 76

[32] *ibid.*, pp. 68-76

[33] The common features in both the art of Kashmir and Central Asia are based on the regular intercourse between the two regions from time immemorial. Since the time of Kushana, a regular exchange of scholars, monks and pilgrims between the two regions is well known. Many scholars and monks of Kashmir travelled to important sites in Central Asia. As Kashmir was the main force behind the propagation of Buddhism in Central Asia, artists and craftsmen must have gone along with missionaries to decorate the shrines, as is revealed by the treatments and Indian spirit of the murals and sculptures from various sites in Central Asia such as Kizil and Tun-huang etc. With this, minor but significant Central Asian elements infiltrated into Kashmiri Art which can be seen in the bronzes and stone sculptures of Kashmir. For later innovations of Central Asian fashion, some very influential Central Asian dignitaries are responsible whose presence in Kashmir is documented in *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhan (see Pal, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 36-45; Goetz Herman., *op. cit.*, pp. 37-76 and Mazumdar, R.C., ed., *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1970, p. 631).

[34] Banerjee, P., *op. cit.*, p. 117. Joanna Williams suggests a date seventh-eighth century A.D. for the painting on Gilgit manuscript book covers, in the research, "Iconography of Khotanese Paintings", *East and West*, New Series, vol. 23, nos. 1-2, 1973, p. 109.

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KAMAL GIRI

Animal and Bird Beads

It can not be denied that the goldsmith's and jeweller's art in India is of the greatest antiquity. The forms of Indian jewellery as well as of its decorative designs and techniques have come down to us in an unbroken tradition from the most ancient times. The famous sculpture of Bharhut, Sāñchī and Amarāvatī, the frescoes of the Ajanṭā caves and the more recent sculptural art of Orissa and elsewhere reveal, without doubt, that forms of Indian jewellery have remained unaltered over many centuries.

Throughout the ages, ornaments have been worn in India, not only for adornment, but also for certain religious and superstitious reasons. In pre-historic societies, besides serving as an important accessory to enhance personal beauty and charm, jewellery was a part of the magic by which early man and woman sought to control the vicissitudes of nature that surrounded them. Thus jewellery was also worn to guard against the evil effects of the planets and stars, deities and divinities and witchcraft or any other undesirable thing that one can imagine. In those early times, therefore, adornment was not restricted entirely to the female, but played a very important part in enabling the male to absorb spirits and to tantalise the opposite sex. The propitiatory rights through which skulls, bones, feathers, paint, flowers, leaves, *cowri* shells, and sea-shells became part of the costume, have deep and intricate ritualistic associations, especially among the Dravidians, the original neolithic inhabitants of India.

All these early motives, based as they were on magic, superstition, religious ritual and mythology, were pooled together by the dynamic and growing societies of India before the Mauryan period.

Early totemistic and animistic beliefs naturally found expression in jewellery designs. The ear and head ornaments of South-India provide evidence of the worship of the sun, the moon, and the elements by the Aryans and the original inhabitants of the subcontinent. The *yantramukul* of Travancore is connected with magic. The *tali* necklace, which contains a number of charms, is associated with the fertility cult, so strongly prevalent in all primitive societies, and in more civilised communities too. Some ornaments, considered necessary for a married woman, have persisted in the same shape throughout the centuries.

Most Indian ornaments take their inspiration from nature. Fruits, animal heads like fish, *makara,* lion and elephant etc. and flowers like the lotus were all represented. These have from time to time been blended with such motifs as the Greek Eros, Psyche, sea lions and acanthus and the Islamic crescent that were brought in by various conquerers. But, as these alien influences were absorbed they retained their original form almost unchanged.

Since the days of Mohenjodaro, animals have played an important part in the life and imagination of the Indian people. They received sympathetic treatment from Indian painters and sculptors. It was obvious that in a world in which every visible thing was either the symbol of some spiritual force or perhaps even its incarnation, animals were endowed with magic or sacred powers. They were the servants, vehicles, and companions of the gods or, one might even say, divine manifestations. As such, they became recurring motifs in the sculpture and painting of Indian temples and palaces. One has only to think of the large rock relief, known as the "Descent of the Ganges", in Mahābalipuram near Madras with its many exquisite sculptures of elephants, deer, and monkeys to realize the mastery of Indian artists in rendering animal forms. Medieval manuscripts seldom depicted animals unless their representation was absolutely essential to the pictorial narrative; and if they appeared, as in the richly illustrated *Kalpasūtras* and *Uttarādhyayanasūtras,* they look like symbolic, wooden representations of a horse, a cow or a green parrot.

But it was in the art of the people—the broad, slow, flowing river of folk art—that animal forms found their widest use and finest flowering. To innocent and unsophisticated man, symbols and magic become reality. Animals are so near to him as friends or foes, that they are part of his life and he knows them intimately. The elephant is power and majesty; the tiger is ferocity; the cow is gentleness; and the bull is life's vigorous force. He is not tempted, when making an animal image, to recreate its appearance, which is obvious to all, but rather to express the animal's essential nature. For

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thousand of years, the metal workers, wood carvers, weavers, printers, ivory-workers, stone-masons, house-painters, potters and toy-makers of India have worshipped animals in their art. Practically every article of ritual and domestic use took the shape of an animal. Medicine and tobacco containers, flasks for scents, spices and cosmetics, boxes for *kumkum* and sandalwood paste, ink-stands, lamps, toys, locks and betelnut crackers came to life in animal forms. What had originally deep magical meaning eventually lost its mystical associations and became, in time, thought of as mere decorative form.

The imagination of Indian craftsmen concerning the decorative uses of animals is inexhaustible. Regional styles are expressed in numerous variations on elementary forms. It could be said with a certain amount of justification that the rich use of animal forms gives Indian folk-art its characteristic appearances, even though many flowers and other decorative motifs are liberally employed. The complete interweaving of multifarious animal forms into decorative patterns is a charming feature in many Indian textiles and metal-works, such as Bīdarī-ware and enamelled objects.

Many forms, flora and fauna, birds, animals, flowers, and fruits were adopted as symbols and often used purely as decoration. Some were allegorical representations with religious significance. The peacock, with the yearly renewal of its lovely plumage, symbolized the resurrection, and pelican, love and sacrifice. The peacock is regarded as a fertility symbol; and jewellery bearing this motif, which is among the Bhil tribe in India, is worn to ensure the fertility of men and women and the soil. The *swastika* is in fact a symbol of great antiquity which originated in Vedic times, and signifies 'well-being'.

The place of beads in ancient Indian ornaments was very important. Beads, whose shapes were varied and vivid, were highly valued by people of the time. The artisans, who carved them with utmost care, produced innumerable varieties. Animal and bird designs were very popular. To make these beads, our ancient inhabitants used many gems, that were divided into different classes and groups on the basis of various criteria which are still used today. Generally agate, carnelian, quartz, amethyst, malachite, lapis-lazuli, granite, garnet, and jasper have been used for this purpose. Also shell, ivory, glass, beryl and coral were not uncommon. Persons who could not afford even these materials satisfied themselves with terracotta beads and *cowries*.

Animal and bird-figured beads or amulets were used mostly as spacing beads and pendants. When modelling birds and beasts, the encrustations or the veins of the stones and their natural colour-combinations were taken into consideration by the lapidary. Figures were so modelled and shown in different natural poses and activities to give them a very life-like appearance.

Beads or Amulets have a very early birth in India. Their origin can be traced back to the Chalcolithic period and Vedic times. A book devoted to magical charms like the Atharva-Veda, naturally contains numerous references to different kinds of amulets and their properties. The most tangible evidence for the existence of these amulets or beads comes from objects of various description housed in many museums and obtained from archaeological excavations and surface finds. These beads, which are from Taxilā, Kauśāmbī, Chainpur-Bhabhuā, Masona, Rājghāt and Bairāt etc. have gained a reputation for their artistic cut, pleasing shape, and excellent finish. The value of such beads as a dating indicator has not yet been extensively tested in the historical archaeology of India because of the limited amount of stratified material and the absence of well documented reports. In recent years, however, attention has been directed to this field of investigation. Unfortunately no systematic attempt has been made to study these beads and interpret their symbolism, until now.

In organising and presenting these notes about Indian animal and bird beads their forms have been the main consideration. Though I have indicated, wherever possible, the probable use of these beads as charms, I have not been able to ascertain their exact purpose in several instances. Much literary data will have to be very carefully sifted in order to ascertain the popular superstitions and beliefs regarding amulets and beads. In the case of certain figured beads, it appears that they have only decorative value and were made to suit the taste of individuals. Dr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit has described some of the animal and bird-shaped beads from North Indian sites in his paper "Notes on Some Indian Amulets".[1] This paper deals exclusively with animal and bird-figured beads, especially those housed in Bharat Kala Bhavan. Of these, fish, tortoise, frog, bull, elephant, lion, dog, deer, are important and shall be described individually in following pages.

Fish-Shaped Beads:

The fish, as an acquatic symbol found in Indian beads, is very important in Indian art and literature. The double fish symbol *(mīna-mithuna)*, as associated with the goddess of abundance, is thought to be

[1] *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, no. 2, 1951-1952

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auspicious and is found in necklaces and beads or in the *māṅgalika-mālā*, used to ward off evil. In the Kushāṇa period this *māṅgalika-mālā* is found on Jain *Āyāgapaṭa* from Mathurā. During the Gupta period the possession of a *māṅgalika-mālā* was ardently desired by travellers on land and sea and by rich men. Two examples of *māṅgalika-mālās* may be seen on the east pillar of the northern gateway of Sāñchī. The fish as *mīna-mithuna* itself was considered sacred and sufficiently efficacious to ward off evil. Individual specimens of the *mīna-mithuna* have been found in early Indian art, especially amongst *stūpa* relics. One round relic casket made of a cut and polished crystal has a lid whose top is carved with a fish design. The minute detailing and high polish to this lid provide an excellent example of the fine craftsmanship done by lapidarists, working two centuries before the execution of the Mauryan columns.[2] In modern ornaments of India the fish shape is quite common.

The fish is clearly associated with water cosmology. Indian literature abounds with references to the fish described as the emblem on the banner of the God of love; its shape is compared to the eyes of a woman and it stands as a symbol of auspiciousness.[3] It is one of the *avatāras* of Vishṇu. Dr. V.S. Agarwala, has discussed fully the symbolism of the fish and its relationship to Vasudhārā.[4] There are a few examples of Goddess Vasudhārā amongst the terracotta figurines (Mathura, 2nd-1st Century B.C.) holding a pair of fish in the right hand. In historic times, the fish served as the symbol *(lāñchhana)* of several dynasties.[5]

Most probably fish-shaped beads in India were used mainly for decorative purposes: no particular symbolism seems to be attached to them. In the Muslim period, this shape was quite common in enamel and pure gold ornaments too. Outside India fish-shaped amulets are frequently found in Egypt in the VI—VIIIth dynasties.

Amongst the old specimens we have several fish-shaped beads from such archaeological sites as Rājghāt, Kauśāmbi, Madhuri (near Banaras), etc. They are made from stones *i.e.*, agate, quartz, carnelian, jade, clay and so on and are preserved in several collections. As most of these beads are surface finds, it is difficult to determine their precise age; however most of them may be placed on stylistic grounds in the Gupta period.

In the Bharat Kala Bhavan collections there are ten fish-shaped beads: three of them are from Kauśāmbi and one is from Rājghāt. The materials used for these beads are carnelian, clay and a kind of soap-stone. Generally, the figures are perforated from mouth to tail or front to back on the fin except for one which is perforated through the middle. These fish-shaped beads may be placed into several groups on stylistic grounds:

(1) Well-polished, triangular face with such melted surfaces that the shape of the bead seems rather abstract. The broad tail is the only part of the body that it has common with other fish-beads. Possibly this type belongs to Maurya-period. In this category there are two examples no. 1 and 2 of (fig. 651), made of red and deep red carnelian from Kauśāmbi. No. 1 is perforated on the fin, so that the bead may be strung with a series of similar ones.

(2) Several beads, (fig. 652), nos. 1 and 2 of white soap stone from Kauśāmbi, no. 3 of mud-coloured stone, no. 4 of white stone, no. 5 and pl. W(B) of light orange coloured carnelian belong to this category. Their round bodies and tail, indication of scales by incision, and a kind of sculpturesque treatment by additive surfaces reveal that the artist was interested in producing a naturalistic representation.

(3) Pl. W(A) of red carnelian belongs to the naturalistic group but it is a long type of fish, whose shape is nearer to that of the triangular first group.

(4) Pl. X(E) of clay from Rājghāt is totally different than the others. In it, the artist has shown his keen interest in decoration.

Tortoise-Shaped Beads:

The tortoise is another favourite animal used in beads. In Indian inconography the tortoise is the vehicle of the river goddess Yamunā; amongst the Jainas it serves as the *lāñchhana* of Śāntinātha, Ara and Muni Suvrata, the sixteenth, the eighteenth and the twentieth *Tīrthaṅkaras* respectively. Amongst the subsidiary *yakshas* the tortoise is the vehicle of *yaksha* Ajita of the ninth *Tīrthaṅkara* Suvidhi; of *yaksha* Kinnara of the fifteenth *Tīrthaṅkara* Dharma and of the *pārśva yaksha* Dharnendra. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his "*Yaksas*", has pointed out that this symbol is closely associated with water cosmology. Vishṇu assumed the form of a tortoise to support Mount Mandāra at the churning of the Ocean; in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[6]; further, the tortoise placed on the fire altar, between layers of *āvaka* plants representing the waters, is associated with Prajāpatī, with the sun and with the

[2] Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Silver Jubilee Volume, III, pp. 423-428; JRAS, 1898, pp. 573-583
[3] *Brihat-Kalpa-Sūtra Bhāshya*, 1, 1549, J.C., Jain, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 236
[4] V.S. Agrawala, 'Vasudhārā', JISOA, vol. VII, 1939
[5] The Pāṇḍyas in South India; The Saindhavas of Saurashtra etc.
[6] VII, 4, 35, VII, 5, 1, 5

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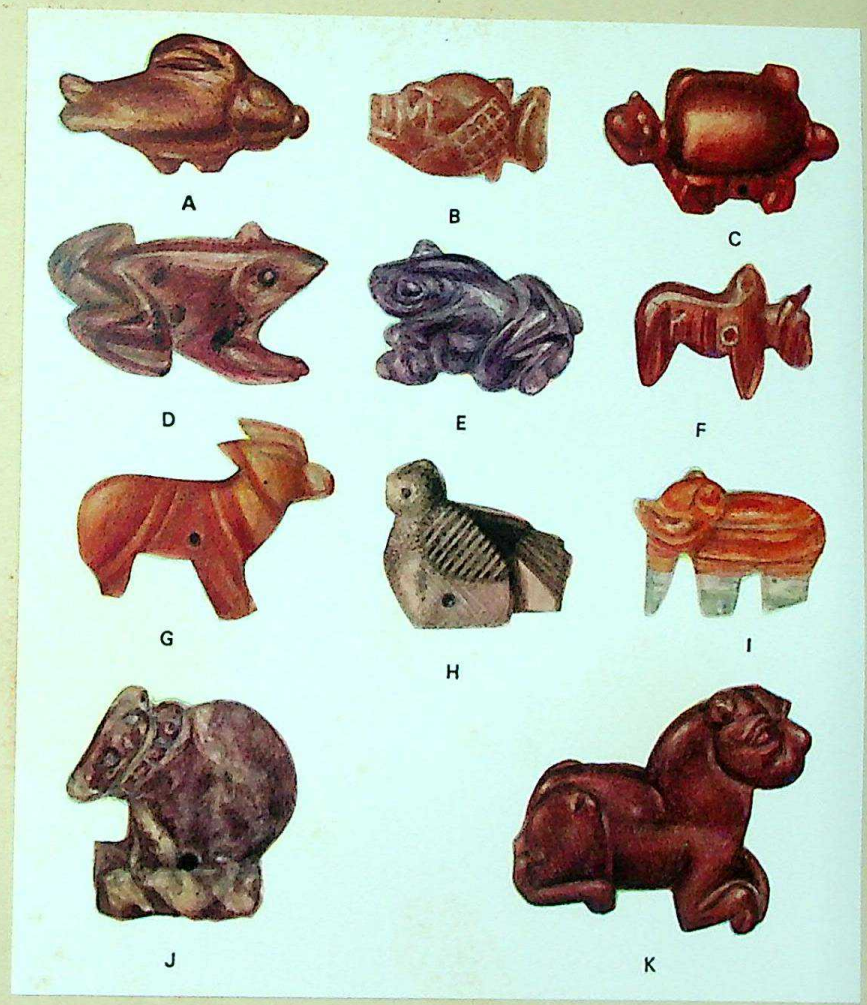

Pl. W Beads

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breath of life; in the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā[7] the tortoise is called 'Lord of Waters'.

In the Atharva-Veda[8] Kaśyapa has identified the sun as tortoise and the amulets and charms handled by him are said to be peculiarly powerful. In the Mahābhārata[9] the tortoise is associated with wisdom and longevity. The Bṛihat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihir[10] states that the king should keep a tortoise as a sign of auspiciousness.

From different archaelogical sites, for example Taxilā, Kauśāmbi, Rājghāt, Madhuri and Sāmbhar, tortoise-shaped beads have been found and are preserved.

The Bharat Kala Bhavan collection contains about twenty five tortoise-shaped beads made of materials like carnelian, garnet, shell, stone, clay etc. These beads may be divided mainly into two groups:

(1) those that have the natural oval shape of the tortoise, and

(2) those placed upon a rectangular base. One receives the impression that the older type is the one represented f.i. in nos. 6 and 7 on fig. 653,—that is, a rather circular tortoise set on a square base, its feet pointing out to each corner of the square. It would seem that gradually the tortoise emerged from this base and that the back portion was pinched, producing the oval natural shape, until finally a complete oval was attained as seen in fig. 654. no. 1. Generally these beads have perforations between two legs or on both sides of the neck.

Only a very limited classification on the basis of material is possible. The squarish type appears in clay as well as in soap-stone. The oval type is found in clay and soap-stone. However, the squarish type does not appear in materials such as carnelian or garnet. Since the two extreme types the square and the oval are executed in clay, a progressive development from humbler to more valuable materials is not possible to hypothesize. This does not exclude the fact, that the material itself favours the evolvement of a certain type of execution, as is obvious from the oval clay tortoises, which have ornamentation, and the soap stone beads where emphasis is laid on smooth modelling, without ornamentation. For these reasons no major classification according to material and ornamentation is presented in this paper. Rather I have categorized the tortoise-shaped beads on the basis of form.

(1) In this group the figures are usually made of slate or black-coloured clay and are shown with their heads raised upwards. The neck of each example is decorated with a row of petals and occasionally on a few of them, a beaded string. All of the tortoise figures have a straight dividing line running down the back. These beads are from Rājghāt and, on the basis of their modelling, they may be assigned to the Gupta period. Fig. 653, nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 (with pointed face); 5, fig. 654, no. 2 and pl. X(C) are red clay tortoise from Kauśāmbi, each having a mutilated head, fig. 654, nos. 3 and 4 of white colour, no. 5 of whitish gray, no. 6 of light gray and also no. 7 belong to this category.

(2) The five beads described below are made of soap-stone. They are well-polished figures devoid of ornamentation. The figures have a round back; the feet of some have opened toes. The perforation runs from front to back.

Fig. 654, no. 8, is a slate-coloured stone. The feet have the position of the square type but the base is absent, the toes being indicated by incision. Fig. 654, no. 9, is possibly made of white coloured clay with a rough surface, from Kopiā, Gorakhpur, U.P.; fig. 653, no. 6 is made of slate-coloured clay; and no. 7 is of light slate-coloured clay from Rājghāt. The Rājghāt figure is decorated with a beaded string around its neck and a straight line with two rows of lines on both sides running down its back. The clay no. 8 is shown with an open mouth, painted feet and a beaded string and broad straight line with two rows of dots on the back.

There are certain other tortoise-shaped beads that can not be classified within these two groups and must be described individually.

Pl. W(C) of deep red carnelian is shown in moving position with its head upwards. It is perforated in between two legs and in good condition.

Fig. 651, garnet no. 3 is similar to the one mentioned above except that its perforation goes from front to back.

Fig. 654, conch shell no. 10 is rectangular in shape and is shown in moving position with double perforation. No. 11 is of white coloured clay; another clay example no. 12 has a rough surface with pointed feet and face comes from Kauśāmbi.

Frog-Shaped Beads:

A large number of Indian amulets are fertility charms and amongst them the frog motif occupies a prominent place. In the Atharva-Veda[11] the frog charm is said to be efficacious against fever.[12] The commentators

[7] XIII, 31
[8] S.B.E., XLII, p. 403
[9] *Vanaparva*, chapter 140
[10] LX, II-2
[11] VII, 116
[12] S.B.E., L-XIII, p. 4

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Kauśika and Darila explain that the frog, having stripes like reeds on its body, is to be tied by means of a blue and red thread passing through its arm-pits to the low couch upon which the patient reclines. The frog is thus held in a bird-like position[13] i.e. by its legs; and this is precisely the position many of the frog beads would assume when threaded.

Kshemendra in his Kalā Vilās (IX, 12) mentions a popular belief that a man after applying frog's fat would become the beloved of heavenly maidens.[14]

Outside India, the frog is known to be a symbol of fertility.[15] Amongst the Egyptian amulets the frog is mostly confined to the V—VIIIth dynasties.[16] A frog shaped bead from Moroe, illustrated by Beck,[17] belongs to the XXVth dynasty. In Mesopotamia, the earliest bead of this shape is probably from Tepe Giyan[18]. It is described as belonging to period II (2300-1000 B.C.). At, Ur, a frog-shaped lapis-lazuli[19] bead was found in Queen Shub-ad's grave. In Babylonia, at Merkes, "Human heads and tiny figures such as frogs, bulls or tortoises were carved with minute detail in agate and similar stones."[20]

Writing in classifical times, Pliny (Natural History, XXXII, 38) refers to the use of a chilly frog against the chill of fever.[21] In Bohemia a frog charm is used against fever.[22]

In India at different archaelogical sites, such as Taxilā, Kauśāmbi, Madhurī, Sāmbhar etc. frog-shaped beads have been found. Dr. Moreshwar Diksit[23] has discussed a good number of frog-shaped beads found at various archaelogical sites.

In Bharat Kala Bhavan we have eight frog-shaped beads made of carnelian, amethyst and clay etc., These beads may be sub-divided into three groups on the basis of their material.

(1) Well polished, slightly long, carnelian figures from Kauśāmbi: From their stretched back, it is clear that they are about to jump.

Fig. 651, no. 4 of red colour, pl. W(D) and fig. 651 no. 5 are deep red in colour and have a pointed face and protruding eyes.

(2) Two amethyst figures:

Fig. 651, no. 6 hails from Kauśāmbi, fig. 651 no. 7 and pl. W(E) are carved very artistically with incised lines on the body. The perforation goes from front to back.

(3) Clay Figures:

Pl. X(H) is a light slate-coloured example from Kauśāmbi. The seated figure is shown on a rounded pedestal decorated with a beaded string. The head is raised slightly upwards and the hind legs are quite visible.

Fig. 651, no. 8 is black in colour and is from Kauśāmbi. The surface of the figure is well polished and the head is slightly round. The perforation goes from front to back.

Bull:

The significance of the bull is not difficult to determine. In a Buddhist context it may stand for the asterism Tauras, under which the Buddha was born. As the vehicle *(vāhana)* of Śiva, it is well known to the Brāhmaṇic faith. The bull as a symbol of virility is referred to in early Vedic literature.

Outside India, the bull's head as an amulet is used in Egypt; Gordon Childe gives S.D. 46 as the date for the earliest examples.[24]

Except for one example, the present bull-shaped beads depict standing humped bull figures and are made of various materials. Generally, the figures have a perforation above the front legs. The agate figures are full of life and seem more natural than those made from carnelian. A peculiar feature common to all these beads that the ears and the horns have been carved as one unit so that it is not possible to recognize either one. There is no indication of dewlap.

Pl. W(J) is of red stone with white spots. This bead is a seated *nandī* figure on a base with a thick garland around its neck. The posture of the *nandī* is quite like the *nandīs* placed before Śiva temples, however the face is not natural, and only the modelling of the head differs. The figure is perforated under the belly and possibly belongs to the Kushāṇa period.

[13] *Atharva-Veda*, 1, 22
[14] On Punch marked coins the frog is very familiar symbol, cf. Allan, C.T.C.B.M., *Ancient India*, pp. XXX, LXVI, 27, 29, 74, 78
[15] Petrie, W.M.F., *Amulets*, p. 12
[16] Class 4 in corpus of Egyptian amulets, described by Bruton, *Qan and Badari*, II, p. 11
[17] H.C. Beck, Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants, *Archaeologia*, LXXVII, p. 38, fig. 31, A. 3
[18] Ghirshman, *Fouiles . . .* pl. 24, Glass paste pendant from Tomb no. 89
[19] Wooley, *The Royal cemetary* pl. 142—(no. U. 10008)
[20] Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*, p. 265
[21] Cited by Beck, *Beads from Taxilā*, M.A.S.I., p. 19
[22] S.B.E., *op. cit.*, p. 567-568
[23] 'Notes on some Indian Amulets', *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, pp. 185-92, no. 2
[24] Childe, V. Gordon, *New light on the most Ancient East*, p. 71

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Pl. X Beads

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Fig. 651, no. 9 is of red-coloured stone with white lines in it, no. 10 and pl. W(F) are of deep red carnelian.

These three figures come from Kauśāmbi and have an unusually long face. Amongst the banded agate examples, pl. X(I) is full of life, while the hump in fig. 652 no. 6, example from Kauśāmbi, is clearly shown, but poorly modelled. Fig. 651, no. 11 made of the same material, is the only example in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection that seems to resemble the traditional depictions of this animal in Indian art. Great stress is laid upon the sweeping curve that runs between hump and dewlap. The material has been used to emphasize the animals majesty and power. The bead's unbroken, gliding outline moves smoothly towards the delicately rendered tail. Though the head is missing, we feel the full impact of this animal, whose form is reminiscent of bull—seals from Mohenjadaro or the Aśokan bull capital.

Elephant:

The elephant which embodies both strength and restraint, is closely associated with water cosmology. It stands for the four quarters (Aśokan pillars) and symbolises clouds and rains. As such, in early times the elephant became the vehicle for *yaksha* and *yakshis* and for Indra. The elephant associated with a deity and sporting in the lotus-pool is a common theme in such early Buddhist railings as the one from Bharhut, where the symbolical content of birth and regeneration is very clear. The ideas of birth and regeneration are also a part of the theme of *Gajalakshmī* a very ancient motif that appears frequently on terracottas, seals and in the early reliefs of Bharhut, Sāñchī, Bodhagayā and Orissā.

Surprisingly none of these elephant figures attain the high standards of execution for which Indian representations of animals are known. We have a very abstract example and even where sophisticated modelling has been attempted, the elephants subtle grace in power, does not come to life in our examples.

The elephant-shaped amulets or beads are very rare. Most of them are from various North Indian archaeological sites and are preserved in private and public collections.

Only four examples may be found in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. Pl. Y(D) is a standing elephant figure of crystal; its front portion is ornamented and a string is carved around the neck; the back is plain and well-polished. The figure looks like a wooden toy. The figure's legs and one tusk are broken. The perforation goes through the back portion.

Fig. 651, no. 12 is also a standing elephant. It has a perforation in the middle which badly effects the figure's modelling. The legs and the trunk have been rendered as curves of equal size. There is a hump-like protuberance which makes the figure lifeless. The figure has some black lines and spots on its surface; most probably it was painted black, but at present it is grey.

Carnelian figure of pl. W(I) is an unusually modelled standing elephant that has a projection on its head. Its back is rendered as a straight line without any curve. The upper portion of the body is red, while the lower is white. The perforation is not complete.

Lion:

The lion not only symbolises power, but at sites with Buddhist associations it also stands for the Buddha, the lion of Śākya race (Śākya-Siṁha). It is also an animal connected with Śiva-Pārvatī.

The Indian specimens generally show the full figure of the lion but in foreign countries, the lion's head is also seen. In Egypt both these types occur in the VI—XIth dynasties.[25] A lion-shaped amulet of lapis-lazuli was found in Queen Shub-ad's grave at Ur in Mesopotamia.[26] A necklace was excavated at Ur, which is made of finely designed lion head pendants decorated with granulated work.

The Indian examples are generally dated between the third century B.C. and about 2nd cent. A.D. It is noteworthy that except for a small amulet from Nasik (1950 excavation) the lion beads rarely appear in South India. The Nasik specimen belongs to the Sātavahāna period; it is a good example made of clear transparent glass.

The present specimens of lion-shaped beads fall into two major groups:

(1) polished carnelian and garnet, seated lion figures.

(2) ornamentally treated lion busts. The lion's back portion seems to consist of a kind of bundled hair. It has neither the body nor the wing that appears in lion figures of the Śunga-period. Of these three, one has a definite lion's head whereas the other two seem more like tiger's head.

Pl. W(K) of deep red carnelian, fig. 651 no. 13 of red carnelian from Kauśāmbi, and fig. 651, no. 14 of garnet, have slightly long faces. The body is rendered in smooth and melted planes over a tight surface. A

[25] Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, Corpus of Beads and Amulets, type 15, p. 10, Pl. XCV; Beck, in *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII, p. 36 (XXVTH DYN)

[26] Wooley, *The Royal Cemetary*, Pl. 142

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belt is tied on the back legs. The figures are perforated from front to back.

Pl. Y(G) and fig. 651, no. 15 from Kauśāmbi are seated figures made of black clay and carved from the front. The back portion is decorated with beaded strings and lines. The face of no. 15 is possibly that of a tiger's and full of force and power in comparison to pl. Y(G). Both beads have perforations above the front legs.

Pl. X(F) is of white clay. To some extent, it is similar to no. 15 of fig. 651 but it is not as forceful. Fig. 652, no. 7 made of white stone and coming from Kauśāmbi, is a seated figure modelled in a very abstract manner. The legs, eyes, mouth and tail are rendered by incisions.

Apart from these examples, we have one more standing figure, fig. 651, no. 16 made of red carnelian from Kauśāmbi carved into a round stone and has a long curved tail. It has perforation but originally is intended as a mould.

Dog:

The dog, usually associated with Bhairava as his *vāhana*, is not a very common figure for beads. However, the dog-shaped beads that have been found are very interesting. Generally, the dog is represented in a running position, and has pointed ears and a long face.

In Bharat Kala Bhavan we have several dog-shaped beads carved out of stone. There are no examples in clay.

Pl. X(B), made of stone, is a figure of a running dog with a hare in its mouth. The figure shows the dog's essential nature by depicting its straight ears. The dog's back is decorated with two rows of small dots that run upto the tail and a rope or a plain string around its neck. The figure is nearly complete except for its tail which is broken and has a double perforation. The hare's face and rear portions are quite visible as they hang out of the dog's mouth. The face is quite long. Stylistically, the figure may be placed in the Kushāṇa period.

Fig. 655, stone no. 1, from Kauśāmbi and no. 2 of earthen coloured stone are similar in modelling, though the legs and rear portions are missing in no. 1. Pl. X(A) possibly made of clay, fig. 652, no. 8 made of light red carnelian, both from Kauśāmbi as well as fig. 651, no. 17 of red carnelian and fig. 651, no. 18, of red carnelian or agate with white bands, may all be classified under the same category on the basis of their modelling (though they differ in material and size). All of these examples are of the running type and have long pointed faces (except one which has short face fig. 651, no. 18). Fig. 651, no. 18 and pl. X(A) have curved tails while fig. 652, no. 8 has a straight tail. Pl. W(G) is a standing dog of red carnelian with a pointed face and long straight ears. Fig. 651, made of banded agate no. 19 is a running dog with a small face.

Fig. 652, no. 9 of banded agate is the only example of a standing dog with a short face and straight front legs. The back portion is missing.

Deer:

The deer is the most gentle of all animals. It's nature suggests child-like innocence and it is ever regarded with tender affection by sages who have no longing for any belongings in the world. The deer is also a symbol of auspiciousness and holiness. Sages, as depicted in several early sculptures, and described in passages from the *Yajurveda* and later literature, wear the sacred thread, which is composed of the skin of the black buck as *ajina-yajñopavīta*. The *yajñopavīta* is particularly sacred even when performing the most rigorous sacrifices. In fact Brahmā wears *ajina-yajñopavīta* composed of the deer skin.

In the earthen-coloured stone bead Pl. X(D), the execution of the left horn is quite beautiful, although the right horn and left leg are broken and the body is not as natural as it should be. It has double perforation in the middle of the body.

Rat:

Pl. Y(F) is a beautiful seated rat of lapis-lazuli on a base without any perforation.

There are certain other animals represented that do not have any particular association with Indian mythology or cult.

Squirrel:

There is a seated ivory squirrel figure from Rājghāt in the Kala Bhavan collection which displays the essential nature of the squirrel in its pose. It is perforated in the middle of the body pl. X(G).

Scorpion:

The scorpion is represented by a few examples. The exact purpose of the scorpion-shaped beads is not known, but apparently they seem to have been regarded as a cure against scorpion's bite. We have examples of scorpion beads from[27] Taxilā, and Kośam. In Egypt scorpion-shaped beads were quite common.

Fig. 652, crystal no. 10 from Kauśāmbi; though the pincers are missing, the animal is easily identified by

[27] Marshall, *Taxilā*, II, p. 748

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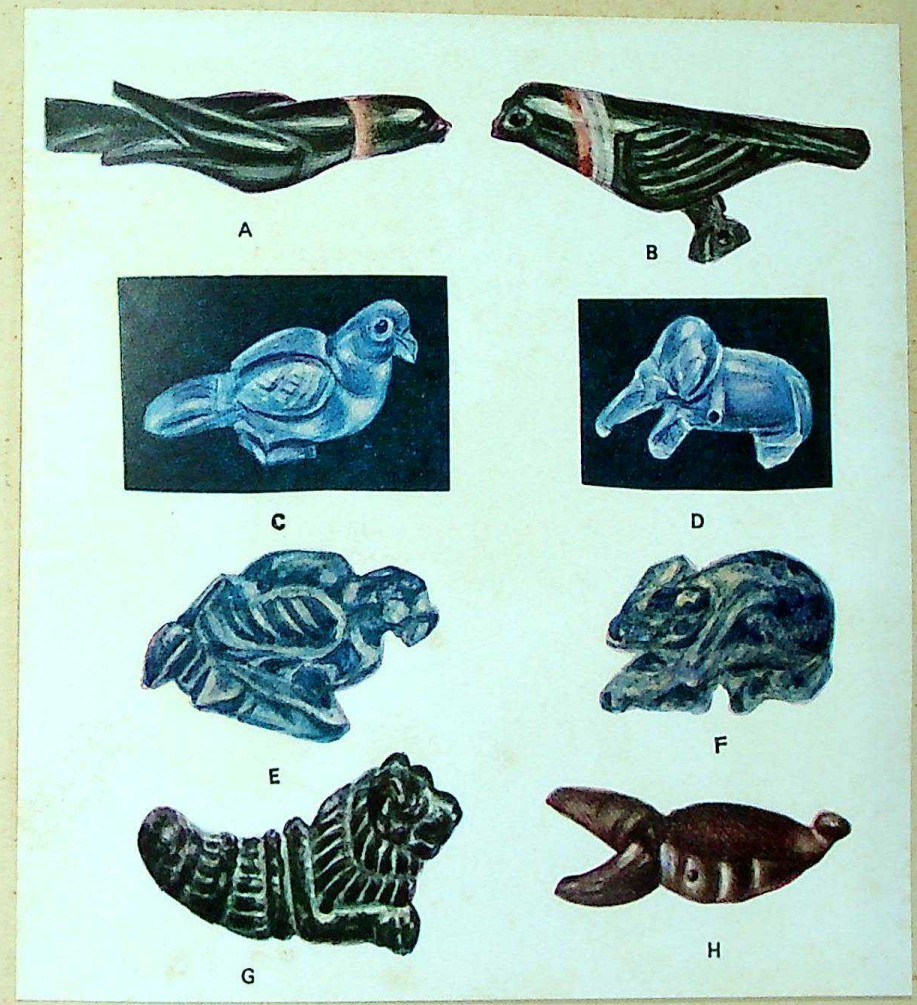

Pl. Y Beads

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the faithful rendering of some tight back lines crossing it, and by its long tail. The perforation goes from front to back. Pl. Y(H) is a black coloured clay scorpion. It is shown walking and has small curves on its sides. This bead possesses a certain folkish quality that gives it great aesthetic power.

Rhinoceros:

Fig. 652, no. 14 made of crystal, is a standing figure with a huge body. Its shape is naturalistic and its head is missing. A belt is tied on its back. It has a tail and perforation above the front legs.

Bird-Shaped Beads:

Like the animal beads referred to above, several types of birds are also represented in Indian beads. They are generally better executed than the animal beads, and the material from which they are made is well selected. With the exception of a few, the birds represented are conventional and can not be said to depict any particular species. These beads are, therefore, classified here only in a general way; precise identification of species is given only when possible and beyond doubt.

Bird-shaped beads or pendants are unknown to the Harappan culture, the earliest known Indian specimens—two fine carnelian beads shaped like birds—were found in the relic casket of the Piprawāh Stūpa[28] which is supposed to have enshrined the corporeal relics of the Buddha himself. They are perforated near the legs so that the birds would hang upside down when worn in a necklace (which is the case with nearly all bird beads). At Taxilā, eight specimens have been found,[29] seven of which are illustrated by Beck in his Memoir on the beads from Taxila.[30] One of them shows a bird perched on a conventional tree,[31] and the rest are identified as a crow, a duck and a cock. The crow-shaped bead is an exquisite specimen of art for the lapidary chose a very suitable material and the bands of the agate almost follow the natural colours. Marshall[32] has very suggestively described that the artist in making it, "had only his art in mind".

Bird-shaped beads have been found at various archaeological sites. For example, from Baoti Pind Cunningham has reported a crystal bead, shaped like the *haṁsa*.[33] At Mainkyala,[34] one carnelian cock-shaped bead was discovered. Gordon found three bird-shaped amulets at Taxilā. One of them, which is definitely a hawk, is made of lapis-lazuli.

In the excavation of Sahet-Mahet,[35] six carnelian beads, shaped like birds were found in the relic casket of *stūpa* no. 18. A jade bead showing a perching bird comes from Rājghāt and is now preserved in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi. A few bird amulets from Madhurī and one conventional bird-shaped bead of blue-green glass from Kośam are preserved in the Allahabad Museum.

As pointed out earlier, the exact identification of the birds represented by these beads presents some difficulty. The appearance of birds in *stūpa* reliquaries probably indicates that they had something to do with Buddhism, but at present no text prescribing the use of such beads has been found. The rest of the specimens seem to have been made to suit the lapidaries fancy or the taste of the customers.

The association of birds and animals with the nude mother Goddess represented on small discs discovered at Taxilā, Kośam, Saṅkīsā, Basārh, Rājghāt and Patna is evident. The discovery of discs from Murtiganj ward of Patna throws fresh light on the cult of the mother goddess. On these discs, the mother Goddess is associated with the winged lion, elephant, horse, antelope, deer, stag, dog, boar, goat, rhinoceros, goose, crane, parrot, peacock, cock, etc.

In Bharat Kala Bhavan collection we have several different bird-shaped beads.

Pigeon:

Pl. Y(C) is a sitting pigeon of crystal having the neck turned to one side. The wings of the bird are decorated with a check design. The figure is carved artistically. Its feet are broken and no perforation is made.

Cock:

As a symbol of daring fight, the cock is usually closely hugged or held in the hand of Skanda; it also appears as an emblem on his banner. The cock *(kukkuṭa)* is always a sun bird and is a gift to Skanda.[36] But Dikshit

[28] JRAS, 1898, p. 689
[29] Marshall, *Taxilā*, II, p. 748; Beck, *op. cit.*, p. 18
[30] Beck, *ibid.*, Pl. VII, figs. 14-20
[31] Beck, *ibid.*, Pl. VII, fig. 14
[32] Marshall, *Taxilā*, II, p. 149
[33] Cunningham, A.S.R., II, p. 142
[34] *ibid.*, XIV, Pl. IV, 9
[35] A.S.I., A. R., 1910-11, p. 15, Pl. XII, a, b
[36] E.W. Hopkins, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 228

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points out that in the *Matsya-Purāṇa, kukkuṭī* is the epithet of the Goddess herself.[37]

In fig. 651, no. 20, the head is missing and its long tail is shown pointing down. The perforation goes from front to back. Fig. 651, no. 21 is made of dark blue coloured glass and comes from Kauśāmbī. Only half of its wings, which are delineated by raised lines, and the front portion of the body are visible. The back is broken. The cock has a crest on its head which is quite visible. The figure is perforated. Fig. 651, no. 22 of carnelian is decorated with incised lines. The crest of the figure is broken. The perforation appears near the beak.

Crow:

Sir R.G. Bhandarker[38] draws our attention to a passage in the Buddhist work 'Niddesa' in which the crow has been described as the deity of some people. Hopkins[39] points out that *kākī* (crow) is one of the seven forms of the terrible mother (*Halimā, Mālinī, Āryā, Palāta* mother and *Vaimitra*) who is the mother of Skanda Kārttikeya. Again *Dharma* (Yama) sometimes assumes the form of a crow.[40] Thus, the crow is considered to be a highly inauspicious bird, symbolic of bad luck and famine. It is also an emblem of the God of evil, *Śanaiśchara,* who has one lame leg, is dark of complexion (like the crow) and slow in movement.

Pl. Y(A) of agate, every part of the crow has been executed clearly. The figure has a grey line around its neck which makes it seem quite naturalistic. The modelling of the figure reveals the artist's good knowledge of a bird's body. The feet, a small portion of the tail, and the beak are broken.

Pl. Y(B) and fig. 651, no. 23 of agate to some extent are similar to the above example. Pl. Y(B) has double lines on the neck. The wings of both figures indicated by incised lines. A small portion of the beak and tail are broken. The perforation is on the feet.

Fig. 651, agate no. 24 is a crow head with a naturalistic, long beak and visible eyes.

Parrot:

The parrot is sacred to Kāmadeva.[41] It is also the pet bird of *yakshiṇis* and sometimes is considered to be a form of the nymphs *(apsarās),*[42] who are also connected with sensual love.

Pl. Y(E) of lapis-lazuli, is a seated parrot on a base with a pointed beak and incised lines on its wings. With its bent tail and heavy body, it is a rather unusual depiction of a parrot.

Duck:

Fig. 651, no. 25, made of mud-coloured stone, is possibly a swimming duck. The lower portion of the figure is broken. Fig. 652, no. 11 of light blue-green glass, is possibly a duck. The figure is very simple and complete, perforated from the middle. The same type of figure has been found at Kośam.

Fig. 652, no. 12 is similar to the above figure, but its back is more pointed. Fig. 651 no. 26 made of carnelian and coming from Kauśāmbī, is possibly a goose neck. The lower portion of the neck is red and the head is white with a reddish tinge. Fig. 651, no. 23 carved from agate, is a very beautiful figure of a black bird that amply displays the artist's skill. Its wings are shown very clearly with incised lines. The tail is broken and the perforation goes above the feet.

There are a few unknown birds which are simply carved. Fig. 651, no. 27 is made of banded agate, and comes from Kauśāmbī. Its back portion is broken.

Pl. W(H) carved from mud-coloured stone, is a bird with a small face and beak, incised lines on its wings, and a pointed tail. Fig. 651, no. 28 is made of carnelian, half of the figure's front portion is white and the back is red. The perforation appears on the feet, incised lines are shown on the wings.

Fig. 651, no. 29 made of clay, is a broken bird with black polish. Fig. 652, no. 13 is carved from banded agate; and fig. 651, no. 30 is a mud-coloured bird figure with incised lines for its wings.

Note: I am grateful to Shri Karnaman Singh for preparing the colour representations of beads.

[37] S.K. Dikshit, *The Mother Goddess,* p. 209
[38] R.G., Bhandarker, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious systems,* 1965, p. 3
[39] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* p. 229
[40] *ibid.,* p. 229
[41] E.G., Hopkins, the *Religions of India,* p. 446
[42] Hopkins, E.W. *Epic Mythology,* p. 163

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Fig. 1a Obverse

Fig. 1b Reverse

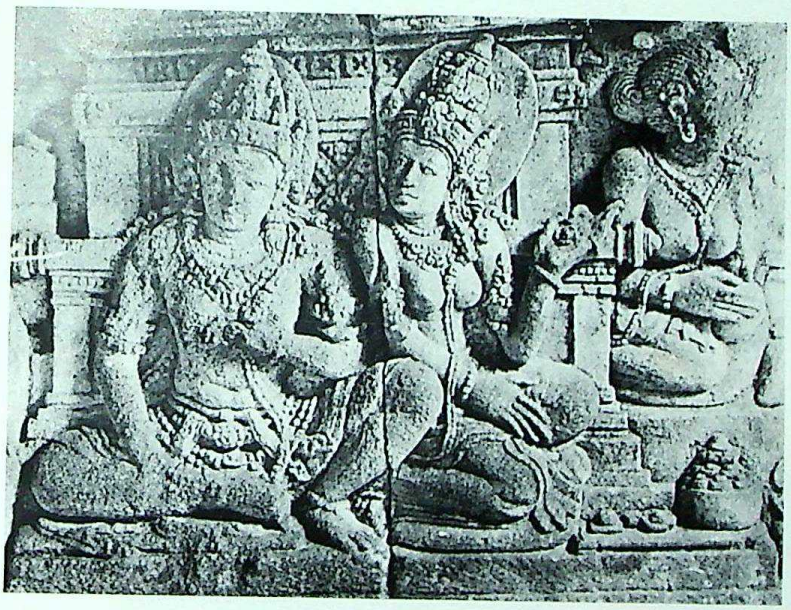

Fig. 2

1a-1b Gold coin Kumāragupta I, elephant-rider (p. 1)
2 Rāmāyaṇa panel, Prambanan (p. 4)
3a Rāma, Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr (p. 4)
3b Detail of fig. 3a (p. 4)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 2-3 Archaeological Survey of India
4 Author

Fig. 3a

Fig. 3b

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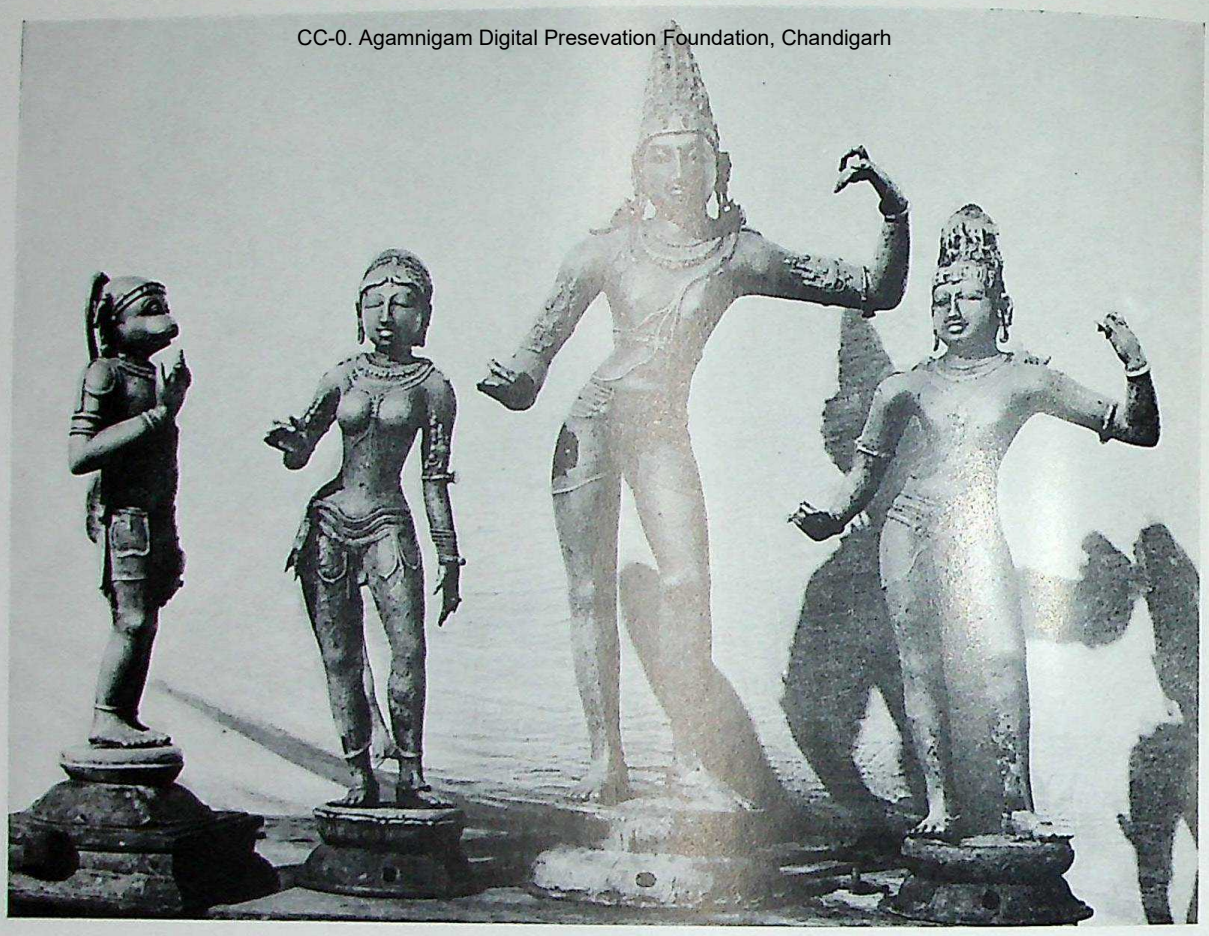

Fig. 4 Rāma group, Paruttiyūr (p. 4)

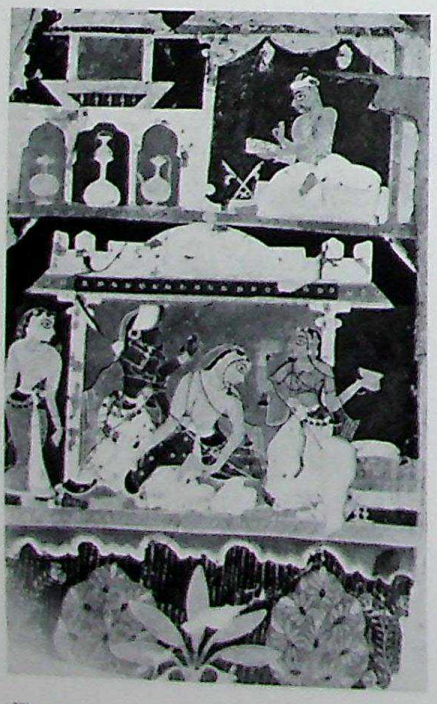

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

5-6 Scenes from the *Laur-Chandā* (pp. 7-8)

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Fig. 7

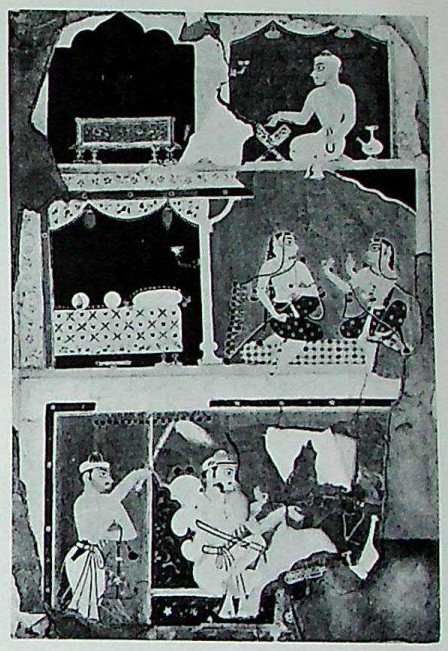

Fig. 8

7-10 Scenes from the *Laur-Chandā* (p. 8)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 5-10 Lahore Museum

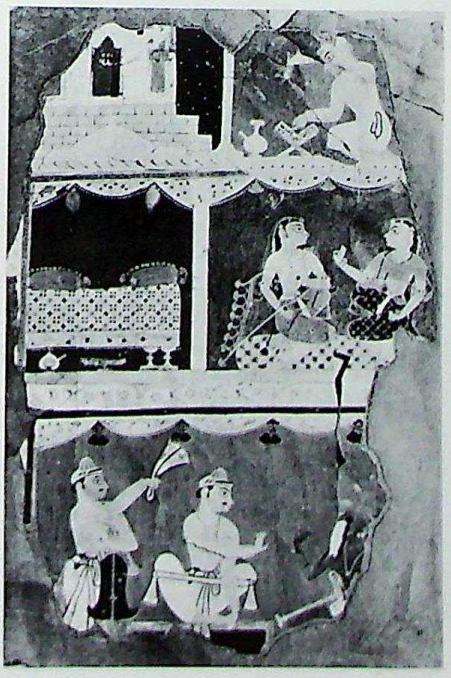

Fig. 9

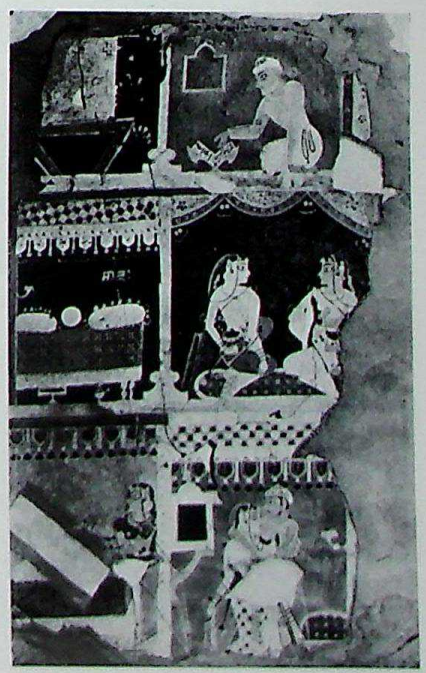

Fig. 10

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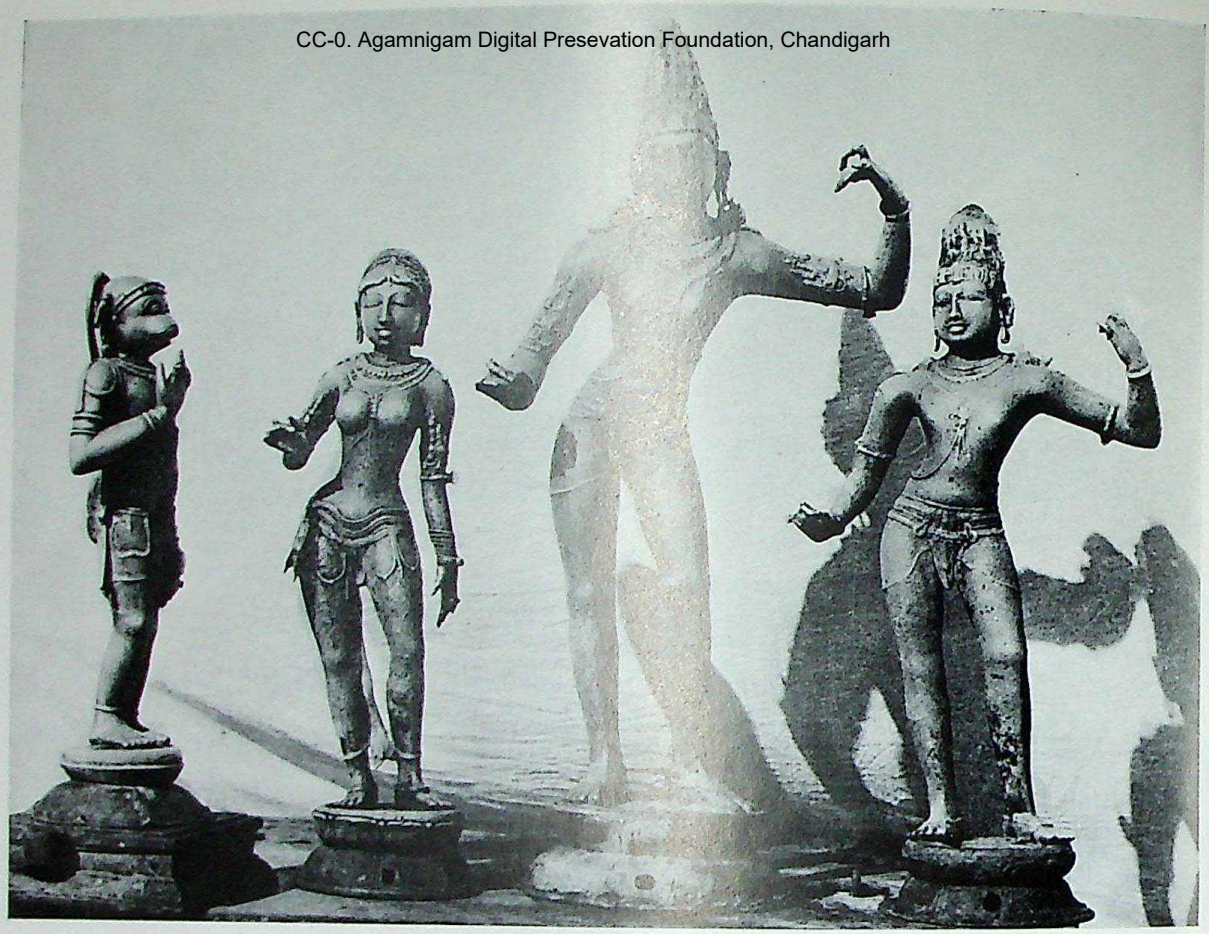

Fig. 4 Rāma group, Paruttiyūr (p. 4)

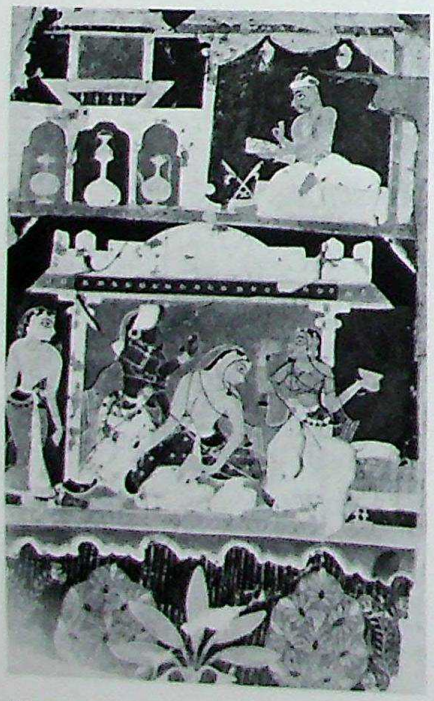

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

5-6 Scenes from the *Laur-Chandā* (pp. 7-8)

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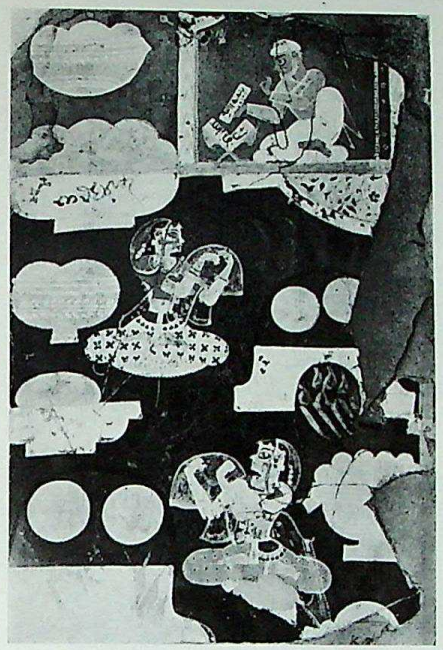

Fig. 7

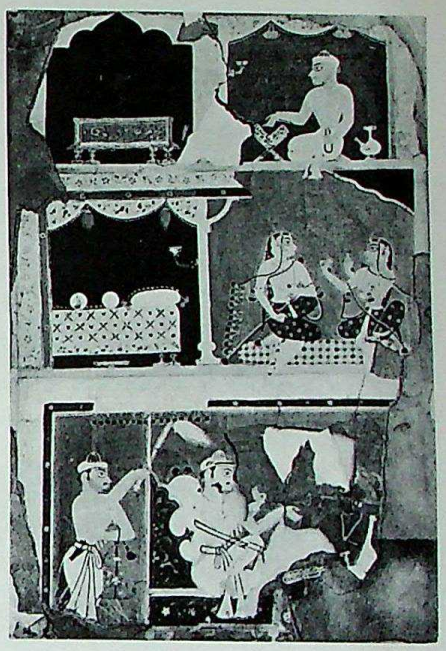

Fig. 8

7-10 Scenes from the *Laur-Chandā* (p. 8)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 5-10 Lahore Museum

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

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Fig. 11 Sūrpaṇakhā's misadventure (p. 11)

Fig. 12 Rāvaṇa at Sītā's door (p. 12)

Fig. 13 Rāma meets Hanūmān (p. 12)

11-16 *Rāmalīlā* Scenes, Nachnā

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Fig. 14 Vāli and Sugrīva in a mortal duel (p. 12)

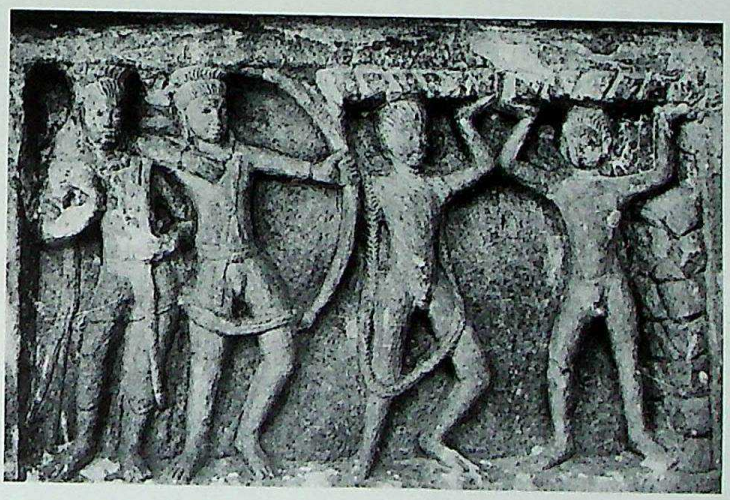

Fig. 15 Rāma kills Vāli (p. 12)

Fig. 16 Hanūmāna at Rāvaṇa's court (p. 13)

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Fig. 11 Sūrpaṇakhā's misadventure (p. 11)

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11-16 *Rāmalīlā* Scenes, Nachnā

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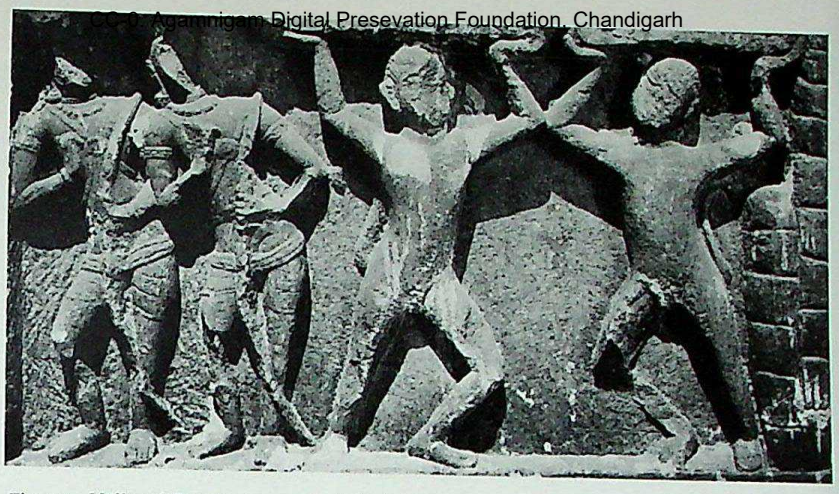

Fig. 14 Vāli and Sugrīva in a mortal duel (p. 12)

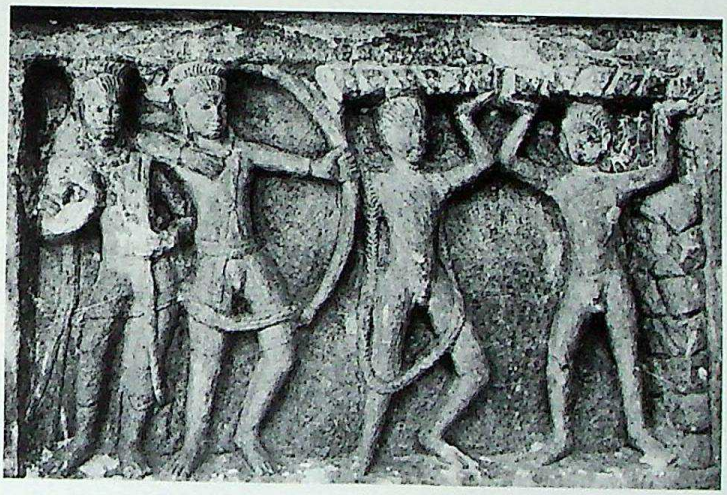

Fig. 15 Rāma kills Vāli (p. 12)

Fig. 16 Hanūmāna at Rāvaṇa's court (p. 13)

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Fig. 17

Fig. 18

17-18 Naṭarāja Vadakkalattur (p. 17)

Fig. 19 Naṭarāja, British Museum (p. 17)

Fig. 20 Naṭarāja, Punjai (p. 18)

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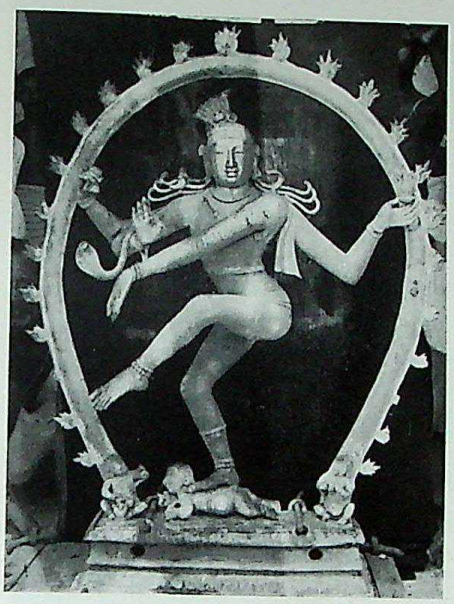

Fig. 21

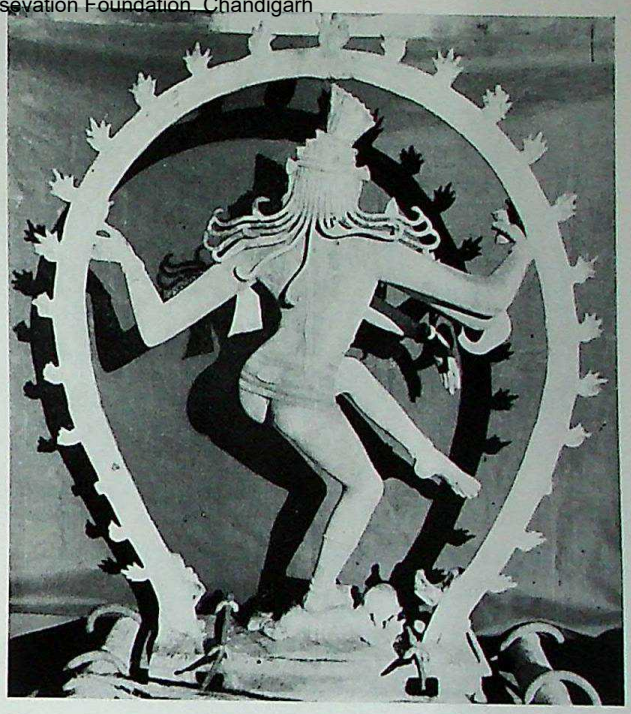

Fig. 22

21-22 Naṭarāja Sendalai (p. 19)

Fig. 23 Naṭarāja, Vijayanagara period, (p. 19)

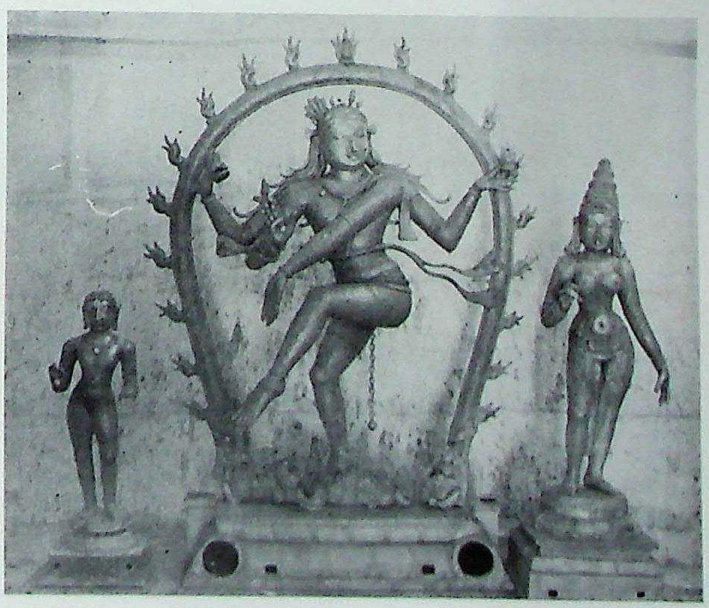

Fig. 24 Naṭarāja, Tiruvilakkudi (p. 19)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 17-24 Author

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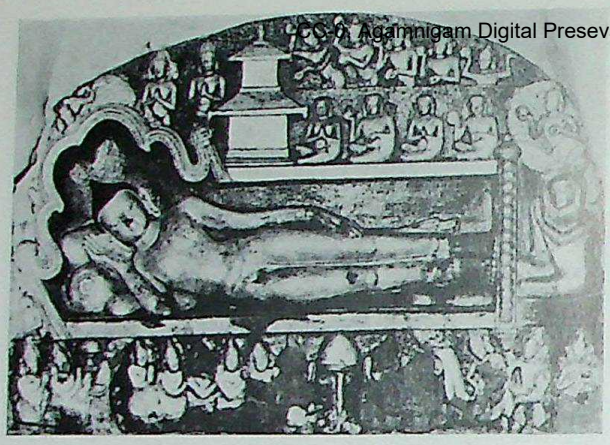

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

Fig. 28

25 The Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, North hall, Ānanda temple, Pagán (After Luce, Old Burma—Early Pagān, pl. 302d) (p. 22)

26 Plaque depicting the principal events in the life of the Buddha, pyrophyllite, Museum of Anthropology (17012), University of Michigan (p. 22)

27 Parinirvāṇa. From an Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, Bodeleian Library [Ms. Sansk. a.7(R), Oxford, *ca.* 1096 A.D. (p. 23)]

28 Parinirvāṇa. From an Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā manuscript, British Library (Or. 12461, f. 255), London, twelfth cent. (p. 23)

Fig. 27

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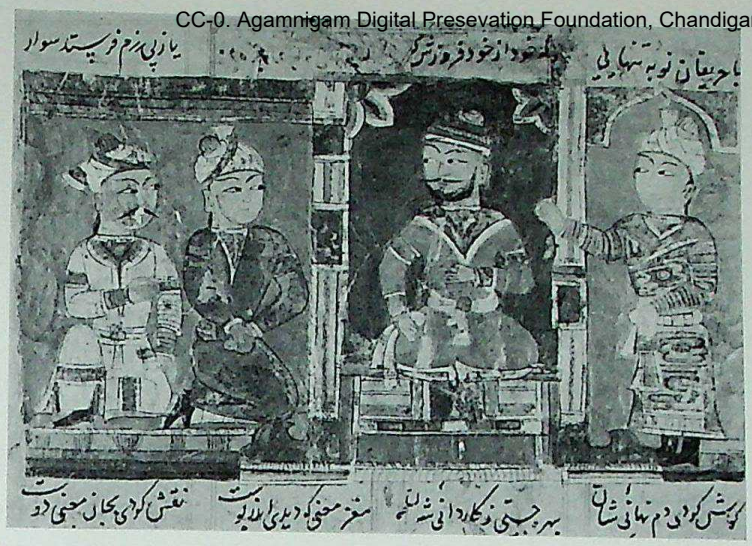

Fig. 29

29-31 Leaves from *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, fifteenth cent. (p. 26)

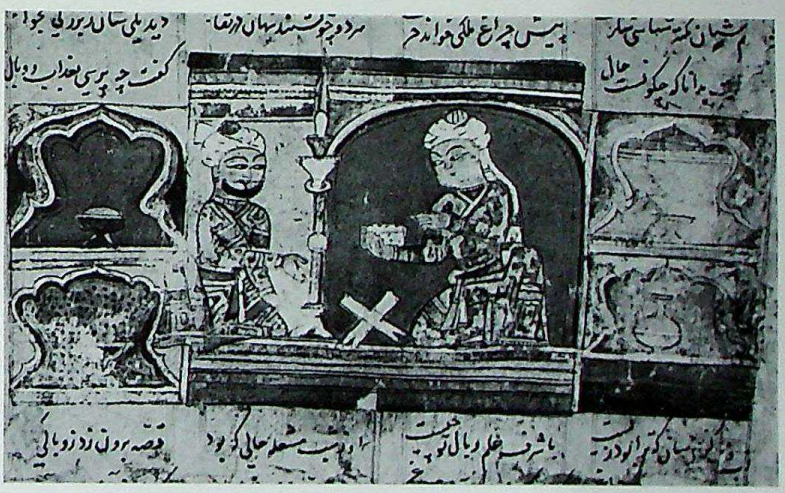

Fig. 30

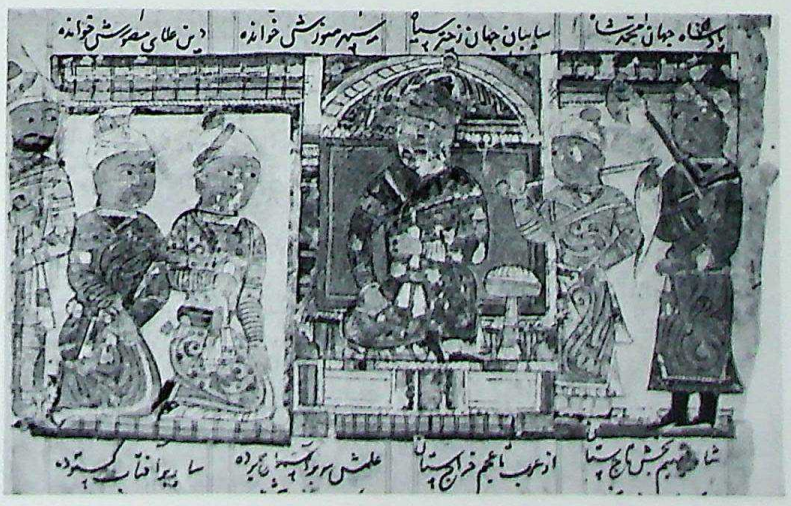

Fig. 31

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 29-54 Edwin Binney 3rd, owner

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Fig. 32

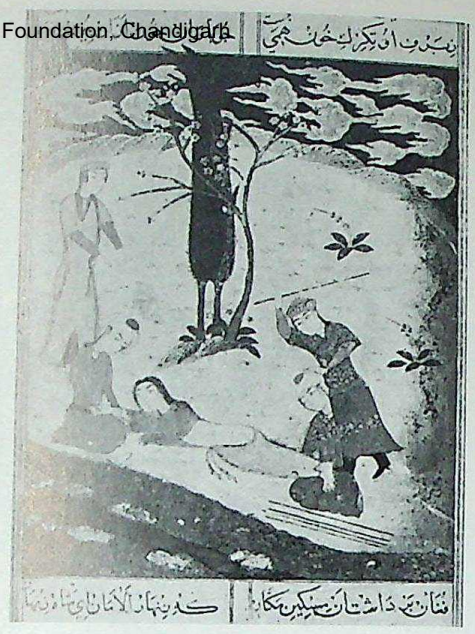

Fig. 33

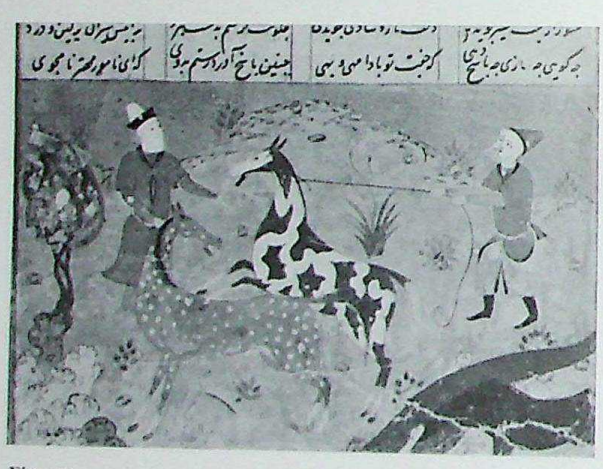

Fig. 35

32 *Shah-nama:* The Captive Isfandiyar . . . , second quarter of the fifteenth cent. (p. 27)

33-34 Scenes from *Khamsa* of Nizami.

33 A female slave being beaten . . . fifteenth cent., also see figs. 153 and 154 in *Chhavi*-1 (p. 27)

34 A couple in garden, fifteenth cent. (p. 27)

35 *Shah-nama:* Rustam catching Rakhsh, mid-sixteenth cent. (p. 27)

36 *Shah-nama:* Seige of Bahram's castle, fifteenth cent. (pp. 27 & 30)

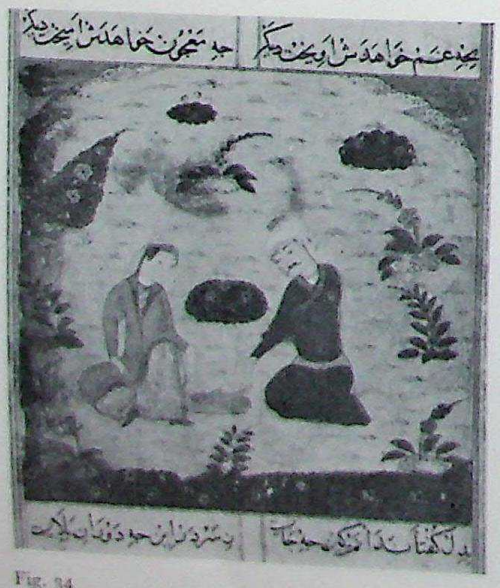

Fig. 34

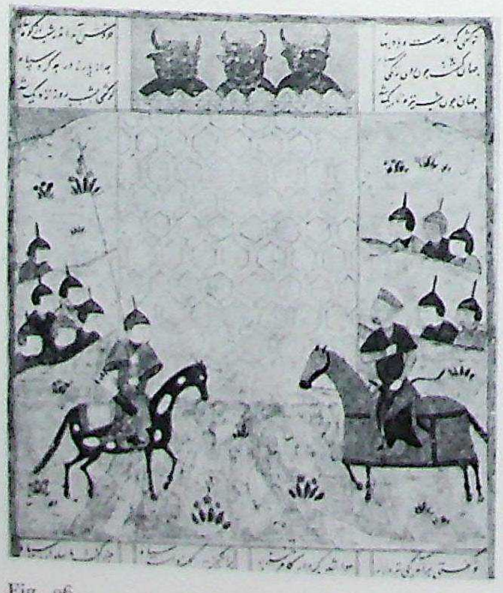

Fig. 36

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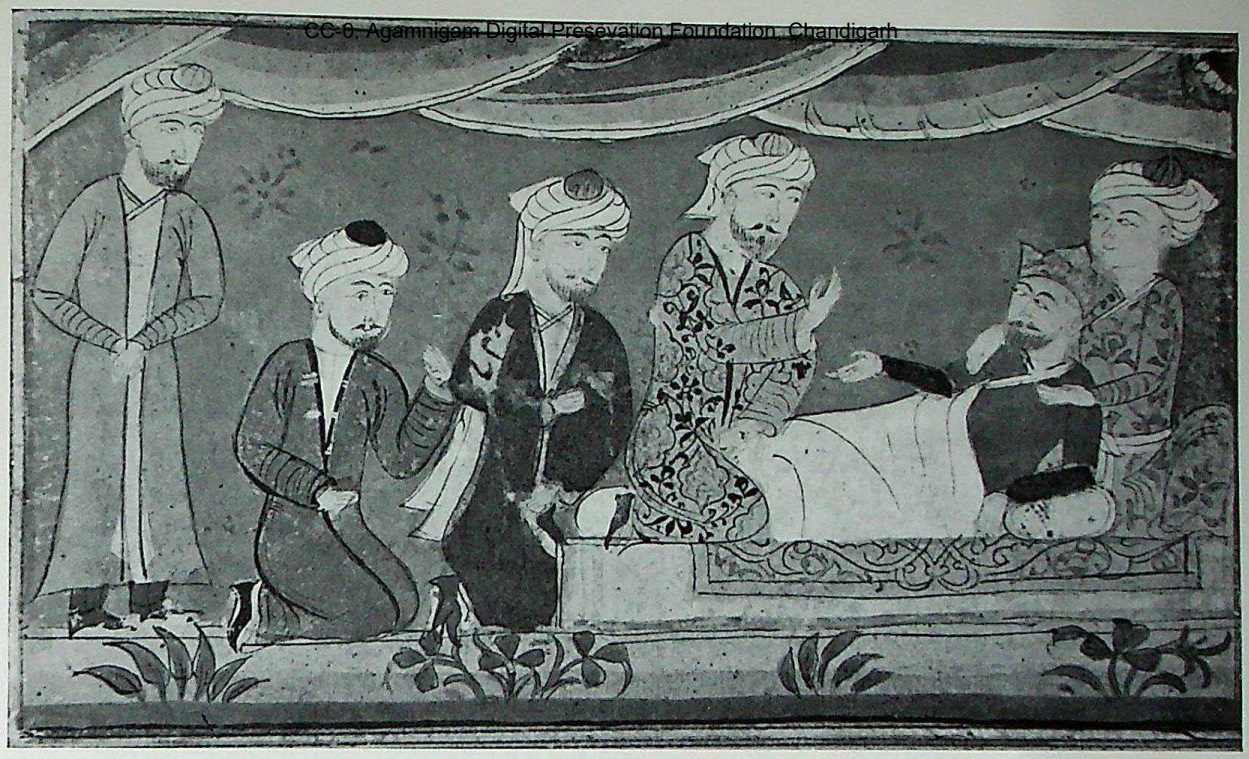

Fig. 37 *Khamsa* of Nizami *(Sikandar-nama):* doctor attends ailing monarch, early sixteenth cent. (p. 28)

Fig. 38 *Khamsa* of Nizami *Khusrau and Shirin:* Khusrau discovers Shirin in a pool, early sixteenth cent. (p. 28)

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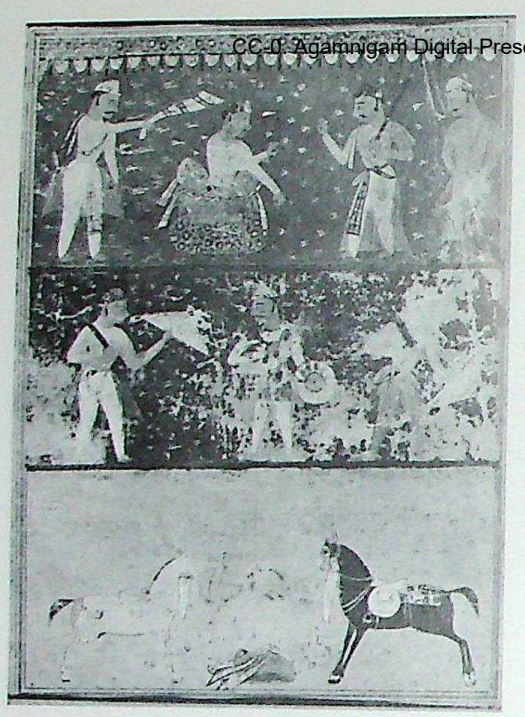

Fig. 39 Sahdev consulting Generals (p. 28)

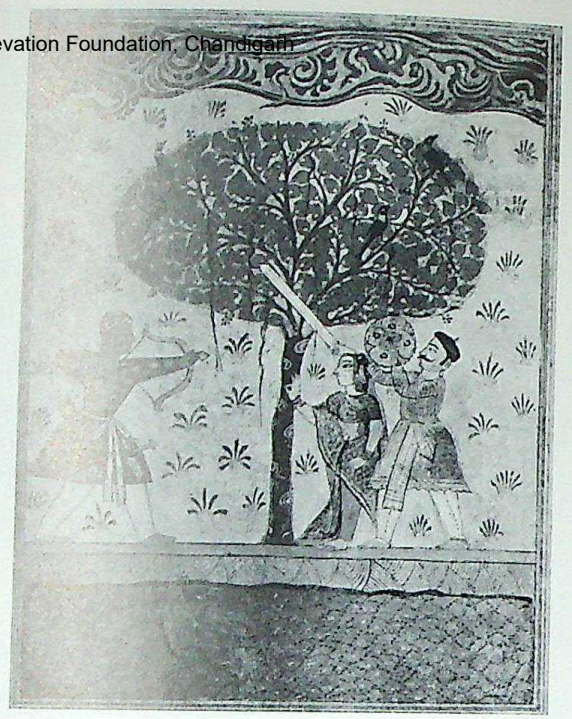

Fig. 40 Bāvana shoots the third arrow (p. 28)

39-40 Scenes from *Laur-Chandā*, early sixteenth cent.

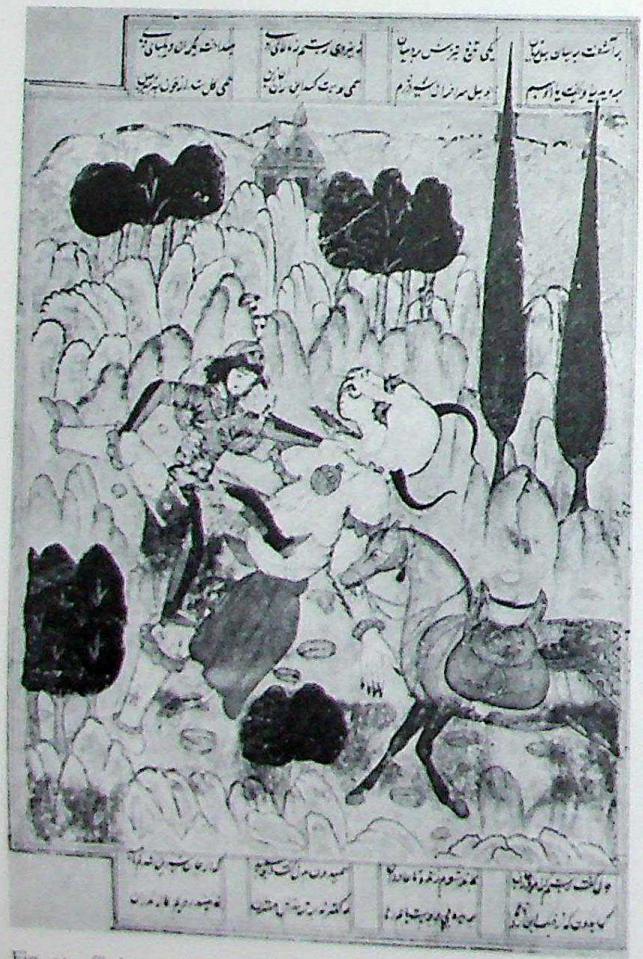

Fig. 41 *Shah-nama:* Rustam battling the White Div., early sixteenth cent. (p. 29)

Fig. 42 *Shah-nama:* A warrior slicing his unarmed opponent (p. 29)

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Fig. 43 *Shah-nama:* Rustam lassoing the Chaqan of Chin, early sixteenth cent. (p. 29)

Fig. 44 Monkey watches a turtle in the river, *Anwar-i-Suhayli,* sixteenth cent. (p. 29)

Fig. 45 The Rat approaches the Lion caught in a net, *Anwar-i-Suhayli,* sixteenth cent. (p. 29)

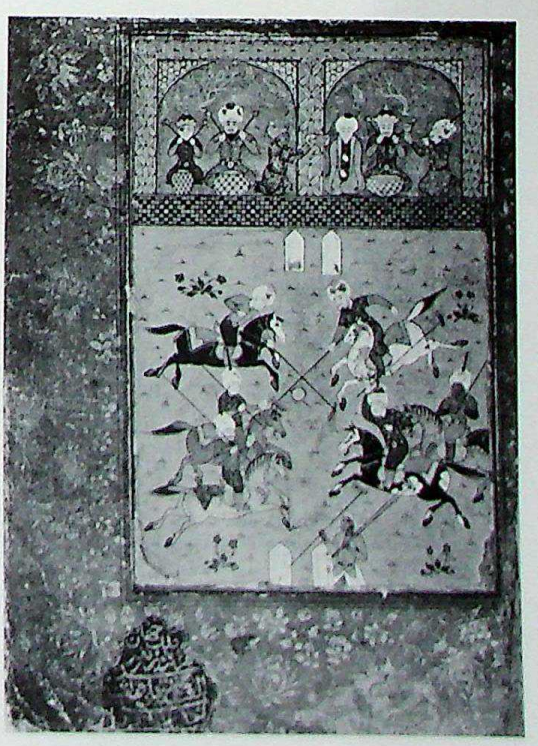

Fig. 46 Game of polo, Proto Deccani, sixteenth cent. (p. 30)

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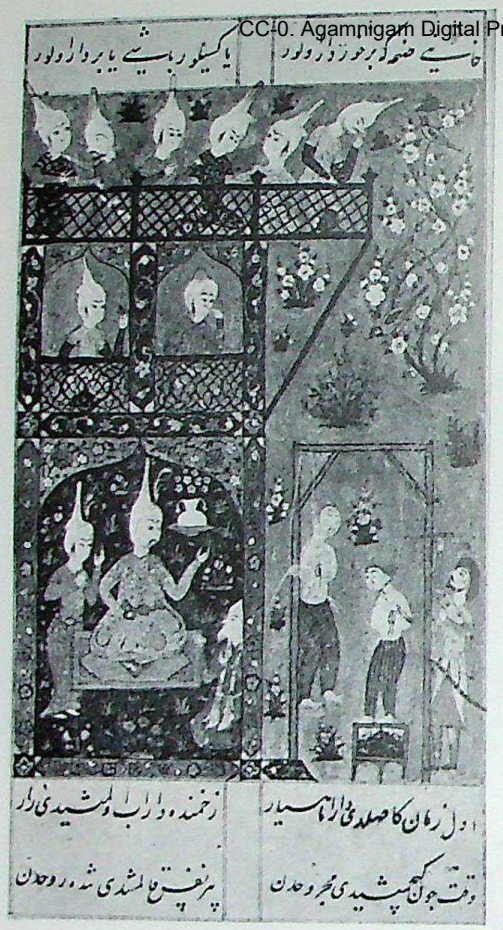

Fig. 47 Two criminals being hanged before a king, sixteenth cent. (p. 30)

Fig. 48 Moses with Aaron at Pharaoh's Court, *Qisas-al-Anbiya*, post-Sultanate (p. 30)

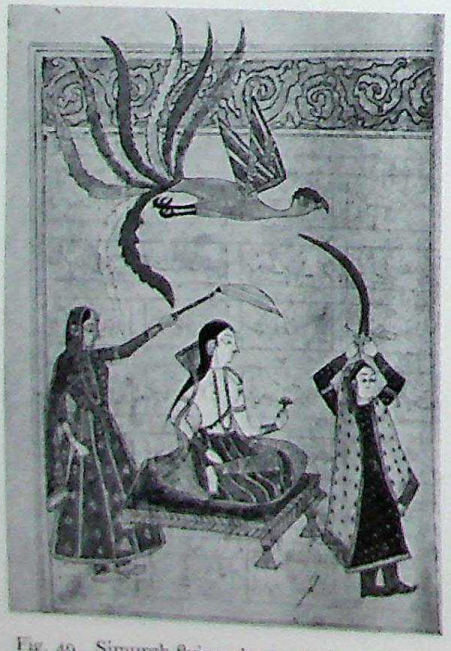

Fig. 49 Simurgh flying above a lady, unknown manuscript, post-Sultanate (p. 30)

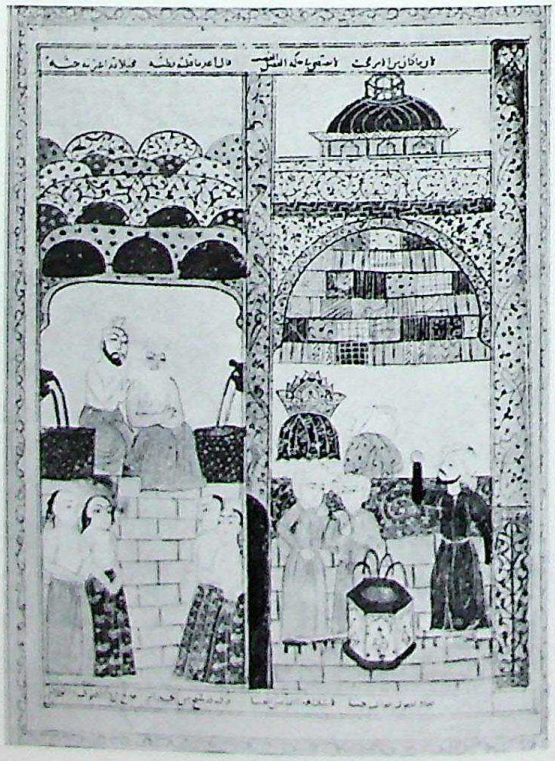

Fig. 50 The interior of a bath house, unknown manuscript, sixteenth cent. (p. 30)

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Fig. 51

51 Baker's shop, same manuscript, as no. 50 (p. 30)

52 People discussing religious text, same as no. 50 (p. 30)

53 Iskandar hunting expedition, a scene from *Shah-nama* (p. 31)

54 Rustam lassoing Chaqan of Chin, same as no. 53 (p. 31)

Fig. 53

Fig. 52

Fig. 54

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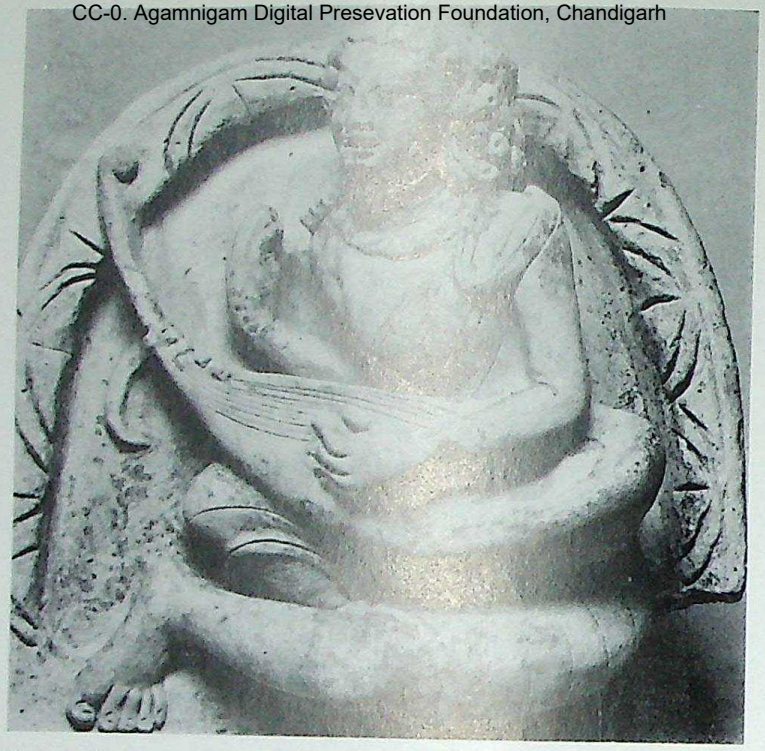

Fig. 55 Gandharva playing the harp, terracotta, Central India, fifth-sixth cent. (p. 32)

Fig. 56 Naṭeśa, Ellora Cave 21 (Rāmeśvara), late sixth cent. (p. 32)

Fig. 59 Tumburu-Vīṇādhara, Bāla-Brahmā temple, Ālampur, Chāḷukya, mid-seventh cent. (p. 33)

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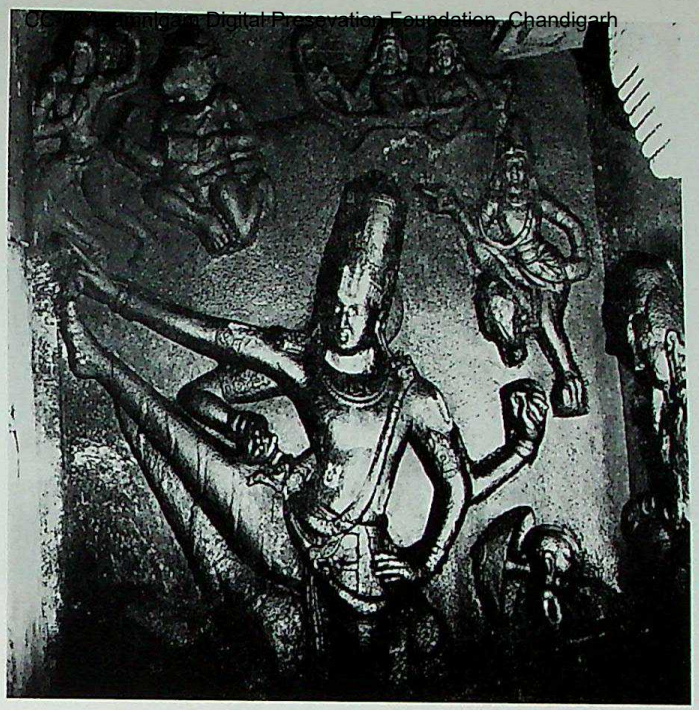

Fig. 57

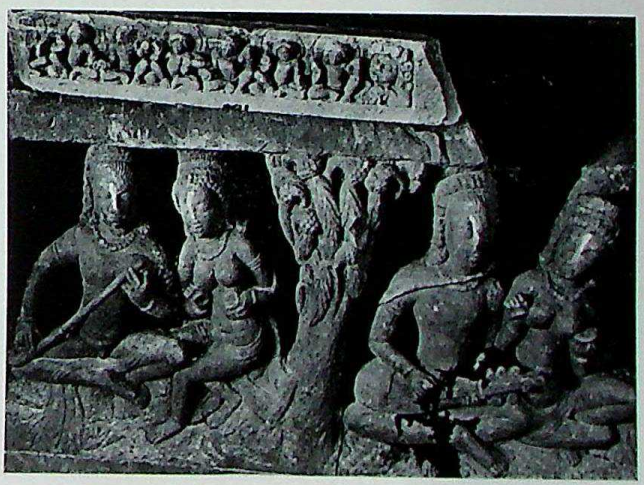

Fig. 58

57 Trivikrama, Raṅganātha cave-temple, Namakkal (Salem), Atiya, early eighth cent. (p. 32)

58 Gandharva couples, Pārvatī temple, Nāchnā-Kuṭharā, early sixth cent. (p. 33)

60 *Gaṇa* musicians, Vettuvankoil, Kalugumalai, Pāṇḍya, late eighth cent. (p. 34)

Courtesy:

Fig. 55 The British Museum

56-60 Aschwin de Lippe (copyright)

Fig. 60

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Fig. 61 Lord of the *Gaṇas*, Sarnath (p. 36)

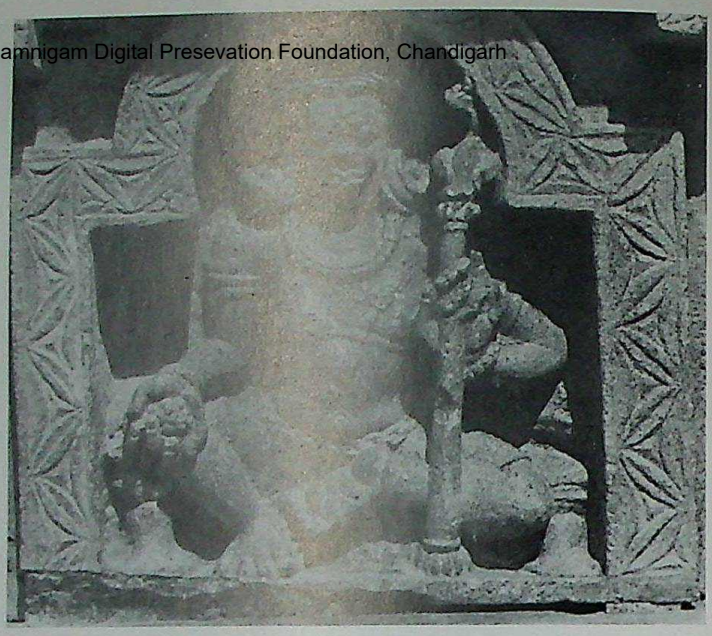

Fig. 62 Lord of the *Gaṇas*, Nalanda (p. 36)

Fig. 63

Fig. 64

63-64 Panels showing *Śrīvatsa* and *Triratna*, Sarnath (pp. 36-37)

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 61-64 Archaeological Survey of India

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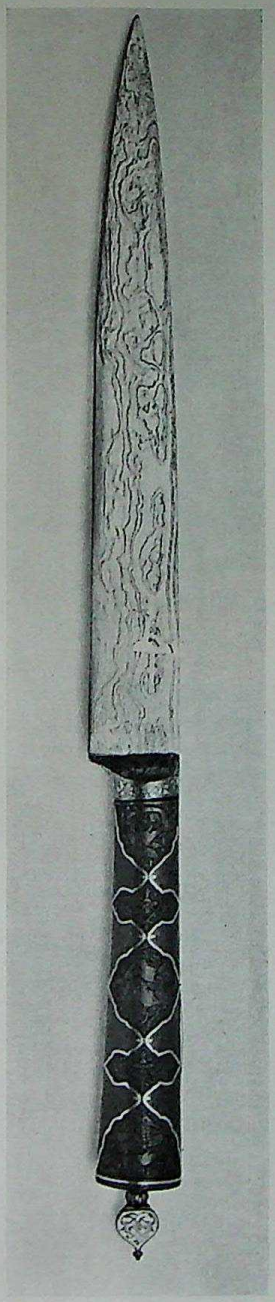

Fig. 65

Fig. 66

Fig. 68

Fig. 67

65-67 Jahāngīr's "Meteoritic" knives (acc. no. 55.27) (pp. 38-39)
Photos *courtesy:* Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (D.C.), owner

68 Knife, Mughal, early seventeenth cent., (p. 40)
courtesy: City Art Museum, St. Louis (Missouri), owner

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Fig. 69

Fig. 70

69 The judgment of Khusraü in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān: an illustration to the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* Mughal, Jahāngīr period *ca.* 1618 A.D. Raza Library, Rampur (p. 43)

70 Detail of fig. 69 (p. 43)

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Fig. 71 Inscription 1, Chār-Chomā (p. 47)

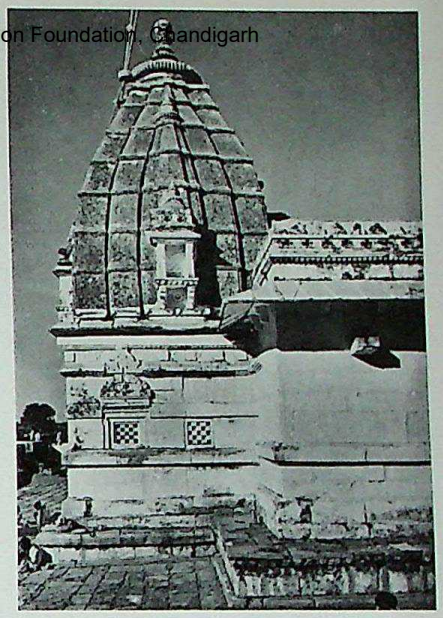

Fig. 74 Chār-Chomā, shrine from south, (photo AIIS, Varanasi, 89-26) (p. 48)

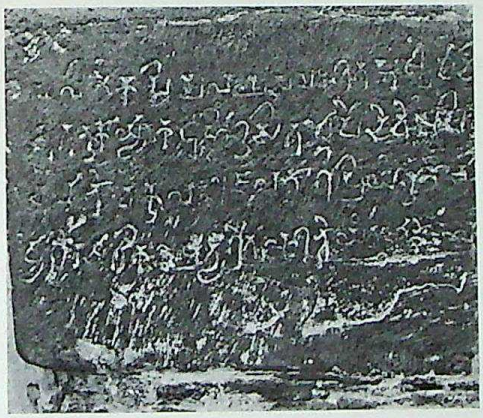

Fig. 72 Inscription 2, Chār-Chomā (p. 47)

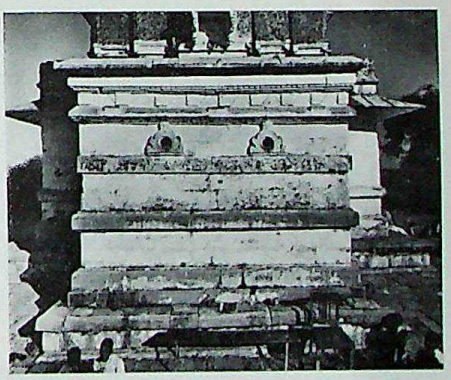

Fig. 75 Chār-Chomā, shrine from west, (photo AIIS, Varanasi, 89-27) (p. 48)

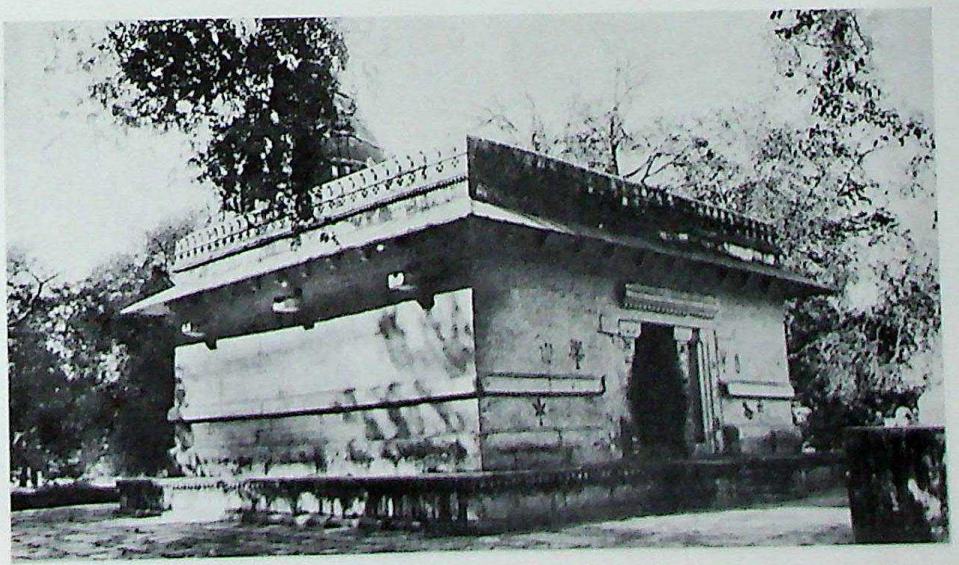

Fig. 73 Chār-Chomā temple from southeast, (photo ASI, WC, India Office Library, London archives) (p. 48)

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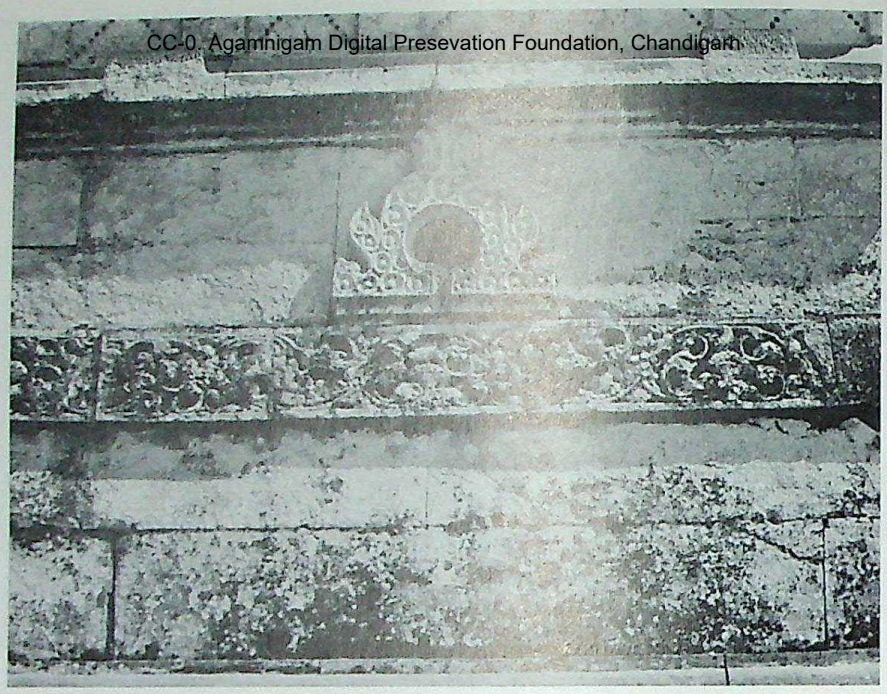

Fig. 76 Detail of fig. 75 (p. 48)

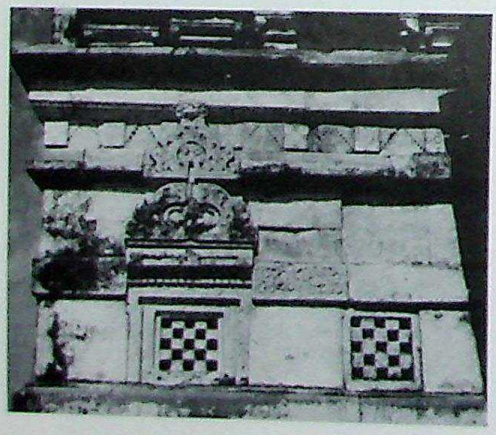

Fig. 77 Detail of fig. 74 (p. 48)

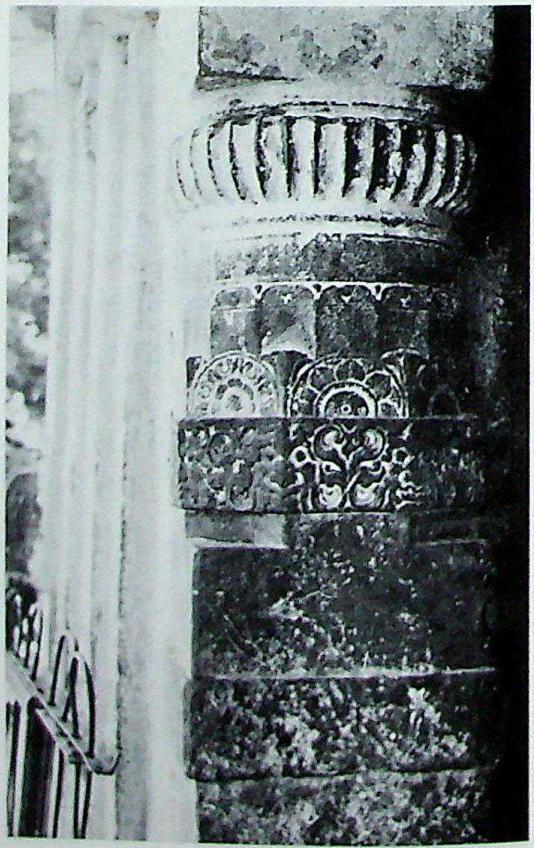

Fig. 78 Chār-Chomā, pilaster on south side of present door C (p. 49)

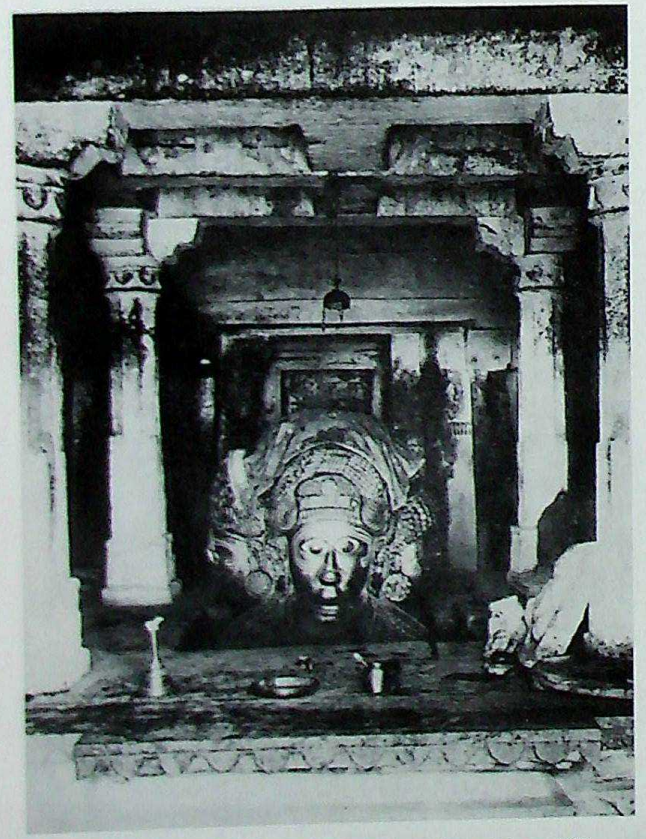

Fig. 79 Chār-Chomā, interior with present *liṅga*, (photo ASI, WC, India Office Library, London archives) (p. 47)

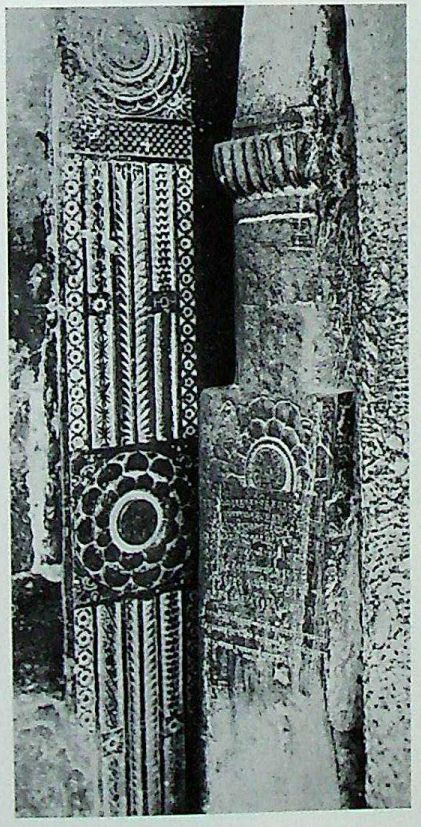

Fig. 80 Chār-Chomā, doorway B with Inscription 1, seen from west, (photo AIIS, 89-23) (p. 47)

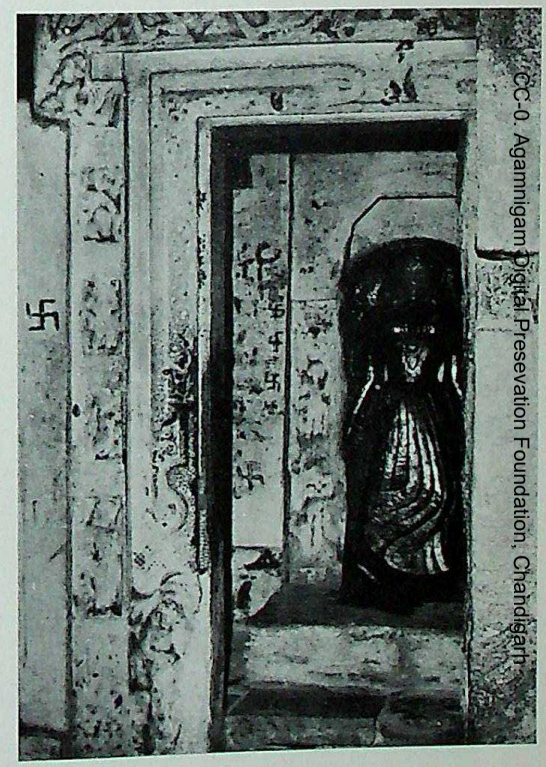

Fig. 81 Chār-Chomā, doorway A, (photo AIIS, 89-24) (p. 49)

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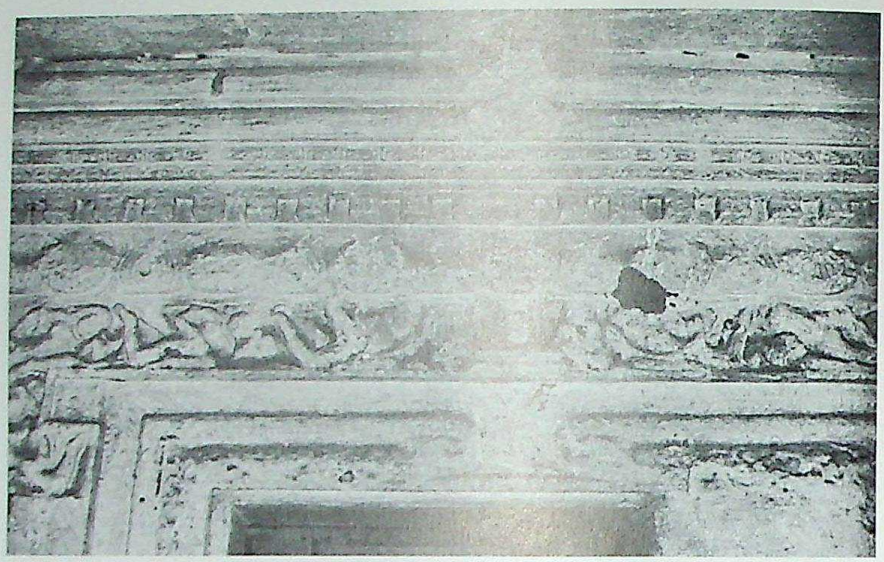

Fig. 82 Chār-Chomā, doorway A, detail of lintel (pp. 49-50)

Fig. 83 Chār-Chomā, doorway A, detail of left jamb (p. 49)

Fig. 84 Chār-Chomā, doorway A, detail of right jamb (p. 49)

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Fig. 85 Tigowā, Kaṅkālī Devī temple, capital of pilaster at rear of porch (p. 49)

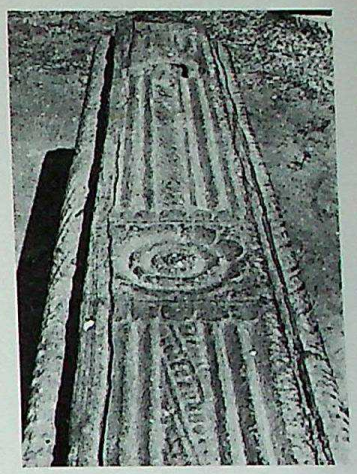

Fig. 88 Nagarī, side of *toraṇa* pillar, detail (p. 49)

Photo *courtesy:*
Mary-Ann Lutzker

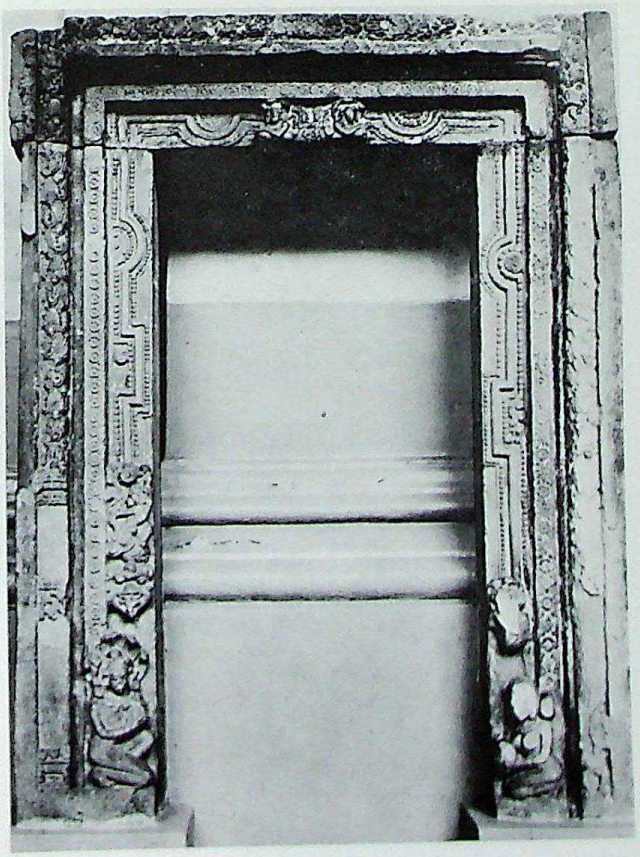

Fig. 87 Bodh Gayā, doorway in Indian Museum, Calcutta (p. 51)

Fig. 89 Mandsor, originally Khilchipura, side of *toraṇa* pillar, detail (p. 49)

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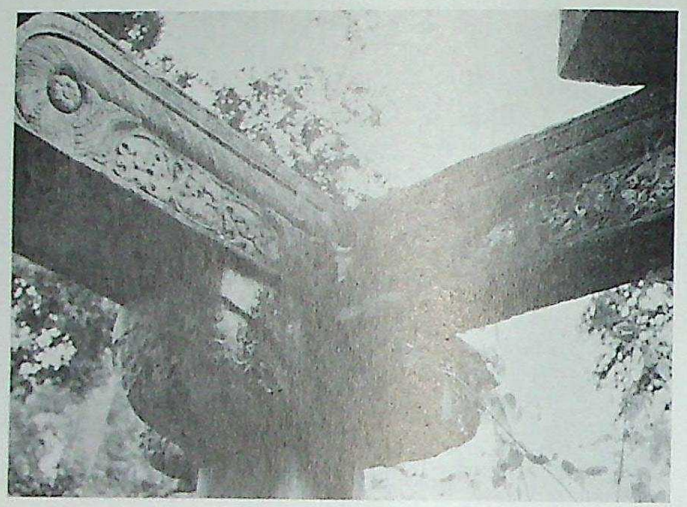

Fig. 86 Mukundarā, architraves of ruined temple (p. 51)

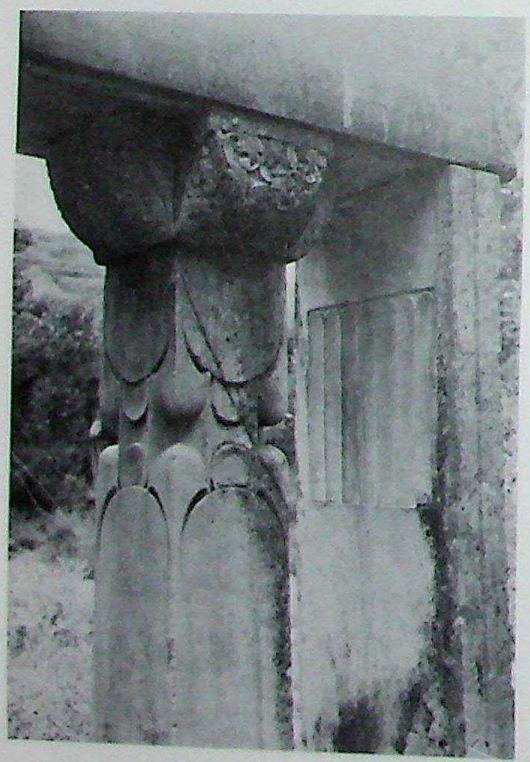

Fig. 90 Mukundarā, pillar and wall panel of ruined temple (p. 49)

Fig. 91 Chār-Chomā, capital now used as drain or *somasūtra*, (photo AIIS, 89-25) (p. 51)

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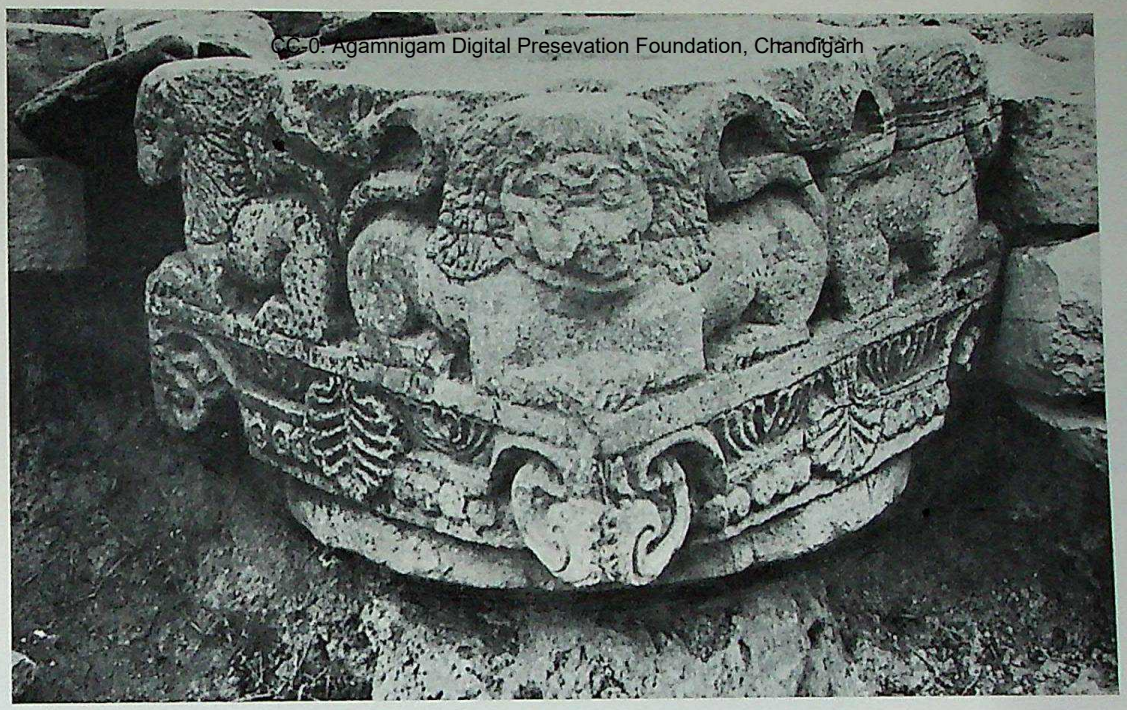

Fig. 92 Nagarī, lion capital (p 51)

Fig. 93 Mandsor (Soṇḍni), detail of guardian (p. 51)

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 71-72, 78, 85-87, 89-90, 92-93 Joanna Williams

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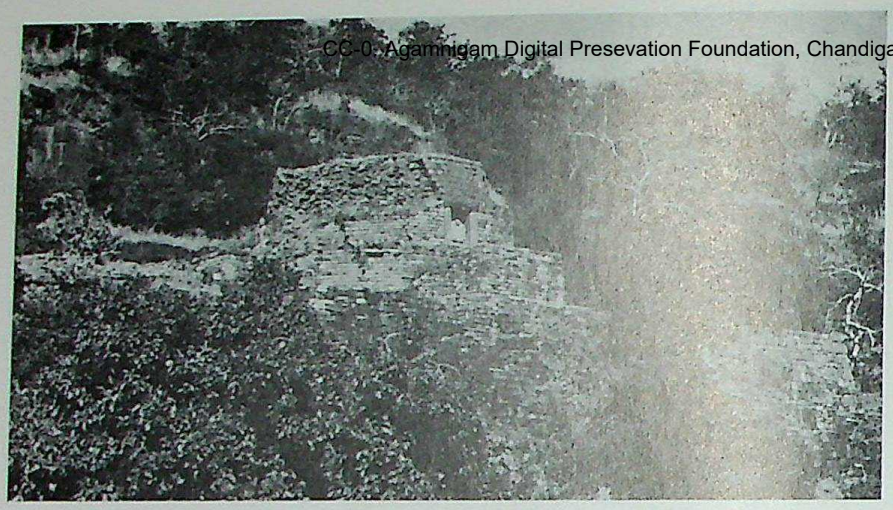

Fig. 94 Gyāraspur *stūpa* from the southeast (p. 54)

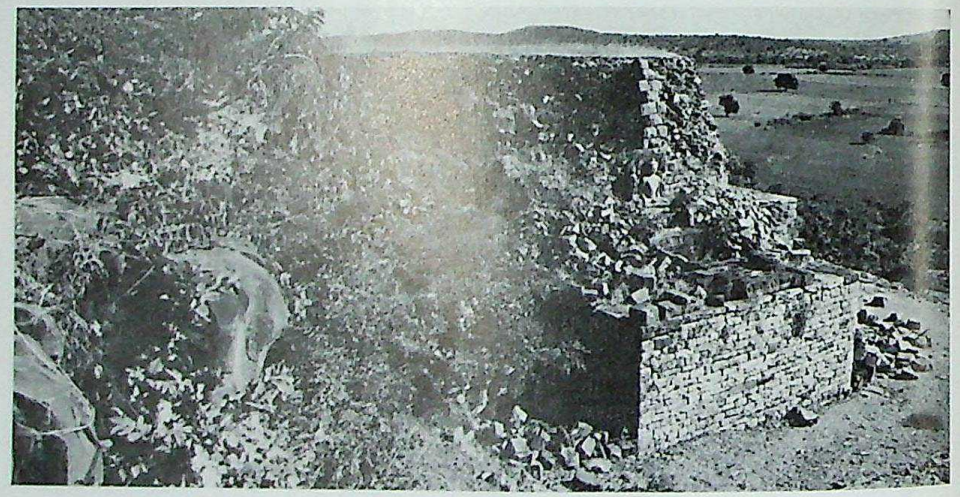

Fig. 95 Gyāraspur *stūpa* from the southeast (p. 54)

Fig. 96 Gyāraspur *stūpa* from the northeast (p. 54)

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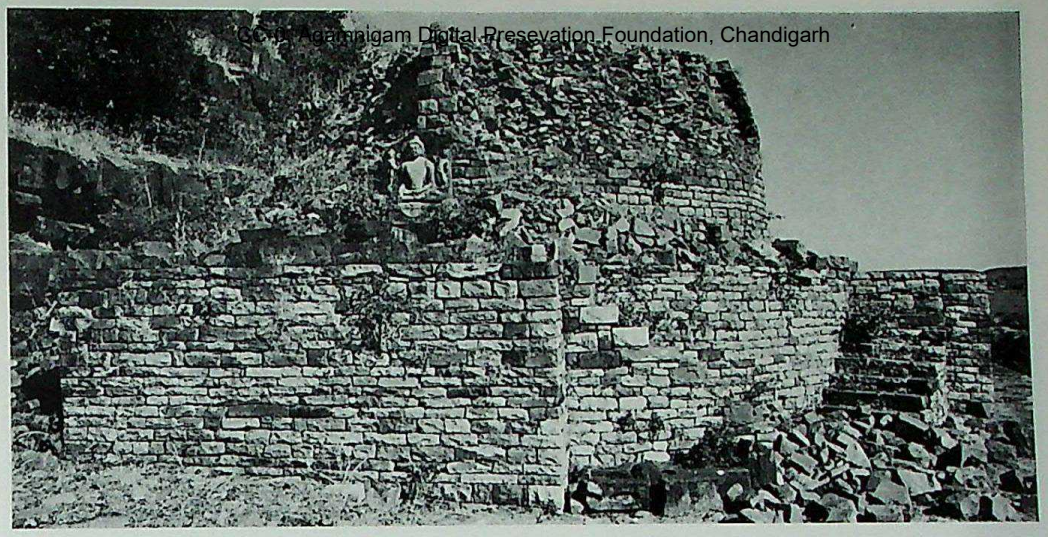

Fig. 97 Gyāraspur *stūpa* south side (p 55)

Fig. 98 Buddha on the east, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

Fig. 99 Bodhisattva to proper right of Buddha on east, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

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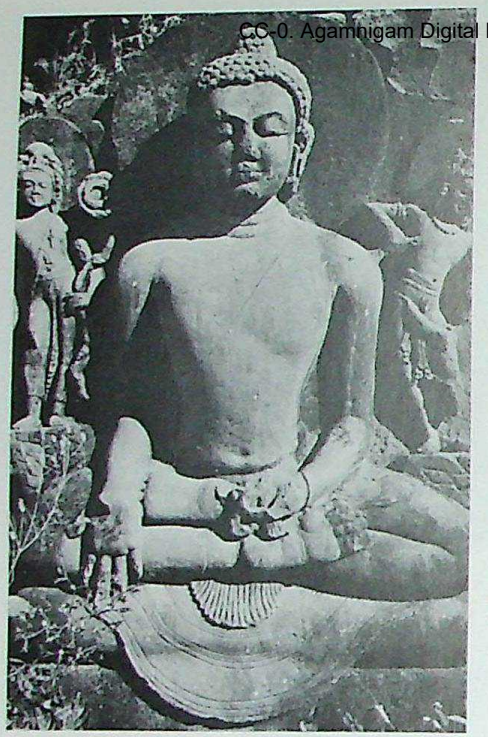

Fig. 100 Buddha on south, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

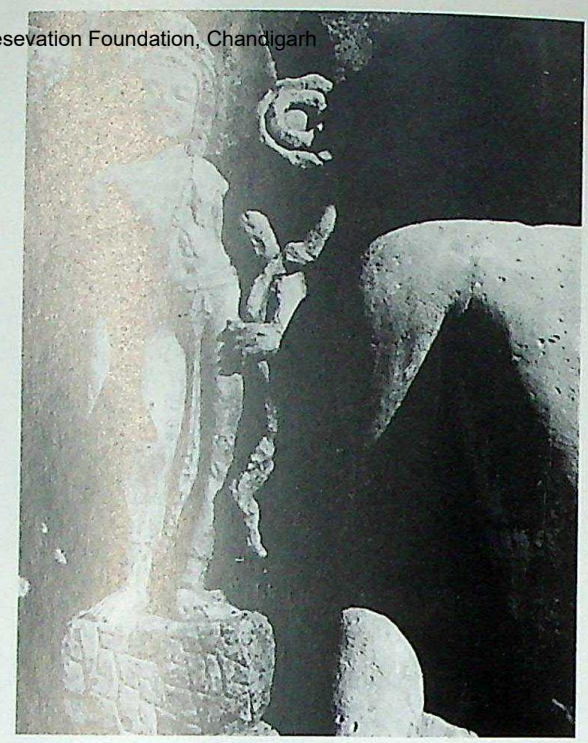

Fig. 101 Bodhisattva on proper right of Buddha on south, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

Fig. 102 Bodhisattva on proper left of Buddha on south, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

Fig. 103 Buddha on west, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

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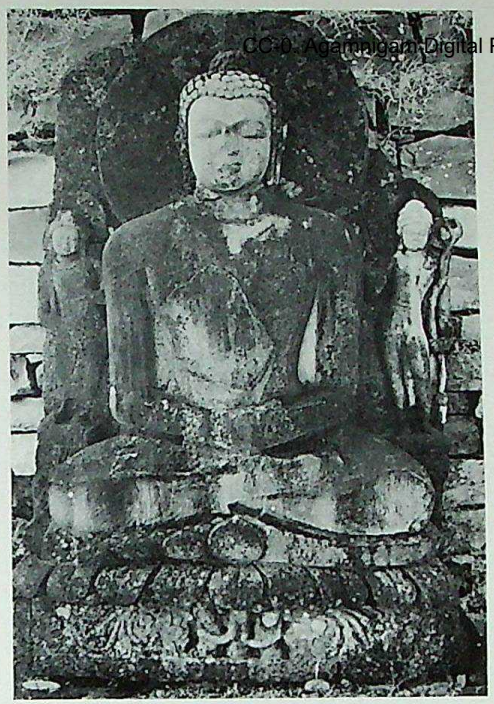

Fig. 104 Buddha on north, Gyāraspur *stūpa* (p. 55)

Fig. 105 Buddha on east, Sāñchī *stūpa* 1 (pp. 55, 57)

Fig. 106 Buddha on south, Sāñchī *stūpa* 1 (pp. 55, 57)

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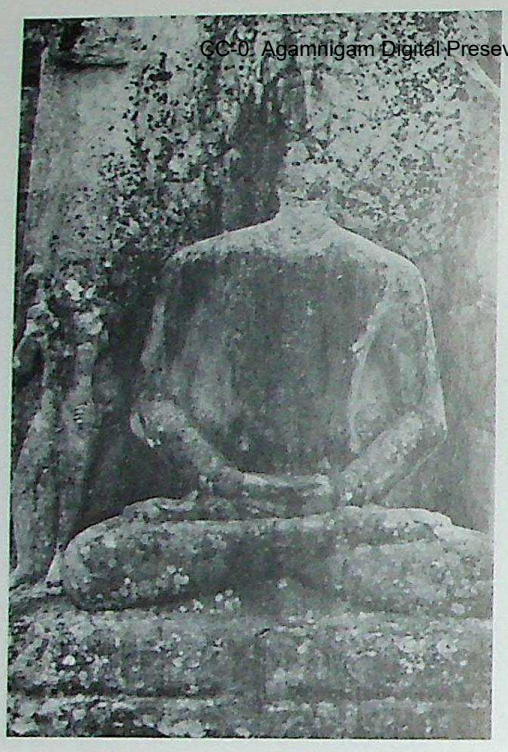

Fig. 107 Buddha on west, Sāñchī *stūpa* 1 (p. 55)

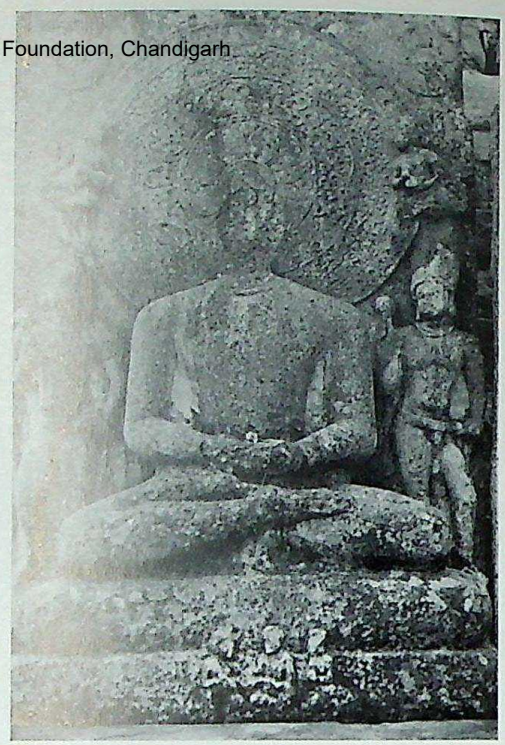

Fig. 108 Buddha on north, Sāñchī *stūpa* 1 (pp. 55, 57)

Fig. 109 *Dvārapāla*, Soṇḍnī (p. 56)

Fig. 110 Railing, third cent. A.D., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (p. 59)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 94-109 John C. and Susan L. Huntington

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Fig. 111

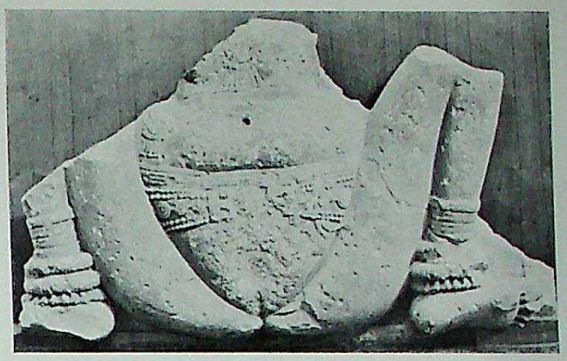

Fig. 112

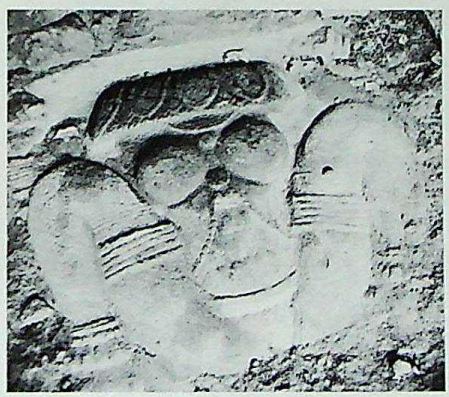

Fig. 113

Fig. 114

Fig. 115

111 Railing, sixth cent. A.D., Bādāmī II (p. 59)

112 "Shameless" Devī, Inscribed, third cent. A.D., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (p. 59)

113 "Shameless" Devī, seventh cent., Siddhankolla (p. 59)

114 Frolicking *Gaṇas* and *Dvārapāla*, *ca.* 570 A.D., Badami II (p. 60)

115 Dividing wall between the verandah and the *maṇḍapa*, *ca.* 566 A.D. (p. 60)

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Fig. 116 Dividing wall between the verandah and the *maṇḍapa*, *ca.* 570 A.D. (p. 60)

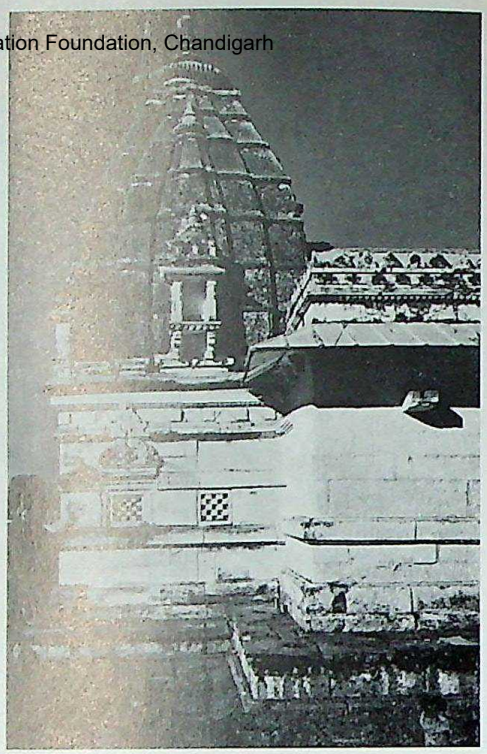

Fig. 117 Late Gupta temple at Chārchomā, Kota (p. 64)

Fig. 118 South wall of the *pradakshiṇāpatha*, Mahākūṭeśvara, Mahākūṭa (p. 64)

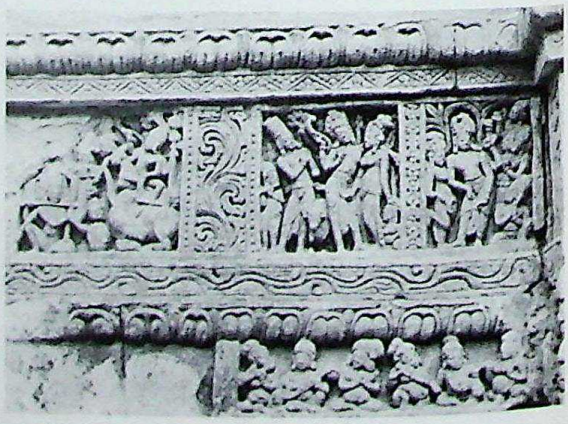

Fig. 119 Detail of the base on fig. 118 (p. 64)

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Fig. 120 North *maṇḍapa* wall, Mahākūṭeśvara, Mahākūṭa (p. 64)

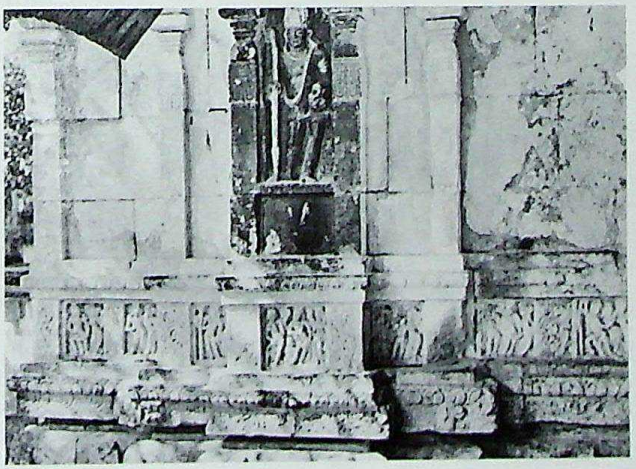

Fig. 121 *Dvārapāla* on proper right of the façade, Mahākūṭeśvara (p. 64)

Fig. 122 *Dvārapāla* on proper left of the façade, Mahākūṭeśvara (p. 64)

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Fig. 123 West side of the Pārvatī temple, second half of the seventh cent., Sandūr (p. 66)

Fig. 124 Śiva, south side, Pārvatī temple, Sandūr (p. 66)

Fig. 125 Śiva, detail of the fig. 124 (p. 66)

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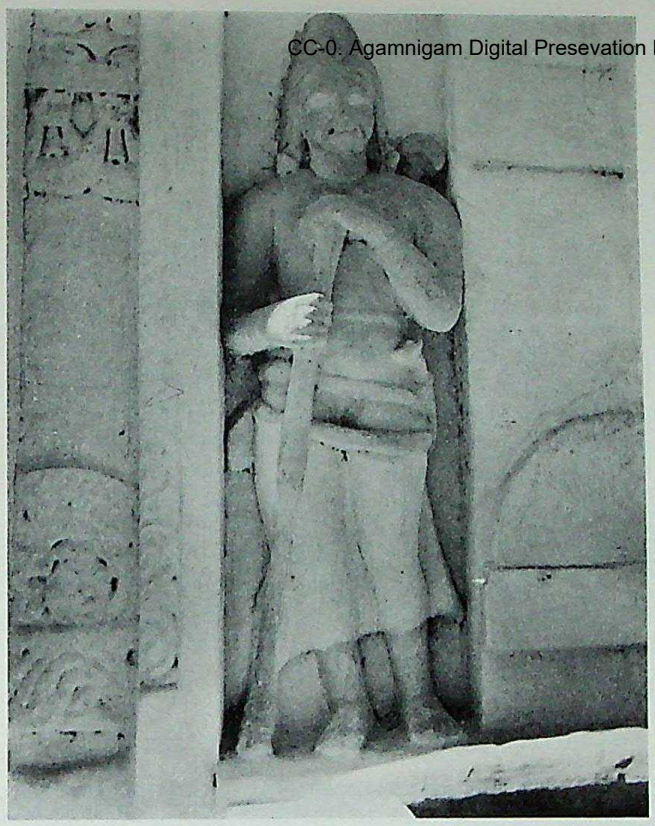

Fig. 126 *Dvārapāla* on proper left of the façade, Pārvatī temple, Sandūr (p. 66)

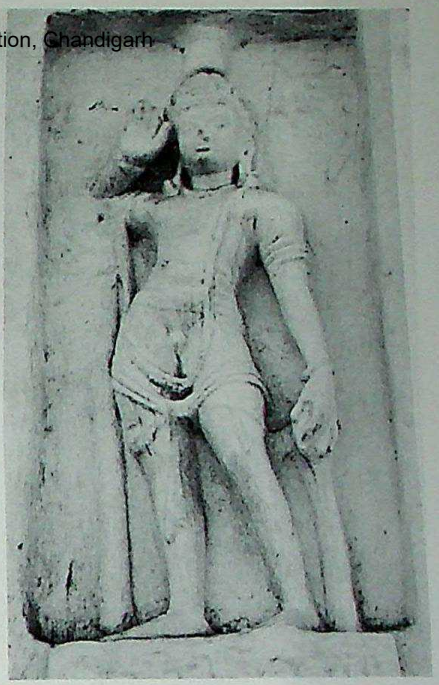

Fig. 127 *Dvārapāla* on proper left of the façade, Pārvatī temple, Sandūr (p. 66)

Fig. 128 *Dvārapāla* on proper left of the façade, Malegitti *Śivālaya*, Bādāmī (p. 66)

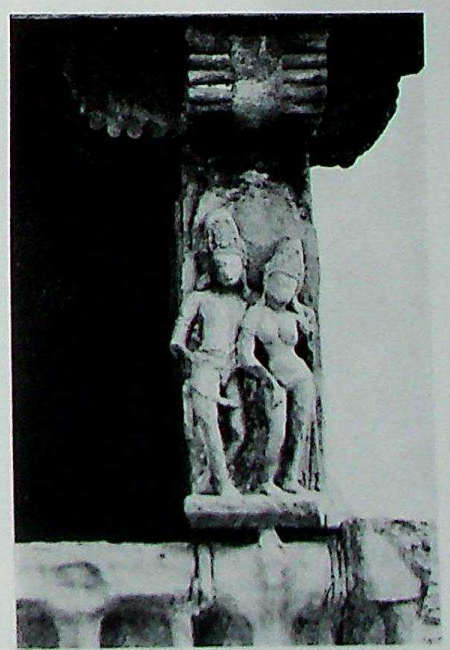

Fig. 129 Pillar on extreme left of the façade, mid-seventh cent., Sāraṅgi Maṭha, Aihole (p. 66)

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Fig. 130 Image from Kudaveli, Ālampur Museum (p. 66)

Fig. 131 Pillars, Airāvateśvara temple, Dārāsuraṃ, twelfth cent. (p. 68)

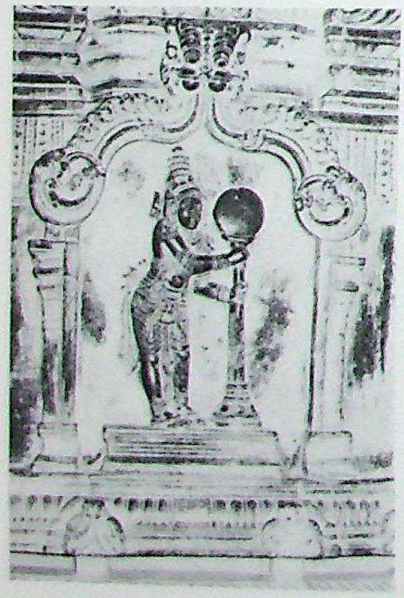

Fig. 132 Details from pillar in *Ardhamaṇḍapa*, Hazārā Rāma temple, Hampī (p. 68)

Fig. 133 Details from pillar in *Ardhamaṇḍapa*, Hazārā Rāma temple, Hampī (p. 68)

Photos *courtesy*:

Figs. 131-133 Archaeological Survey of India

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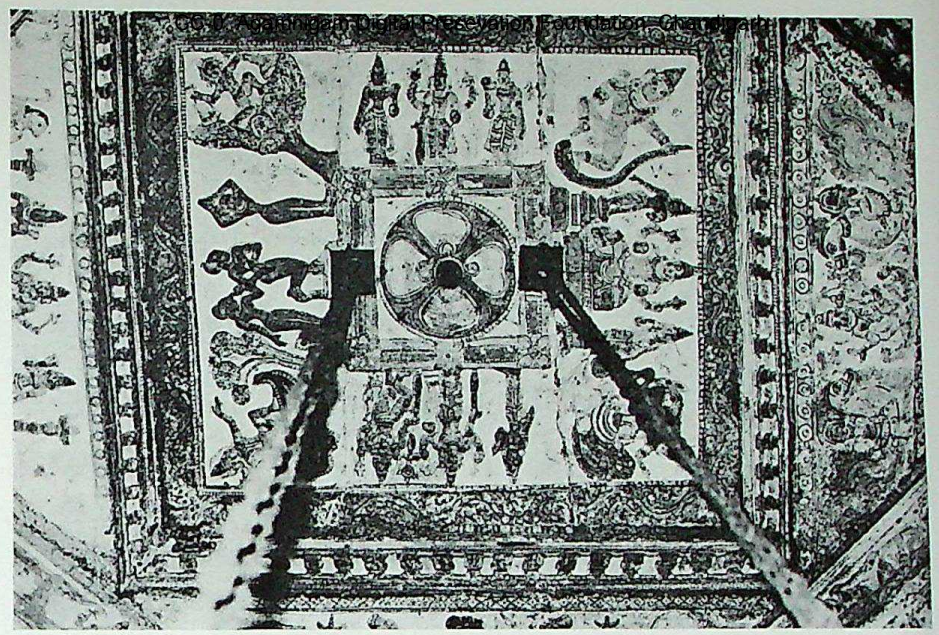

Fig. 134 Ceiling ornamentation, Varadarāja Perūmal temple, Kāñchipuraṃ, sixteenth cent. (p. 68)

Fig. 135 Fresco painting, Mahāraṅga *maṇḍapa*, Virūpāksha temple, Hampī, early sixteenth cent. (p. 68)

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Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 135-136 State Archaeological Survey, Karnataka

137-138 Archaeological Survey of India

Fig. 136 Fresco painting, Mahārañga *maṇḍapa*, Virūpāksha temple, Hampī, early sixteenth cent. (p. 68)

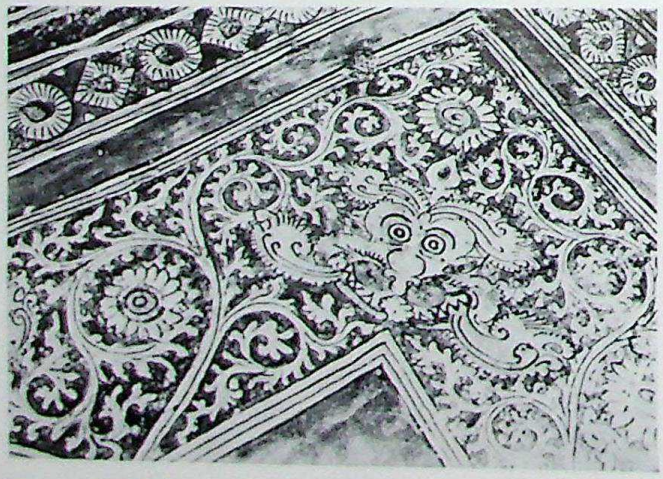

Fig. 137 Fresco ornamental decoration, Chandraprabhusvāmī temple, Tirumalai, tenth cent. (p. 68)

Fig. 138 Fresco painting, Brihadīsvara temple, main shrine, sixteenth/seventeenth cent. (p. 68)

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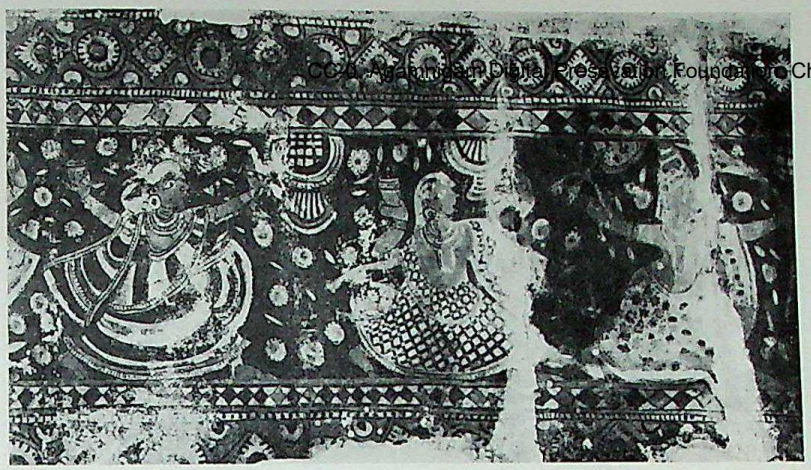

Fig. 139 Fresco painting, Kapādīśvara temple, Tiruvalanjuli, Nāyaka period (p. 68)

Fig. 142 *Dvārapālikā*, Mīnākshī temple, Madurai, Nāyaka period (p. 69)

Photo *courtesy:*

Fig. 139 Archaeological Survey of India

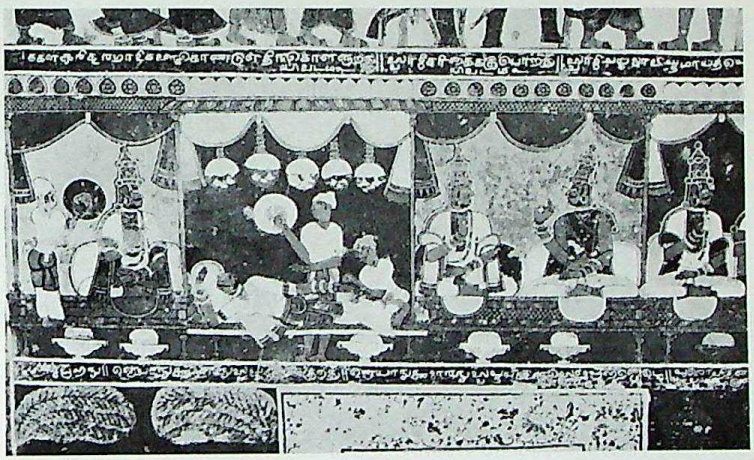

Fig. 141

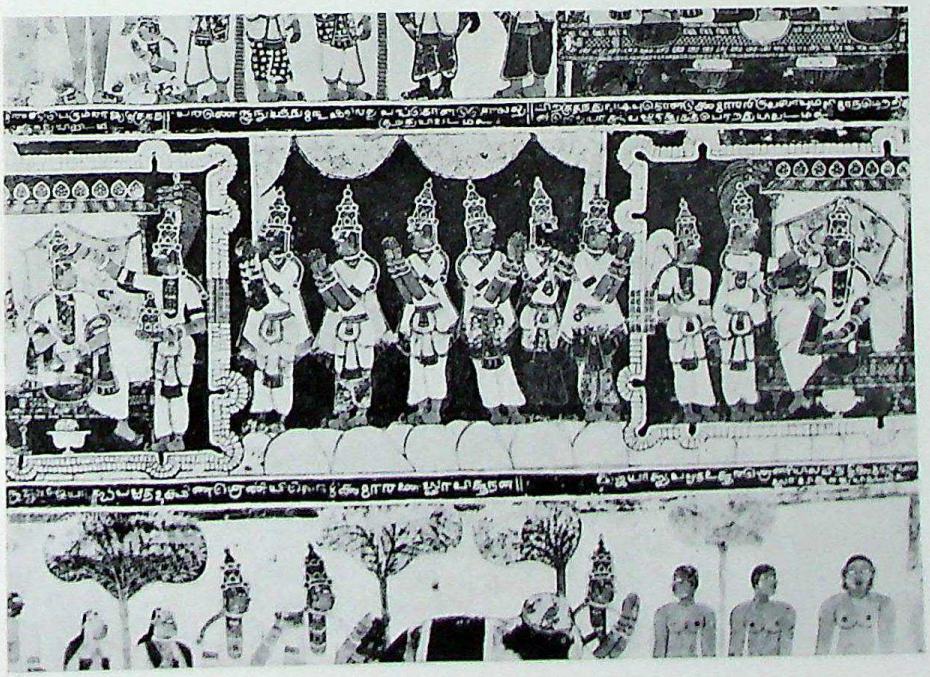

Fig. 140

140-141 Fresco painting, Tirolokiar Nadaswāmy temple, Tiruparutikunram, Chingleput Dist., sixteenth-seventeenth cent. (p. 68)

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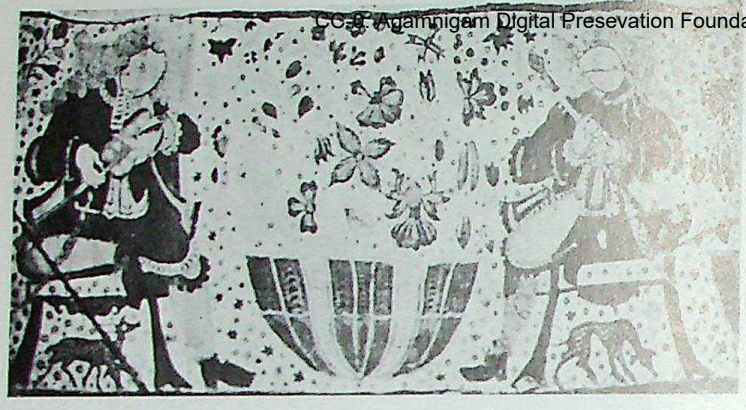

Fig. 143

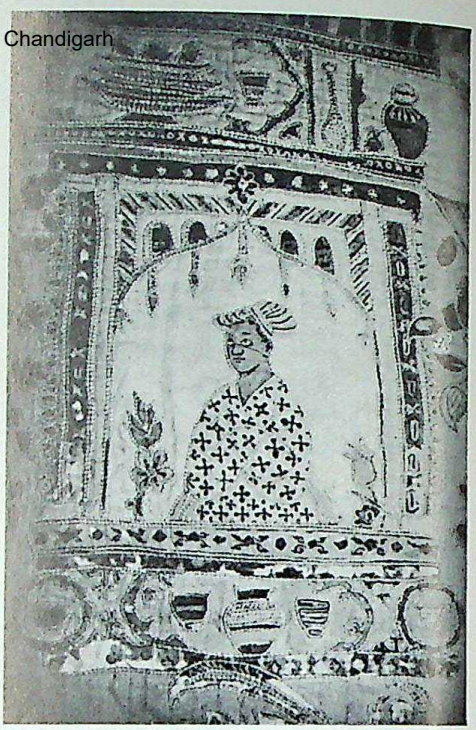

Fig. 145

143 *Kalamkari* fragment made for the French market (p. 69)

144 *Kalamkari,* probably eighteenth cent. (p. 69)

145 *Kalamkari* fragment subsequently embroidered in England, Madras-Pulicat region, 1640-1650 A.D. (p. 68)

Photos *courtesy :*

Figs. 143-144 Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris

145 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

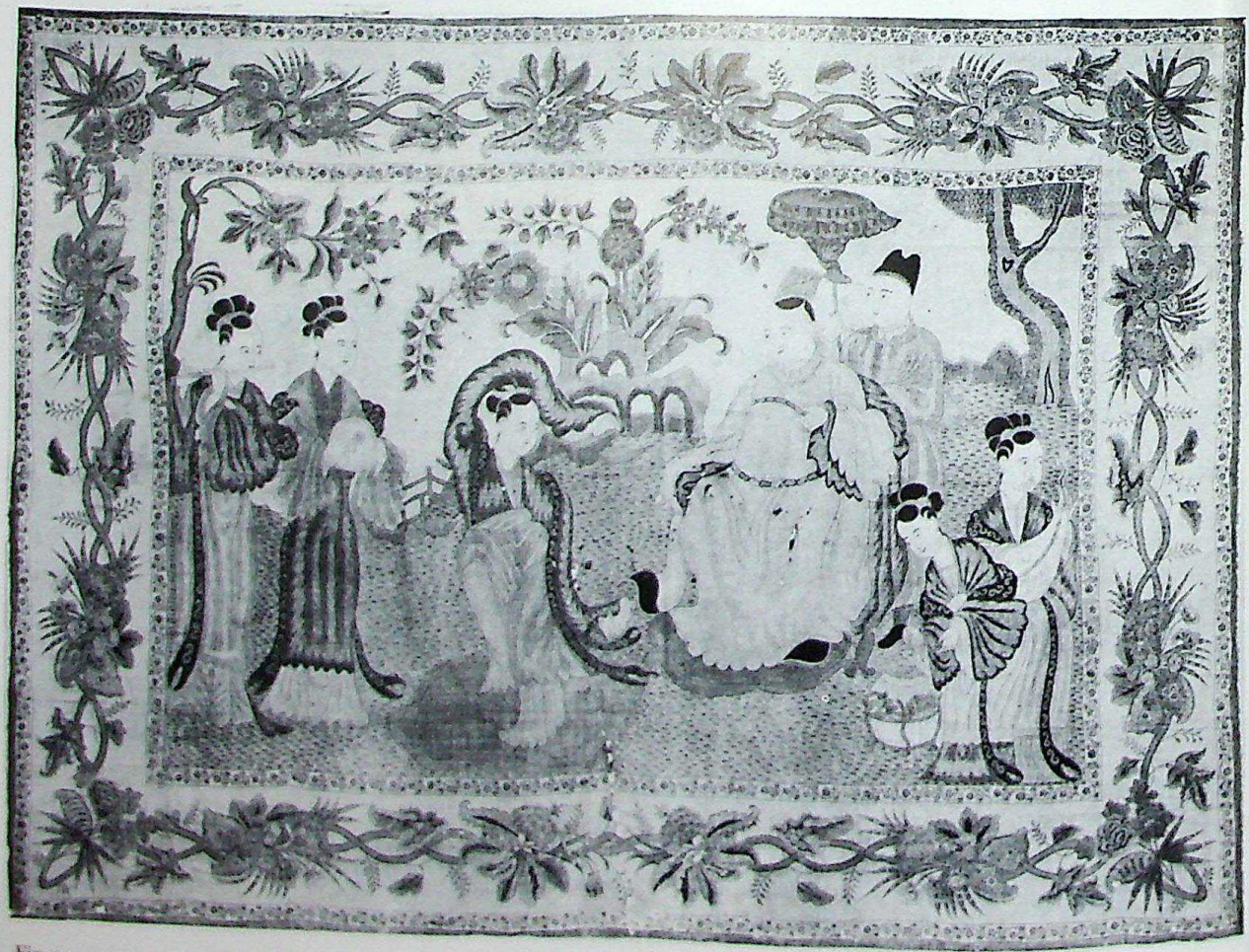

Fig. 144

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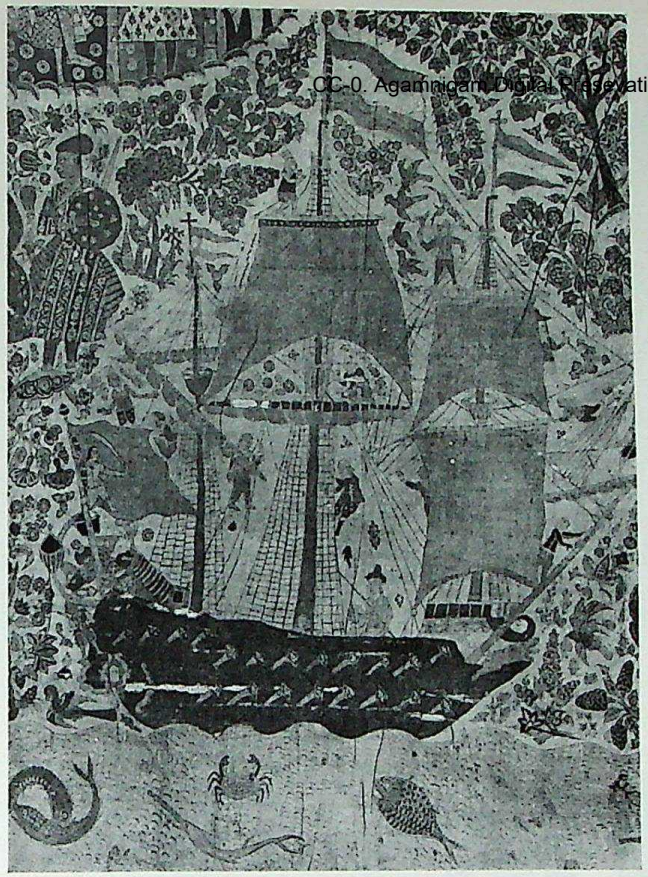

Fig. 146

Fig. 148

146-147 Detail of *Kalamkari,* ordered for the Dutch market, Madras-Pulicat region, seventeenth cent. (p. 69)

148 Detail from *Kalamkari,* executed in Golconda, seventeenth to eighteenth cent. (p. 69)

149 Detail from *palampore,* eighteenth cent. (p. 69)

Photos *courtesy :*

Figs. 146-147 Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris

148-149 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Fig. 149

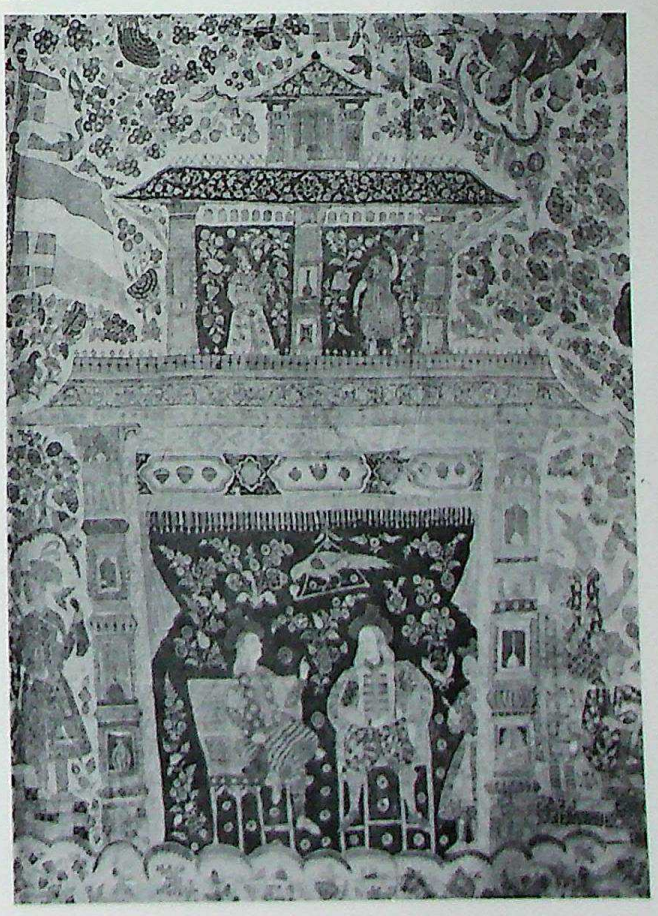

Fig. 147

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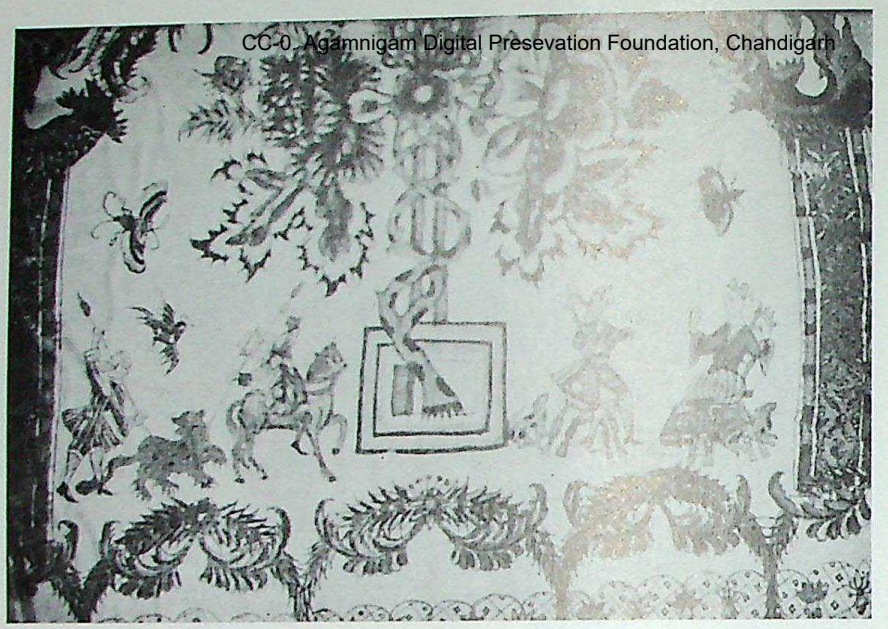

Fig. 150 Detail from fragment used for petticoat (p. 69)

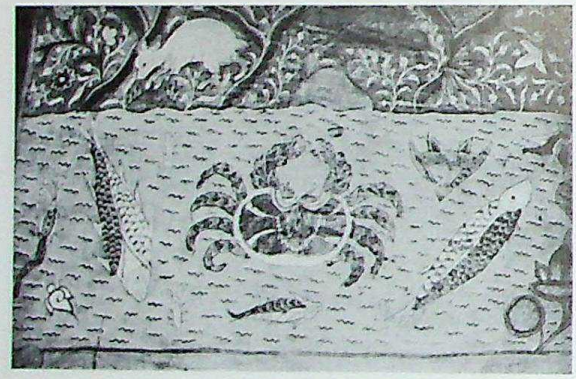

Fig. 153 Aquatic life depicted in *Kalamkari*, eighteenth cent. (p. 69)

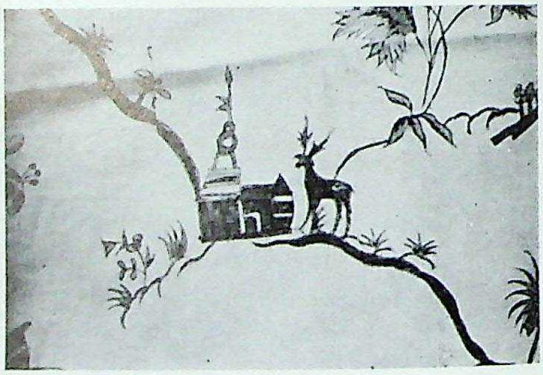

Fig. 151 Animal motif, probably seventeenth cent. (p. 69)

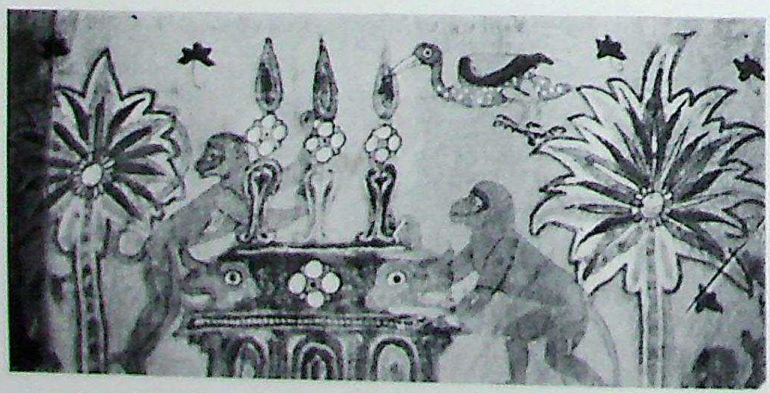

Fig. 152 Animal life in *Kalamkari* (p. 69)

Photos *courtesy :*

Figs. 150-151 Veldmen-Planten Private Collection, Menkamaborgh, Netherlands

152 Krishna Riboud Private Collection, Paris

153 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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Fig. 154 Birds in *Kalamkari* (p. 69)

Fig. 155 Dragons—European *Chinoiserie* in Indian *Kalamkari*, manufactured for the French market (p. 69)

Fig. 156 Sculpture, note floral hangings at the back, Brihadīśvara temple, Tanjore (p. 68)

Photos *courtesy :*

Fig. 154 Veldmen-Planten Private Collection, Menkamaborgh, Netherlands

155 Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris

156 Archaeological Survey of India

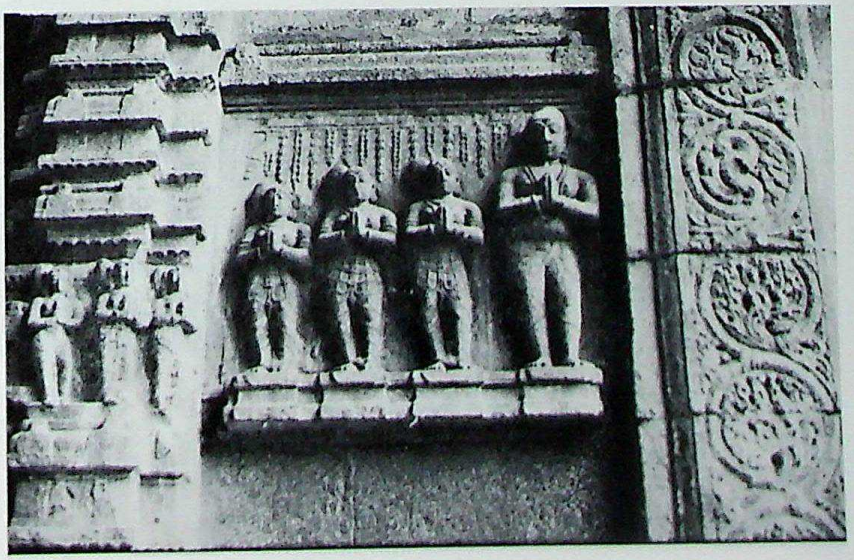

Fig. 157 Govindarāja temple, Tirupati, note floral decoration at the rear (p. 68)

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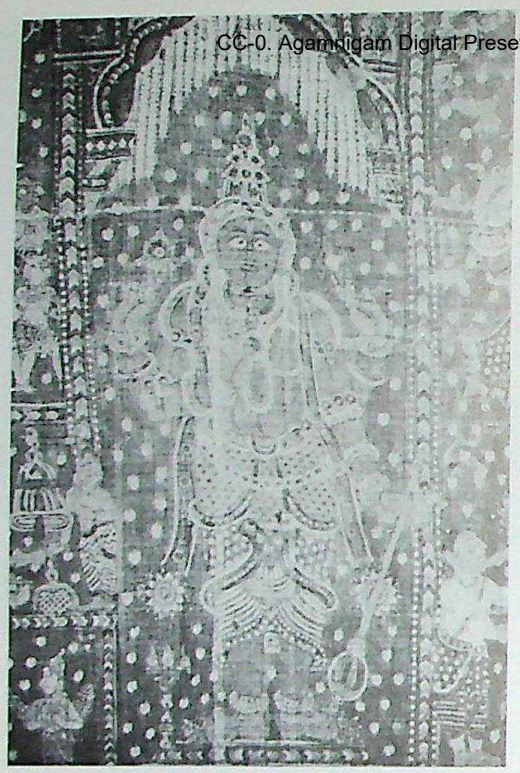

Fig. 158

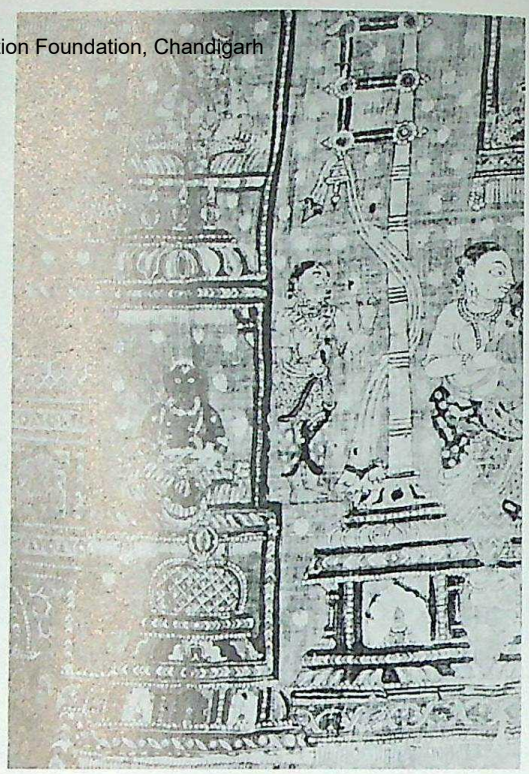

Fig. 159

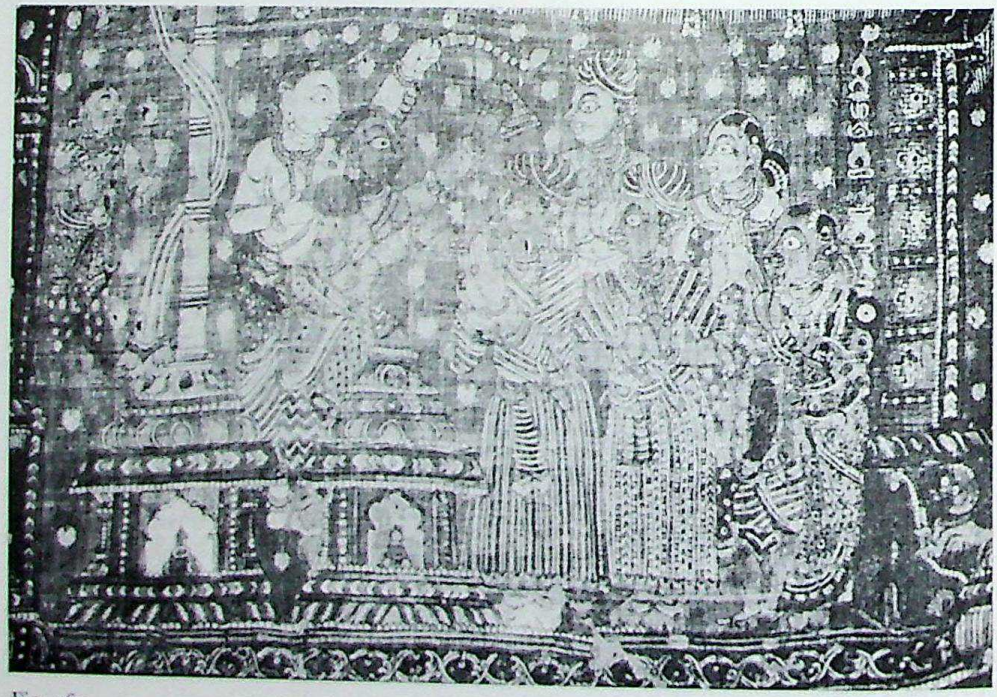

Fig. 160

158-160 *Kalamkari* hanging, seventeenth cent., detail (pp. 69-70)

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 158-160 Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

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Fig. 165 Central motif of Śrī Nāthajī, *Pichhvai, ca.* mid-eighteenth cent., BKB collection (p. 70)

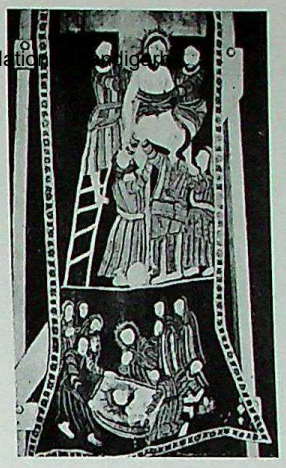

Fig. 162 Armenian Church piece, Madras, eighteenth cent. (p. 70)

Photos *courtesy:*

Fig. 162 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

163 State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad

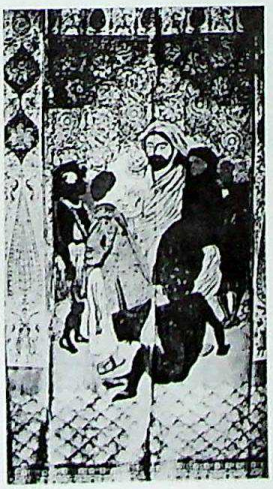

Fig. 163 Christian theme executed in *Kalamkari*, Masulipatnam, nineteenth/twentieth cent. (p. 70)

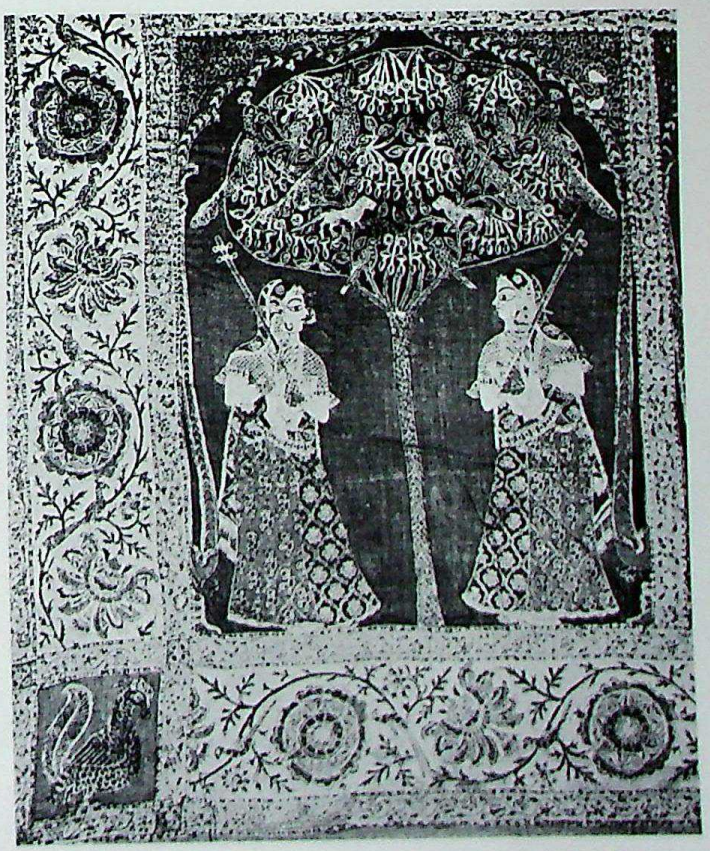

Fig. 164 Border design, *Pichhvai, ca.* mid-eighteenth cent., BKB collection (p. 70)

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Fig. 166

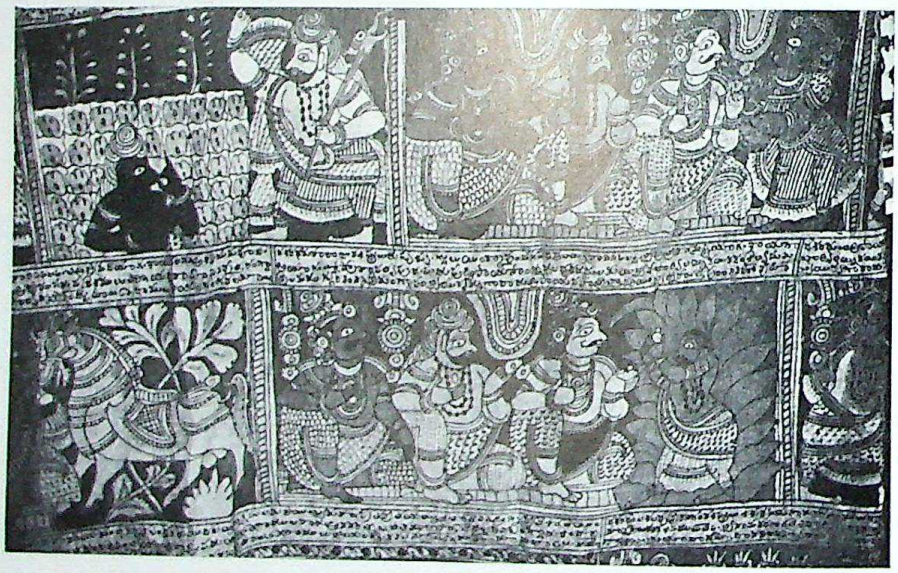

Fig. 167

Fig. 161

161 *Kalamkari* (p. 70)

166 *Kalamkari*, Masulipatnam, eighteenth cent. (p. 69)

167 *Kalamkari*, executed at Kalahasti, *ca.* 1900 A.D. (p. 70)

Photos *courtesy:*

Fig. 161 Krishna Riboud Private Collection, Paris

166 State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad

167 State Museum, Madras

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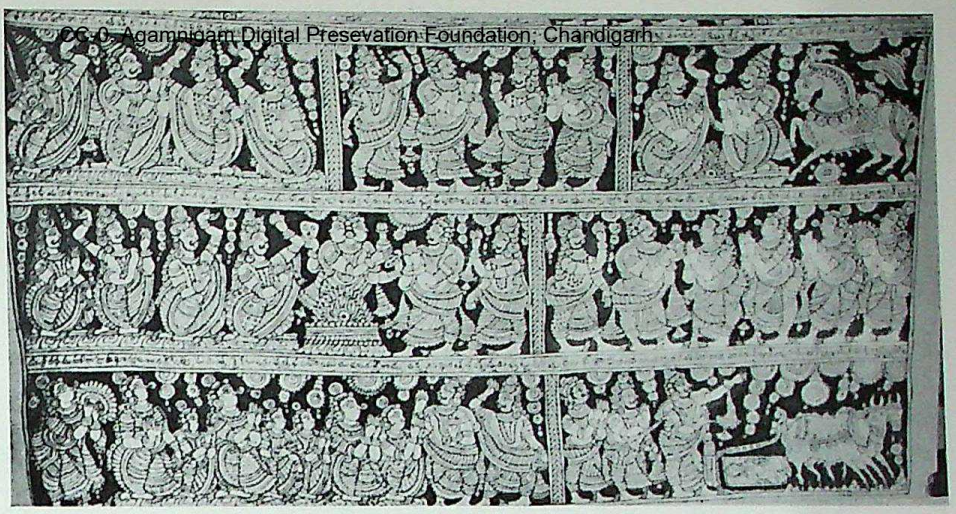

Fig. 168 Modern *Kalamkari* (p. 70)

Fig. 169

169-170 Block printed textile, Bhavnagar region, *ca.* 1890 A.D. (p. 70)

Photos *courtesy:*

Fig. 168 Private Collection of Kora Ramamurthy, Madras

169-170 Manubhai Bechiwada, Ahmedabad

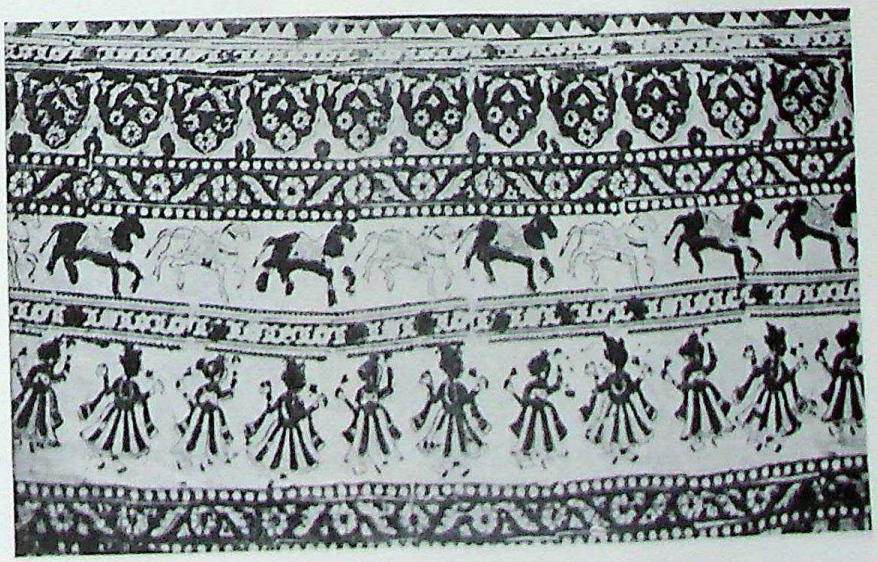

Fig. 170

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Fig. 172 Mallikārjuna temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, *garbha-griha*, proper left (p. 72)

Fig. 173

Figs. 171-192, 194-200 *Pratīhāras*

173-174 Pāpanātha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, *garbha-griha* (fig. 173 right, fig. 174 left) (p. 72)

Fig. 174

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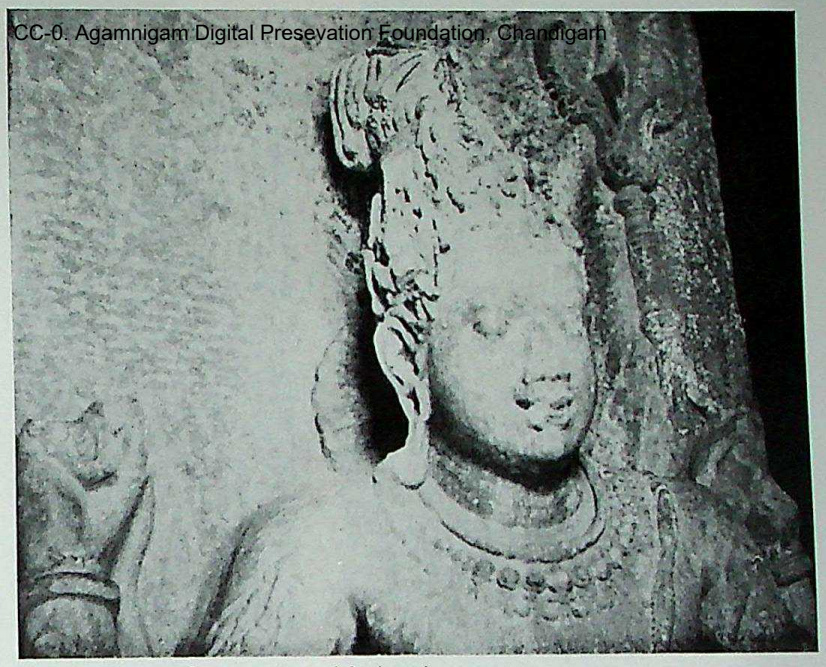

Fig. 171 Same as fig. 172, proper right (p. 72)

Fig. 175 Vīra Brahmā temple, Ālampur (p. 72)

Fig. 176 Pāpanātha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, east *maṇḍapa*, right (p. 73)

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Fig. 177

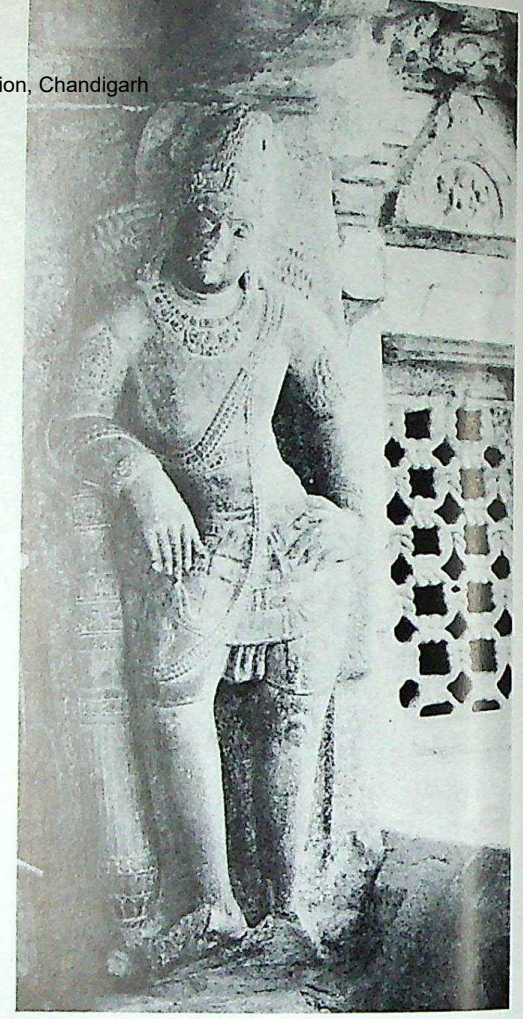

Fig. 179

Fig. 178

177 Pāpanātha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, east *maṇḍapa*, left (p. 73)

178-179 Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, east porch (fig. 178 right, fig. 179 left) (p. 73)

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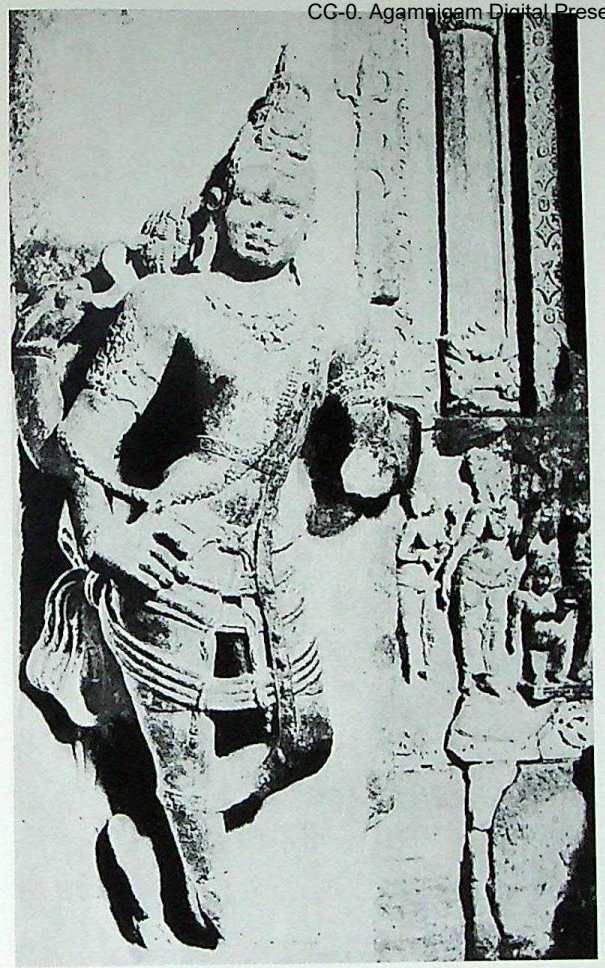

Fig. 180

Fig. 181

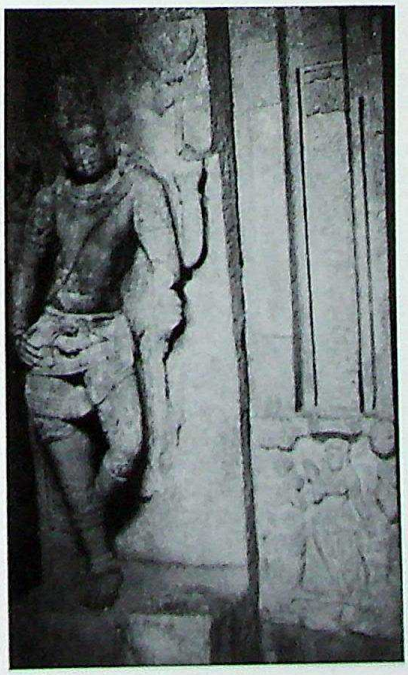

Fig. 182

180-181 Same as figs. 178-179 *garbha-griha*, (fig. 180 right, fig. 181 left) (p. 73)

182 Mallikārjuna temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, *garbha-griha*, right (p. 74)

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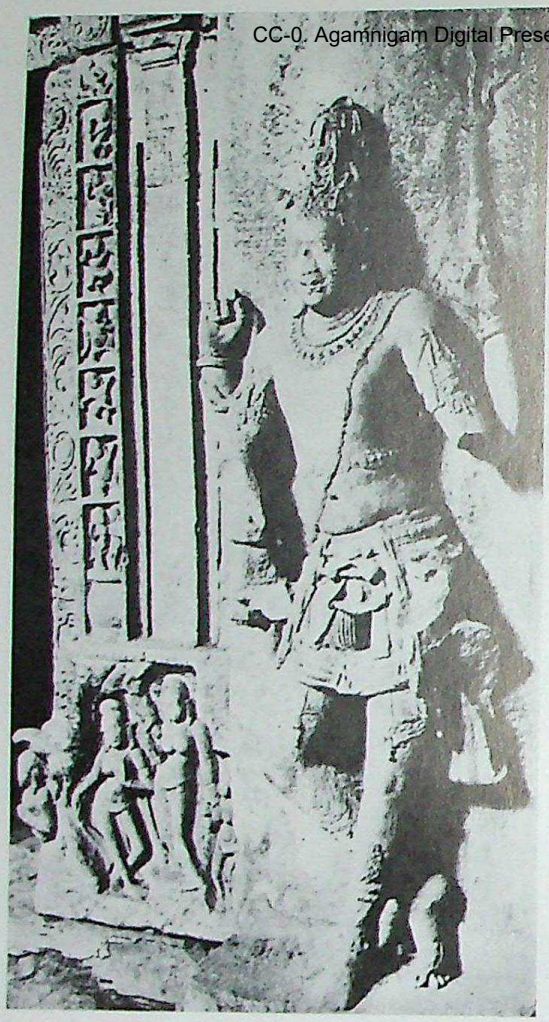

Fig. 183

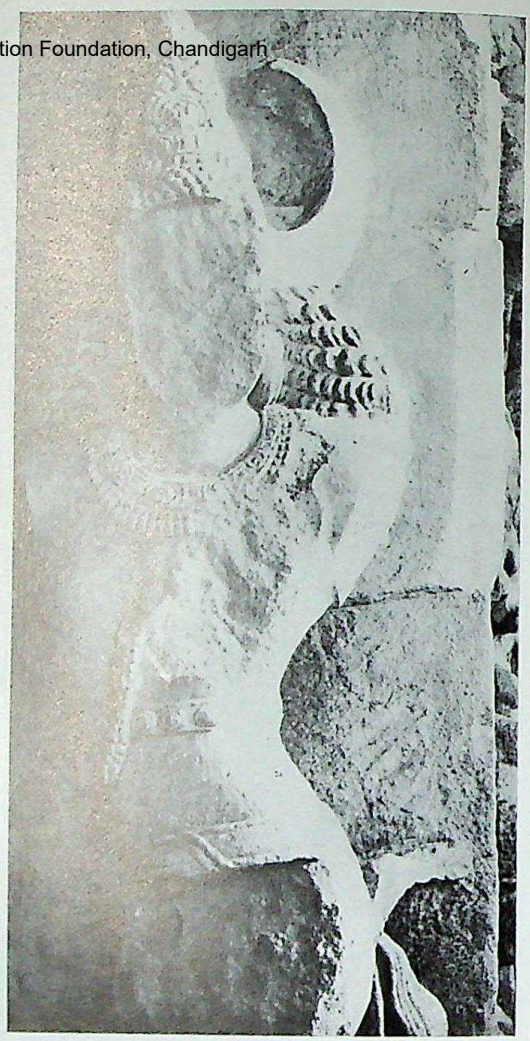

Fig. 184

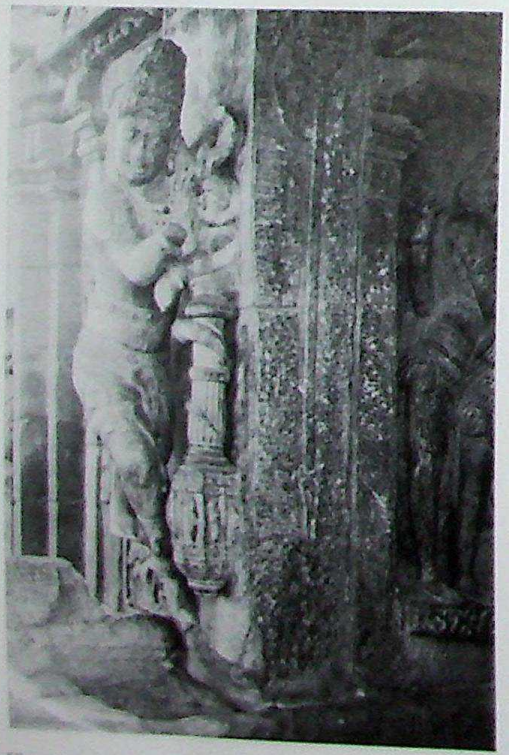

Fig. 185

183 Mallikārjuna temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, *garbha-griha*, left (p. 74)

184-185 Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, south porch (fig. 184 left, fig. 185 right) (p. 74)

Fig. 186 Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, south porch, detail of fig. 185 (p. 74)

Fig. 187

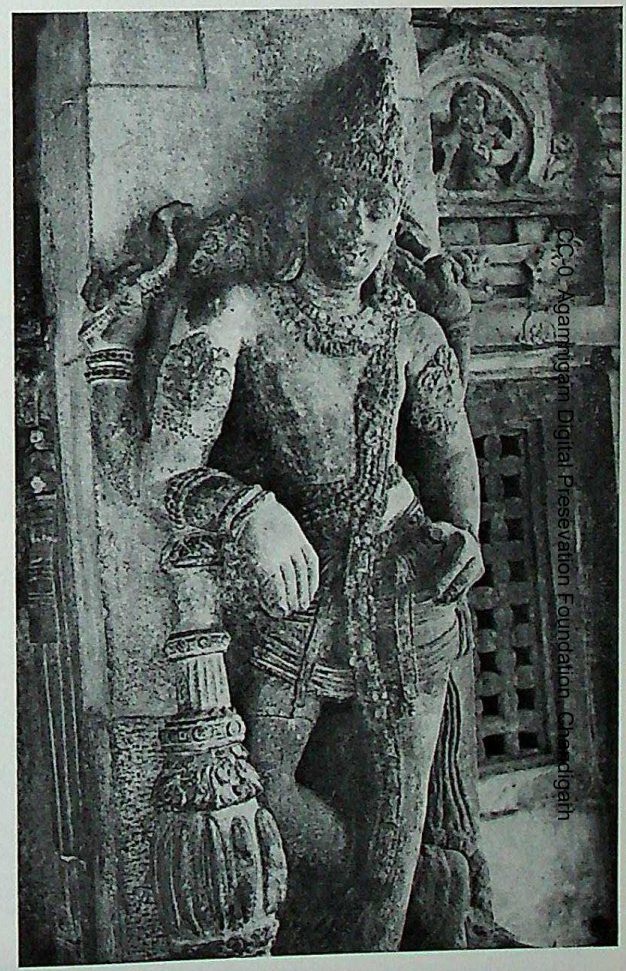

Fig. 188

187-188 Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, north porch (fig. 187 right, fig. 188 left) (p. 74)

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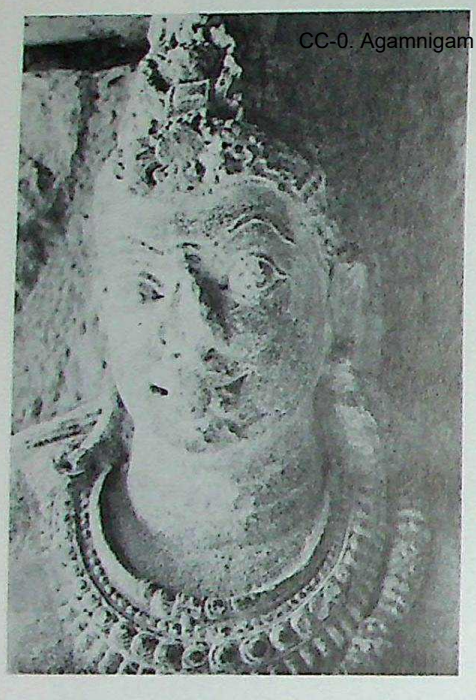

Fig. 189

Fig. 190

Fig. 191

189 Mallikārjuna temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, north porch, right (p. 75)
190 Pāpanātha temple, Paṭṭaḍakal, east porch, left (p. 75)
191 Cave 15, Ellora, Verandah, south end (p. 76)

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Fig. 192 Cave 16, Ellora, River Goddess shrine (p. 76)

Fig. 194 Kailāśa temple, Ellora, south porch (p. 77)

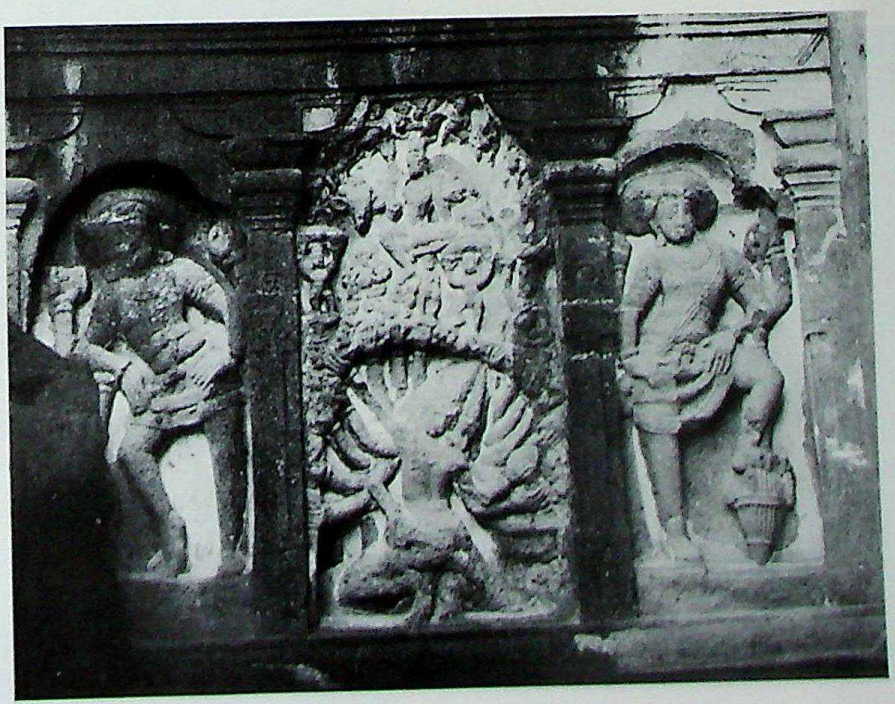

Fig. 193 Rāvaṇānugraha relief *maṇḍapa*, Kailāśa temple, Ellora (p. 76)

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Fig. 195

Fig. 196

Fig. 197

195-197 Kailāśa temple, Ellora, east porch (fig. 195 left, fig. 196 right, fig. 197 detail of fig. 196) (p. 78)

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Fig. 198

Fig. 199

198-199 Same as figs. 194-197, north porch (fig. 198 left, fig. 199 right) (p. 78)

200 Nandī shrine, Laṅkeśvara cave, cave 16, Ellora left (p. 78)

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 171-172, 176, 178-179, 182, 184-190, 193-194, 196, 198 Author

175, 191-192, 200 Archaeological Survey of India

173-174, 177, 180-181, 183, 195, 199-200 American Institute of Indian Studies, Ramnagar, Banaras

Fig. 200

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Fig. 201 Lakshmaṇeśvara temple, southwest (p. 80)

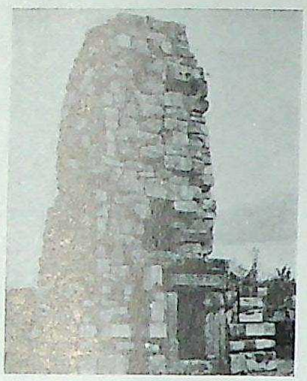

Fig. 202 Bharateśvara temple, northwest (p. 80)

Fig. 203 Northwest (p. 80)

Fig. 205 *Rāhā niche*, south (p. 81)

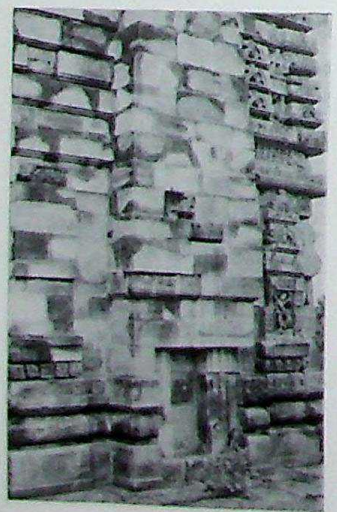

Fig. 204 *Bāḍa* detail, north (p. 81)

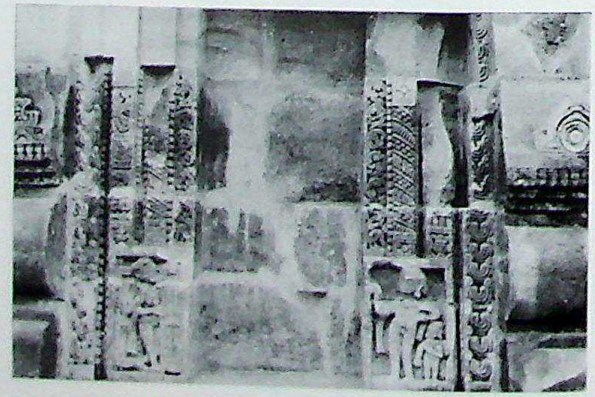

Fig. 206 *Rāhā niche*, east (p. 81)

203-211 Śatrughneśvara temple

Photos *courtesy:*
Figs. 201-28, 230-70 Author

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Fig. 208 *Dvârapâla* Mahākāla, west portal (p. 81)

Fig. 207 Hari-Hara (p. 83)

Fig. 209 *Dvārapāla* Nandī, west portal (p. 81)

Fig. 210 *Dvārapāla* Mahākālī, south *rāhā* (p. 81)

Fig. 211 *Dvārapāla* Nandī, south *rāhā* (p. 81)

Fig. 212 *Dvārapāla* Mahākālī (p. 82)

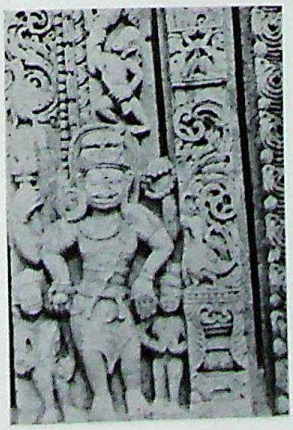

Fig. 213 *Dvārapāla* Nandī (p. 82)

Fig. 214 Bharatesvara, *dvārapāla* Mahākāla (p. 82)

Fig. 215 Detached image of Sūrya (p. 84)

212-213, 215 Lakshmanesvara temple

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Fig. 216 Lintel detail with Hara-Pārvatī (p. 82)

Fig. 218 Detached lintel : Erotic scenes (p. 82)

Fig. 217 Detached lintel with Hara-Pārvatī (p. 83)

Fig. 219 Detached panel with erotic scene (p. 83)

Fig. 220 Naṭarāja (p. 83)

Fig. 221 Dancing Ardhanārīśvara (p. 83)

216-221 Śatrughneśvara temple

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Fig. 222 Detached niche with Kārttikeya (p. 84)

Fig. 224 Kārttikeya in side niche on west (p. 84)

Fig. 223 Fragmented image of Mahishamardinī among wall debris (p. 84)

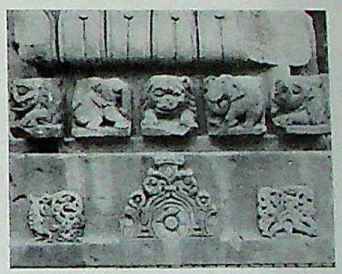

Fig. 225 *Pābhāga* moulding with *tala-bandhana* (p. 84)

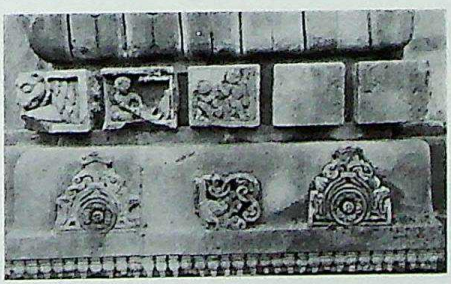

Fig. 226 *Pābhāga* moulding with *tala-bandhana* (p. 84)

Fig. 227 Svarṇajāleśvara, detail of *tala-bandhana* (p. 87)

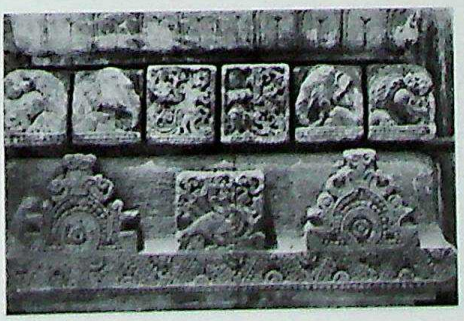

Fig. 228 Paraśurāmeśvara, *pābhāga* moulding with *tala-bandhana* (p. 84)

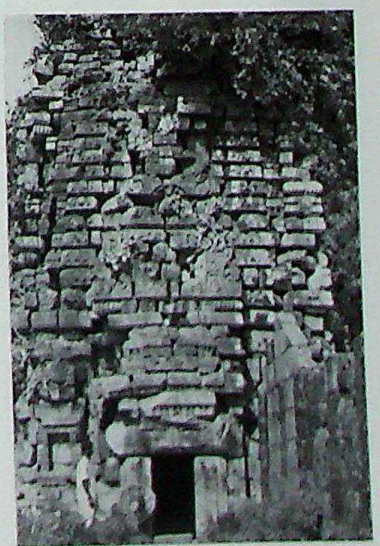

Fig. 229 Svarṇajāleśvara, east view (copyright ASI) (p. 86)

224-226 Śatrughneśvara temple

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Fig. 230 Northwest (p. 86)

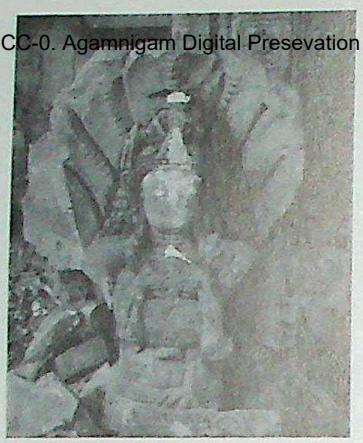

Fig. 231 Detached Nāga by entrance (p. 86)

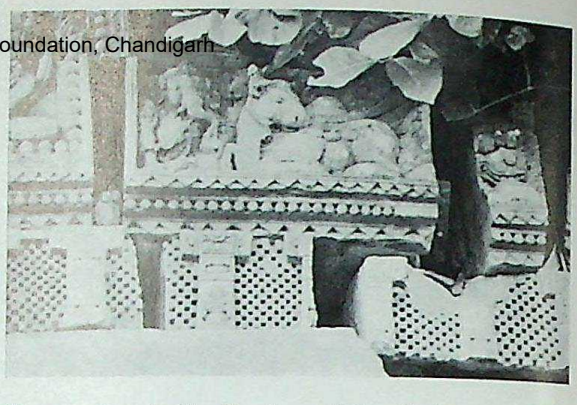

Fig. 235 Gaṇeśa, Nandī on lower *chaitya* of *vajra-mastaka*, east (p. 86)

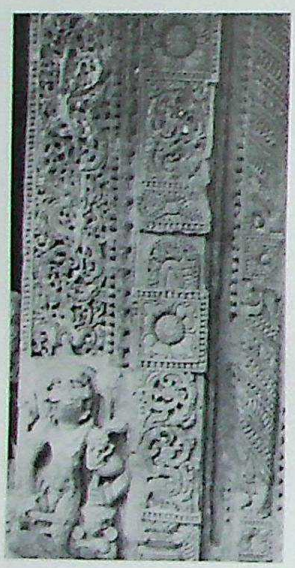

Fig. 232 Door jamb with *dvārapāla* (p. 87)

Fig. 233 Image of Brahmā on architrave, east (p. 86)

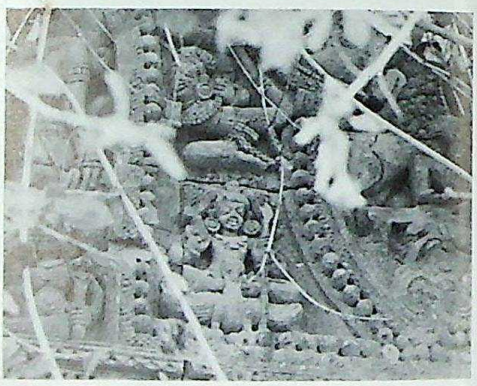

Fig. 234 Kārttikeya on lower *chaitya* of *vajra-mastaka*, east (p. 86)

Fig. 236

Fig. 237

Fig. 238

Fig. 239

236-239 Niche jamb with *chauri*-bearer (p. 87)

230-237 Svarṇajāleśvara temple
238-239 Paraśurāmeśvara temple

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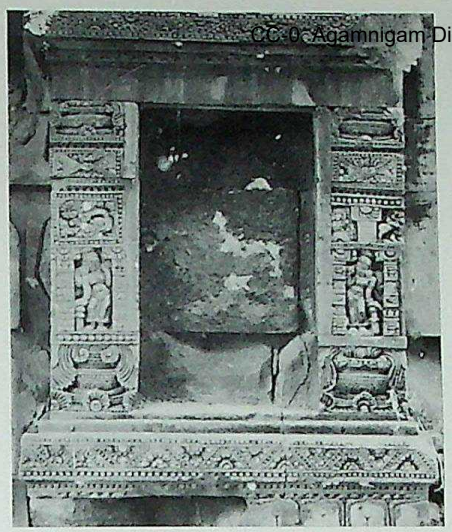

Fig. 240 Side niche (p. 87)

Fig. 241 Niche jamb with male *chaurī*-bearer (p. 87)

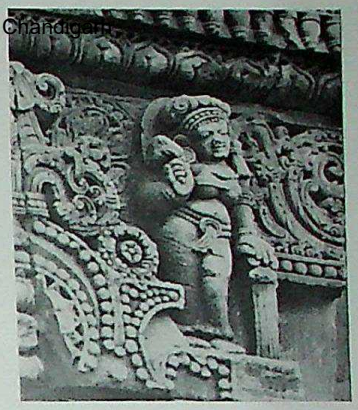

Fig. 242 *Chaurī*-bearer on *chaitya* wing (p. 88)

Fig. 243 *Śālabhañjikā* on *chaitya* wing (p. 88)

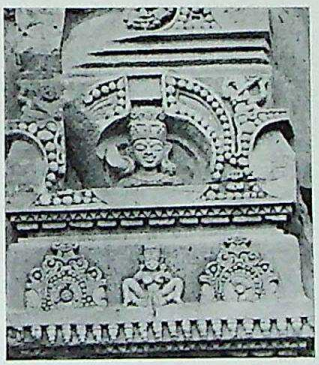

Fig. 244 *Vajra-mastaka* design crowning side *paga* (p. 87)

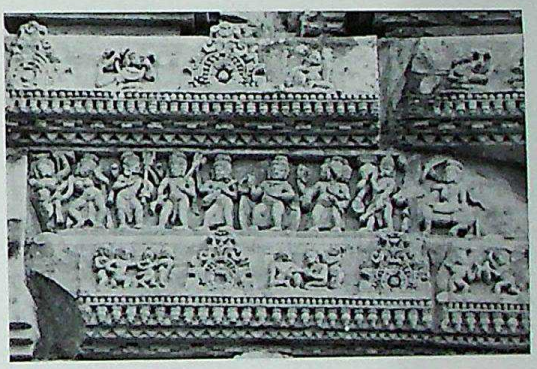

Fig. 248 Marriage procession in *baraṇḍa* recess, North (p. 85)

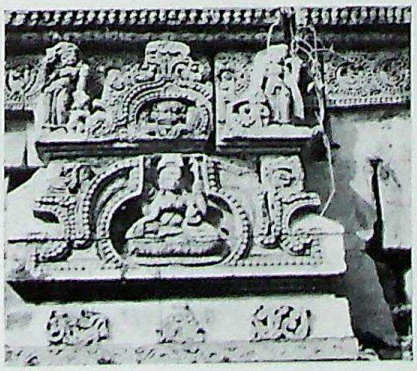

Fig. 245 *Vajra-mastaka* design crowning side *paga* (p. 87)

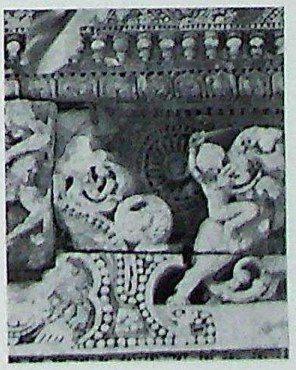

Fig. 246 *Jagrata* on upper *chaitya* wing of *vajra-mastaka* (p. 87)

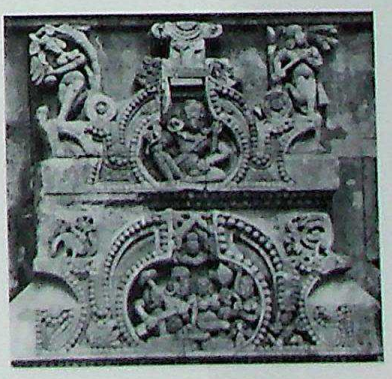

Fig. 247 *Vajra-mastaka* design of side *paga* (p. 87)

240-242, 245-246 Svarṇajāleśvara temple
243, 247 Paraśurāmeśvara temple
244 Śatrughneśvara temple

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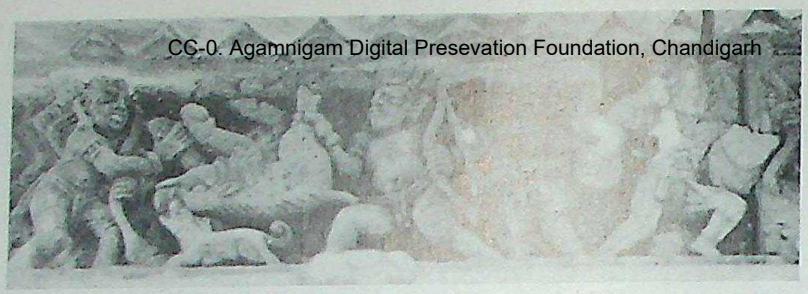

Fig. 249 Kirāta and Arjuna fighting over the boar, *baraṇḍa* recess (p. 88)

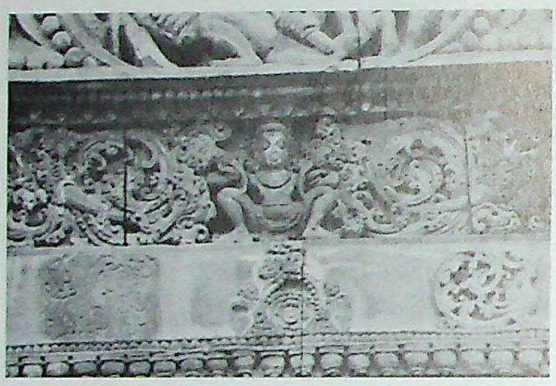

Fig. 250 Squatting figure with scroll work, *baraṇḍa* recess of *rāhā* (p. 88)

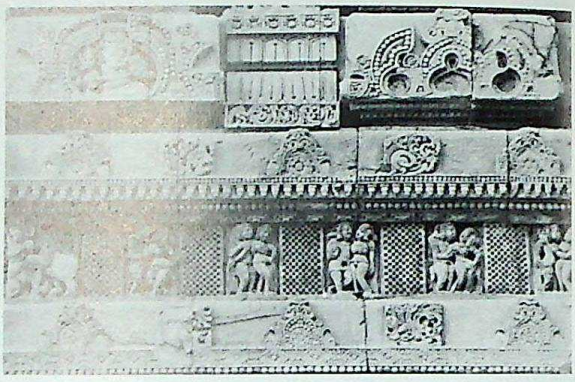

Fig. 251 *Baraṇḍa* recess with *mithunas* and *jālī* patterns (p. 88)

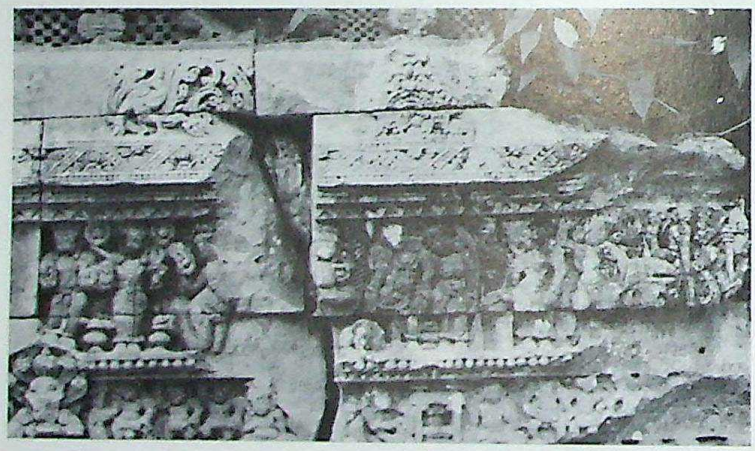

Fig. 252 *Rāhā* lintel: Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, north (p. 88)

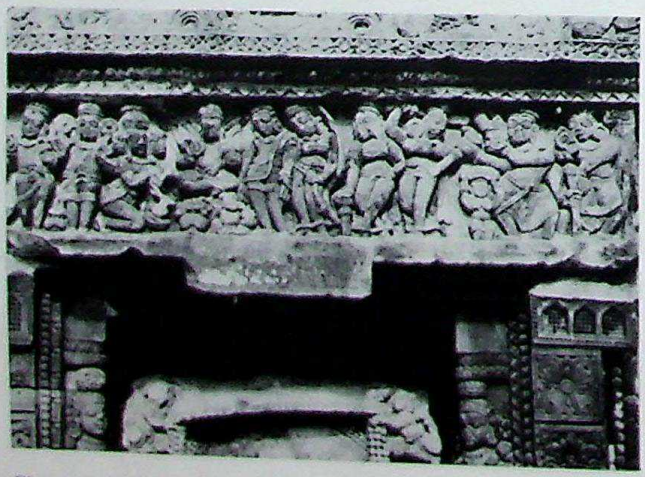

Fig. 253 *Rāhā* lintel: Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, east (p. 88)

249, 252 Svarṇajāleśvara temple
250-251, 253 Paraśurāmeśvara temple

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Fig. 254 Detail of lintel with Sūrya, Brahmā (p. 88)

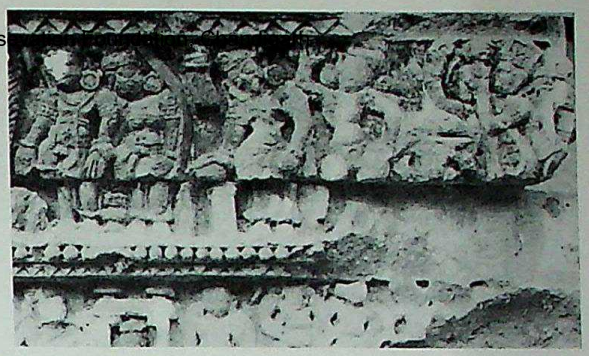

Fig. 255 Detail of lintel with Śiva, Pārvatī, dancers and Vishṇu (p. 88)

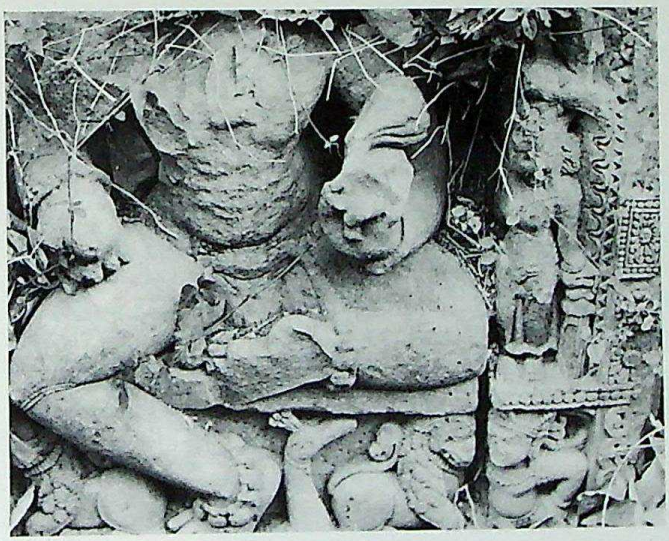

Fig. 258 Kārttikeya: east *rāhā* niche (p. 89)

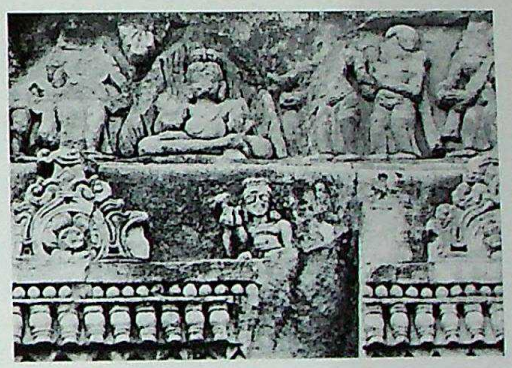

Fig. 257 *Baraṇḍa* recess: Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (p. 85)

254-255, 258 Svarṇajāleśvara temple
256 Paraśurāmeśvara temple
257 Śatrughneśvara temple

Fig. 256 Detail of lintel with dancers, Sūrya, Brahmā and Agni (p. 88)

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Fig. 259 Kārttikeya in east *rāhā* niche (p. 89)

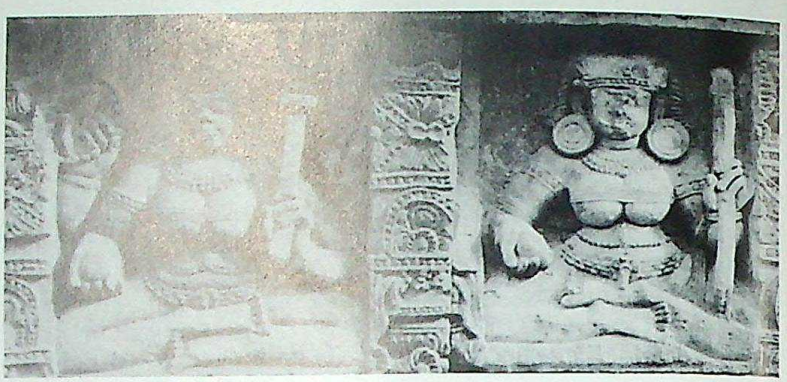

Fig. 260 Śivānī and Kaumārī on *jagamohana* (p. 90)

259-264 Paraśurāmeśvara temple

Fig. 261 *Dvārapāla* Mahākāla on west door (p. 89)

Fig. 262 Hari-Hara on south side of *jagamohana* (p. 90)

Fig. 263 Maheśamūrti on *jagamohana*, north (p. 90)

Fig. 264 Maheśamūrti on *jagamohana*, south (p. 90)

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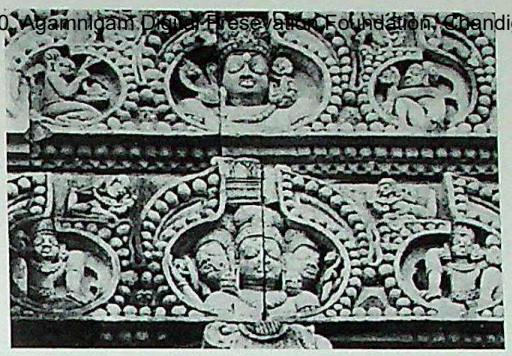

Fig. 265 Maheśamūrti on *gaṇḍī*, west (p. 90)

Fig. 266 Mahishāsuramardinī on *gaṇḍī*, north (p. 84)

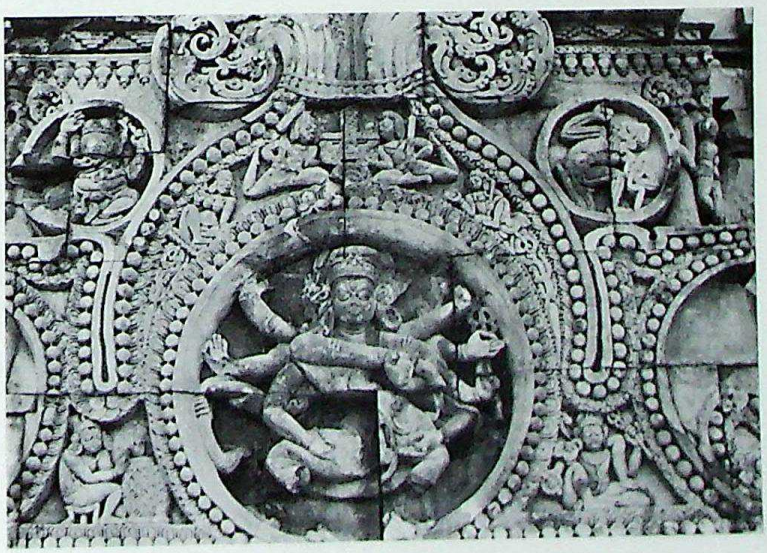

Fig. 267 Naṭarāja of *vajra-mastaka* on *gaṇḍī* (p. 91)

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Fig. 268 Śatrughneśvara, Naṭarāja of *vajra-mastaka* on *gaṇḍī* (p. 91)

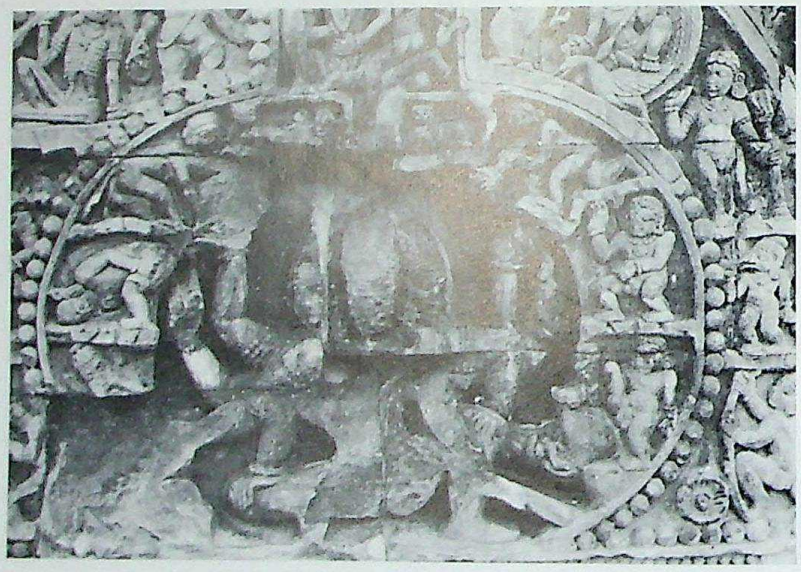

Fig. 269 Paraśurāmeśvara, Rāvaṇānugraha-*mūrti* of *vajra-mastaka* (p. 91)

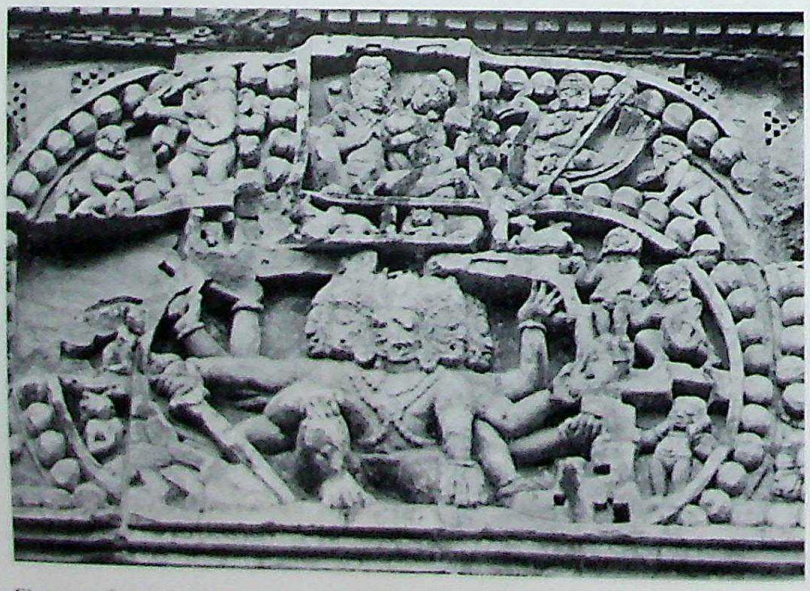

Fig. 270 Śatrughneśvara, Rāvaṇānugraha-*mūrti* of *vajra-mastaka* (p. 91)

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Fig. 271

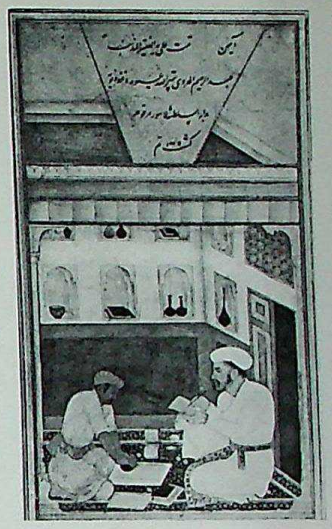

Fig. 272

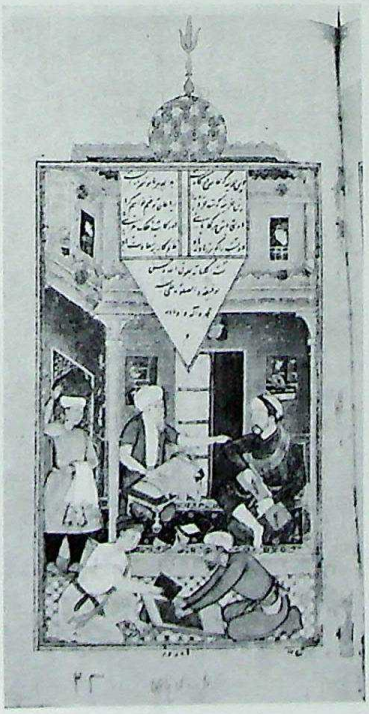

Fig. 273

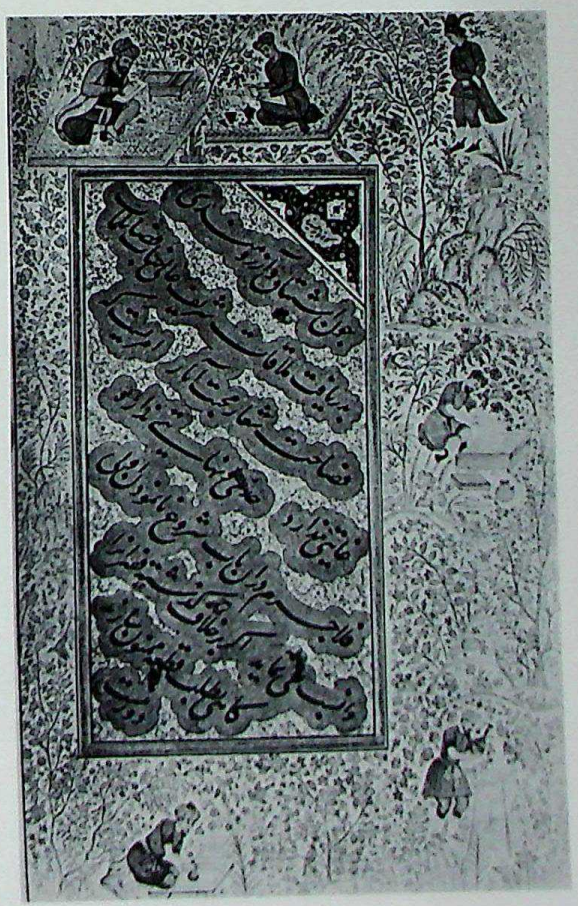

Fig. 274

271 Manohar and Muhammad Husain, *Gulistan manuscript*, 1581 A.D. (p. 94)

272 Abdur Rahīm, colophon page of *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, 1596 A.D. (p. 94)

273 Book binders at work, colophon of the Haft-Paikar episode of Nizami's *Khamsa*, *ca.* 1585-90 (p. 94)

274-275 Calligrapher and paper manufacturers, Jahangir Album (p. 94)

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Fig. 275

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Fig. 276

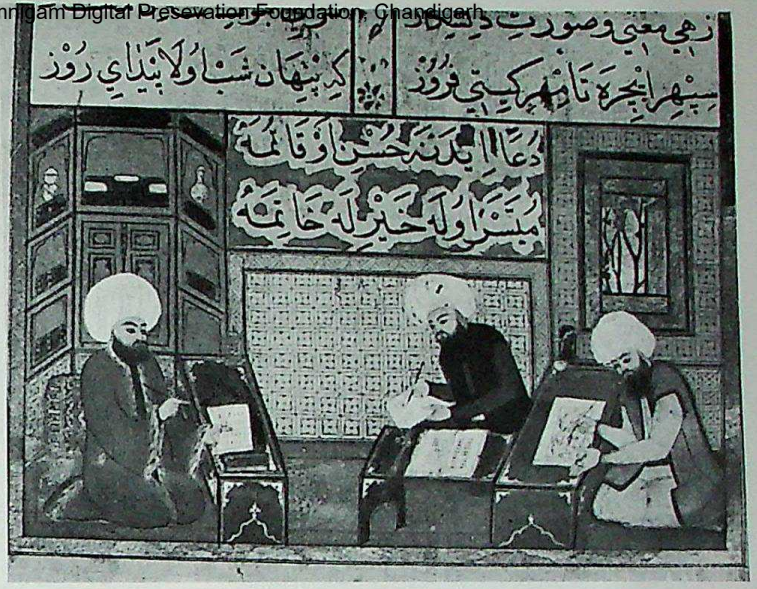

Fig. 277

Fig. 278

Fig. 279

276 Mir 'Abdullah Katib, colophon of poems of Dihlavi, dated 1602 A.D. (p. 95)

277 Painter Hassan Pasha with a calligrapher, colophon of *Eqûr Fatihnâmeh*, dated 1602 A.D. (p. 95)

278 Self-portrait of Kesavdas painter, dated 1590 A.D. (p. 95)

279 Self-portrait of Kesavdas, *ca.* 1575 A.D. (p. 95)

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Fig. 280 Self-portrait of Farrukh Beg Musawwir (p. 95)

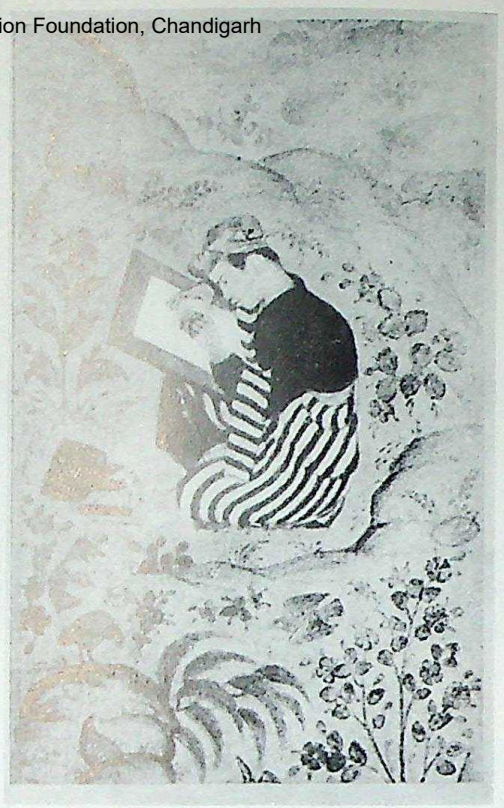

Fig. 281 Portrait of painter Abu'l Hasan *Nadir-uz-Zaman* by Daulat. A folio in the Gulshan Album (p. 96)

Fig. 282 Portrait of painter Manohar by Daulat (p. 96)

Fig. 283 Portrait of painter Bishandas by Daulat (p. 96)

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Fig. 284 Portrait of Govardhan and Daulat by Daulat (p. 96)

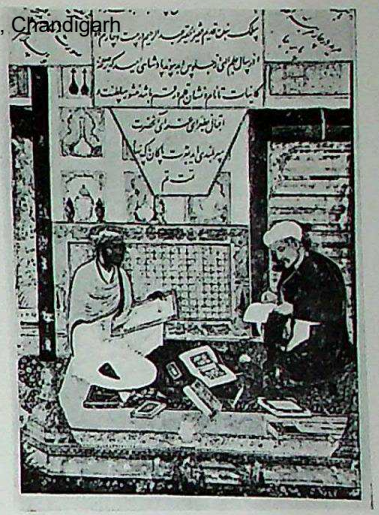

Fig. 285
285 Painter Daulat and calligrapher 'Abdul Ḥusain Anbarīn Qalam, colophon page of *Khamsa-i-Nizami* (p. 96)

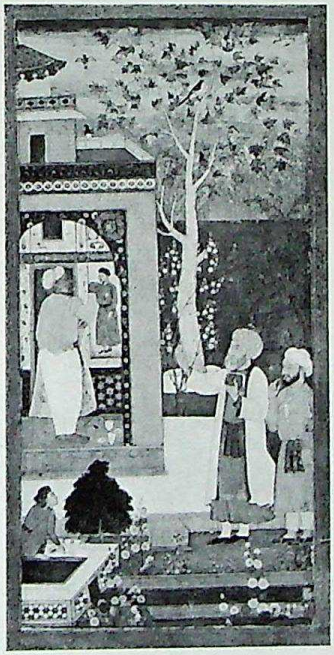

Fig. 286 Artist working on a wall painting (p. 96)

Fig. 288 Royal *atelier* of calligraphers and the Librarian, *ca.* 1615 A.D. (p. 97)

Fig. 287 Old calligrapher at work, *ca.* 1625-30 A.D. (p. 97)

Courtesy :

Fig. 271 The Royal Asiatic Society, London
273 Keir Collection, Ham, England
274, 278 State Library, Berlin
275, 282-84 Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
276 Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
277 Topkapu Sarayi Library, Istambul
279 Sotheby's Sale Catalogue
281 Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran
285 The British Museum, London
286 V. & A. Museum, London
287 Rothschild Collection, Paris

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Fig. 289 Profile

Fig. 290 Side one

289-91 Addorsed heads of Kushan donors, Mathura (p. 98)

Fig. 291 Side two

Fig. 292 Skanda-Kārttikeya as Mahāsena, Mathura (p. 99)

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Fig. 293 Side view of fig. 292 (p. 99)

Fig. 294

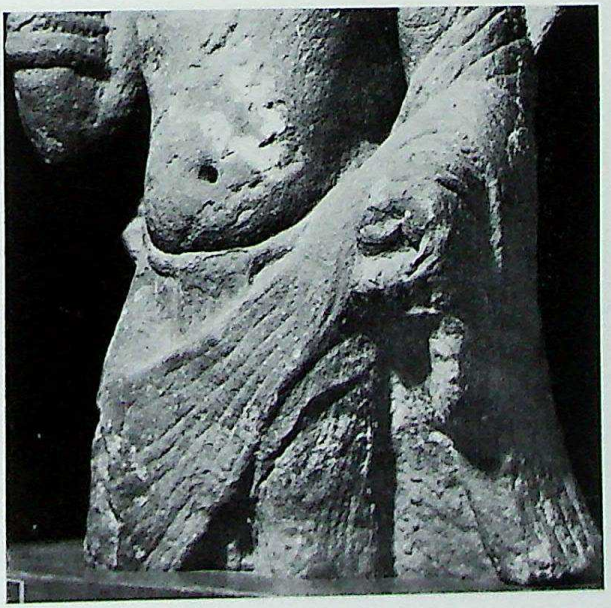

Fig. 295 *Kamaṇḍalu* in left hand

Fig. 296 Back

294-296 Agni, Mathura (pp. 101-102)

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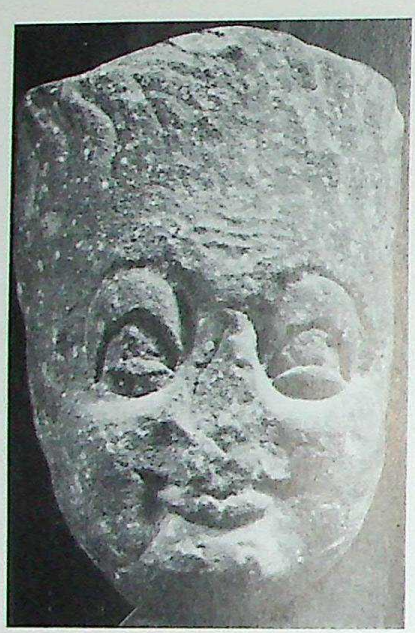

Fig. 297 Head of Agni, Mathura (p. 102)

Fig. 298 *Ushṇīshīn* form of Śiva

298-300 *Chaturmukha-liṅga*. Possibly Kauśāmbī or Mathura (pp. 102-103)

Fig. 299 *Vyaptakeśa* form

Fig. 300 Head with *jaṭāmukuṭa*

CC-0. Agamkugan Digital Preservation Foundation. Chennai.

Fig. 301

301 Kubera, Śiva temple, Khilchipura (p. 105)
302 Śiva, Mandasor fort (p. 105)
303 Kubera, Śiva temple, Bhumra (p. 105)
304 Kubera, Mansar (Nagpur) (p. 105)

Collection : National Museum, New Delhi

Fig. 302

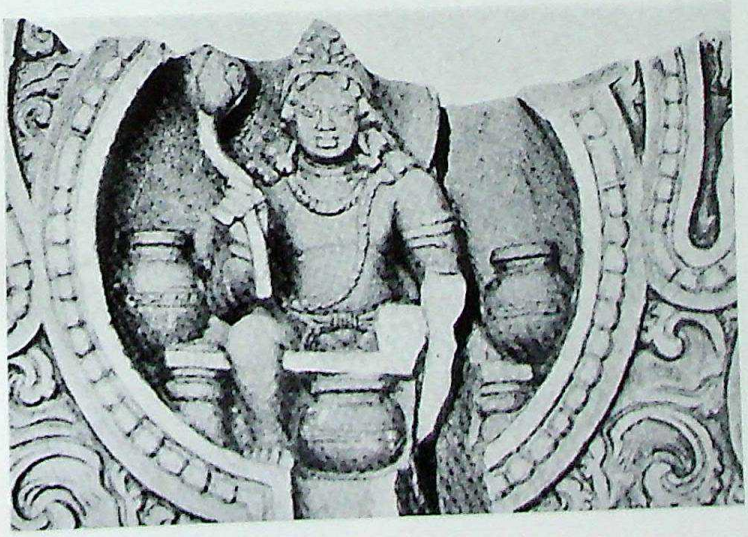

Fig. 303

Fig. 304

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Fig. 306

Fig. 308

Fig. 309

Fig. 307

Fig. 305

305 Kubera, Rohoi (Bihar), collection : Indian Museum, Calcutta (p. 105)
306 Kubera with *nakulaka* and *śaṅkhanidhi*, collection : Gwalior Museum (p. 105)
307 Siddhartha's horoscope explained, Sahri Bahlol, collection : Peshawar Museum (p. 105)
308 Kubera, Central India, collection : Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (p. 105)
309 Female, Sondni, collection : Gwalior Museum (p. 106)

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Fig. 310 Kubera, Mathura, collection: V. & A. Museum, London (p. 106)

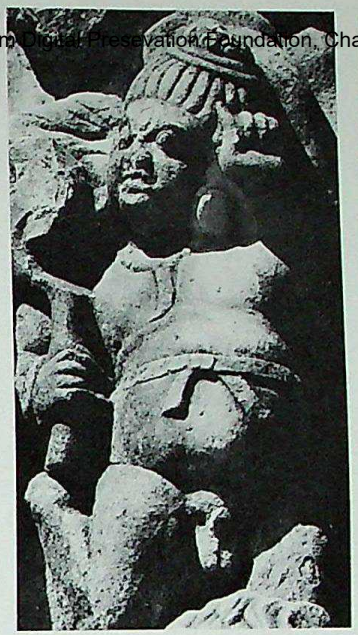

Fig. 311

Fig. 312

311-312 *Śivagaṇa*, detail of Śiva, Mandasor Fort (p. 107)

Fig. 313 Detail of Kubera, Śiva temple, Khilchipura (p. 107)

Fig. 314 Left

Fig. 315 Centre

Fig. 316 Right

314-316 Kubera (?) frieze. Base of Mandasor Śiva (p. 107)

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 301-302, 306, 309, 311-316 Horst Schastok

303 Banerji, *Temple of Śiva at Bhumra*, pl. XIIIa

304 Harle, JRSA, CXXV/5253, fig. 1

305 Frederick Asher

307 Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, fig. 20

308 Author

310 J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLIVc

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Fig. 317

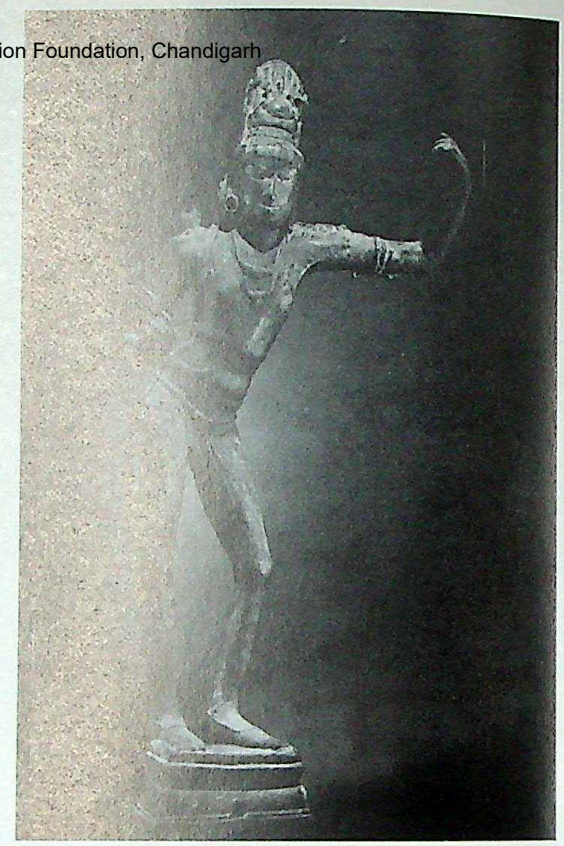

Fig. 318

Fig. 319

317 Gaṇeśa, Chola, mid-tenth century, Tamil Nadu (p. 109)

318 Śiva Tripurāntakamūrti, Chola, mid-tenth century, Tandantottam, Tamil Nadu (p. 109)

319 Naṭarāja, Chola, *ca.* 970, Shivapuram, Tamil Nadu (p. 110)

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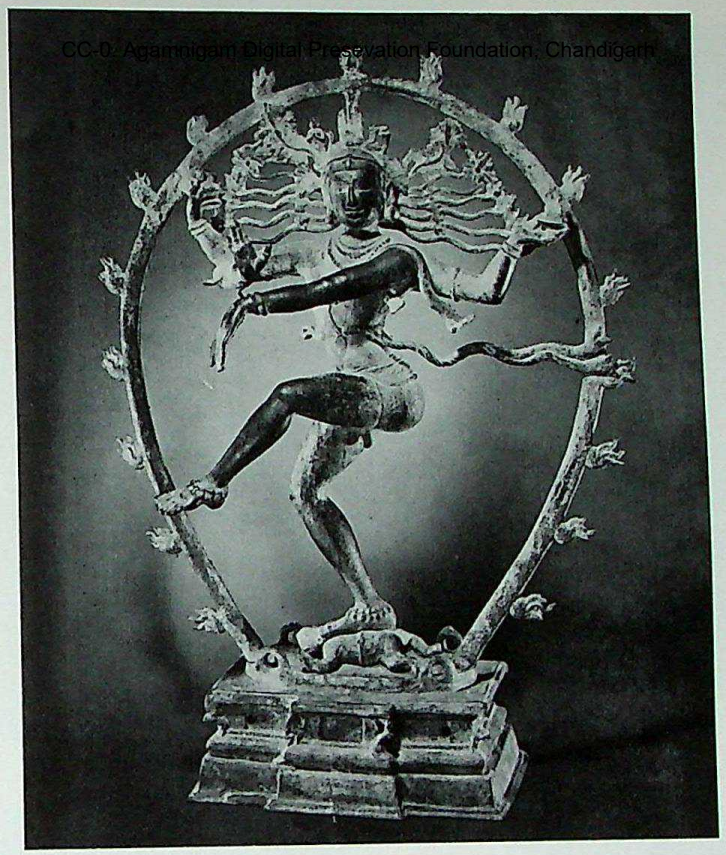

Fig. 320

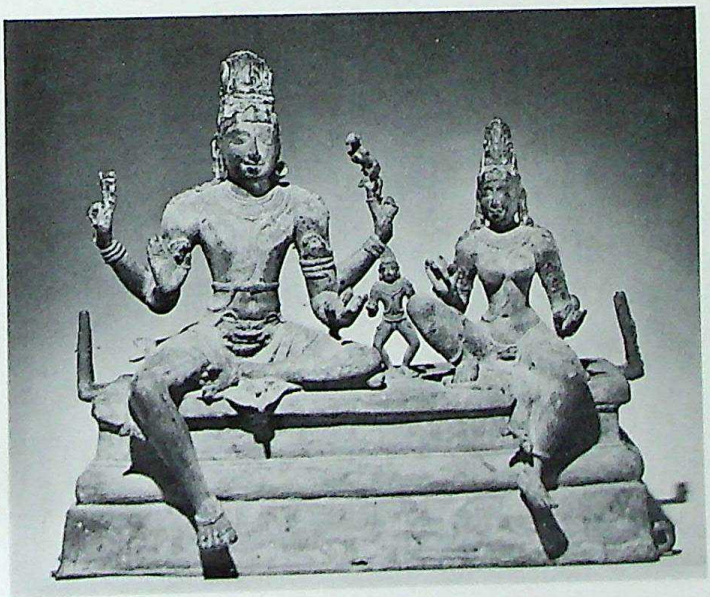

Fig. 321

Fig. 322

320 Naṭarāja, Chola, *ca.* 990, Tamil Nadu (p. 110)
321 Somaskandamūrti, Chola, *ca.* 970, Shivapuram, Tamil Nadu (p. 111)
322 Standing Pārvatī, Chola, *ca.* 960-980, Tamil Nadu (p. 111)

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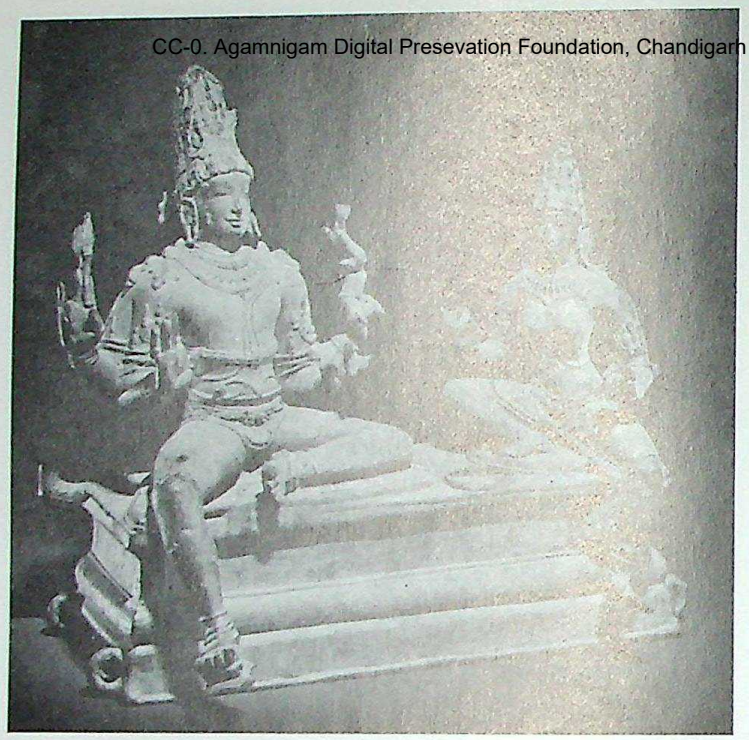

Fig. 323

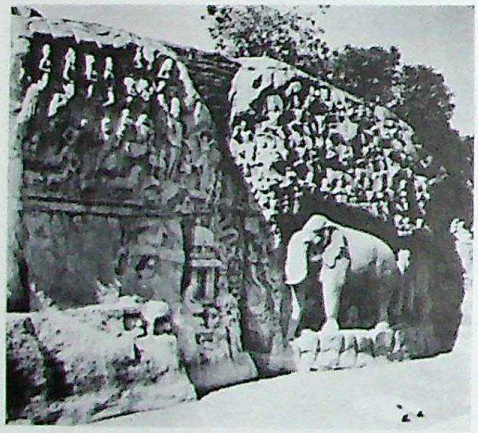

Fig. 324

323 Somaskandamūrti, Chola, *ca.* first quarter of the eleventh cent., Tamil Nadu (p. 112)

324 The rock-cut relief, Māmallapuram (p. 113)

325 The monkey family, rock-cut relief, north (p. 113)

Courtesy:

Figs. 317-323 The Norton Simon Museum of Art, Pasadena (USA)
All photographs *courtesy:* Lee Boltin

Fig. 325

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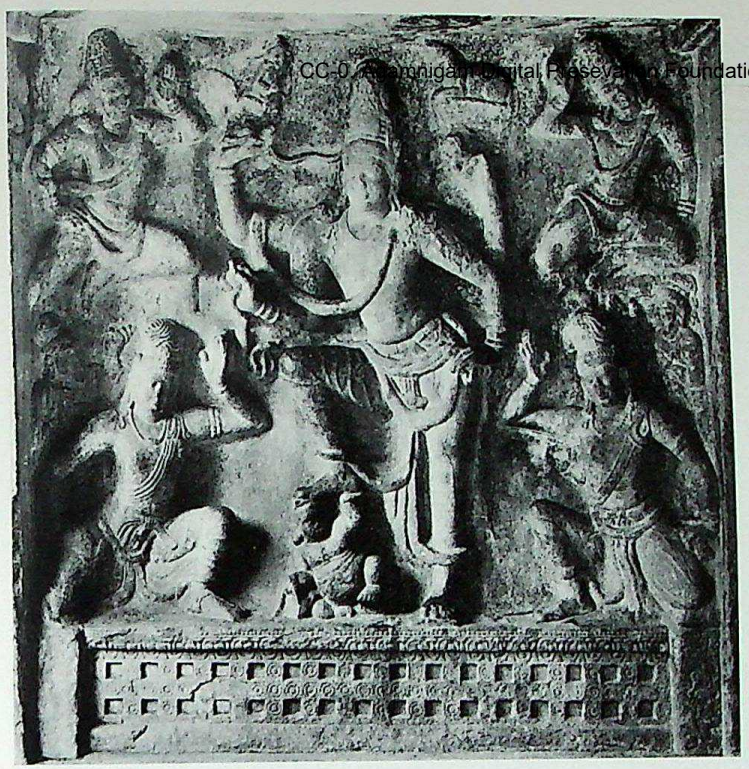

Fig. 326

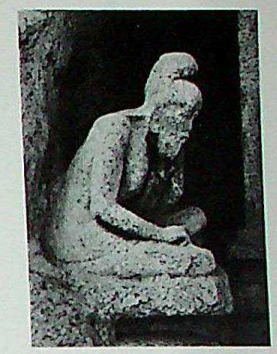

Fig. 329

326 Descent of Ganges, Lalitāṅkura cave temple, *ca.* seventh cent., Tiruchirapalli (p. 113)

327 Detail of fig. 324, Māmallapuram (p. 114)

328 Nara-Nārāyaṇa relief, Daśāvatāra temple, *ca.* sixth cent., Deogarh (p. 115)

329 Detail of fig. 324, Bhagīratha seated before the shrine of Vishṇu (p. 115)

Fig. 327

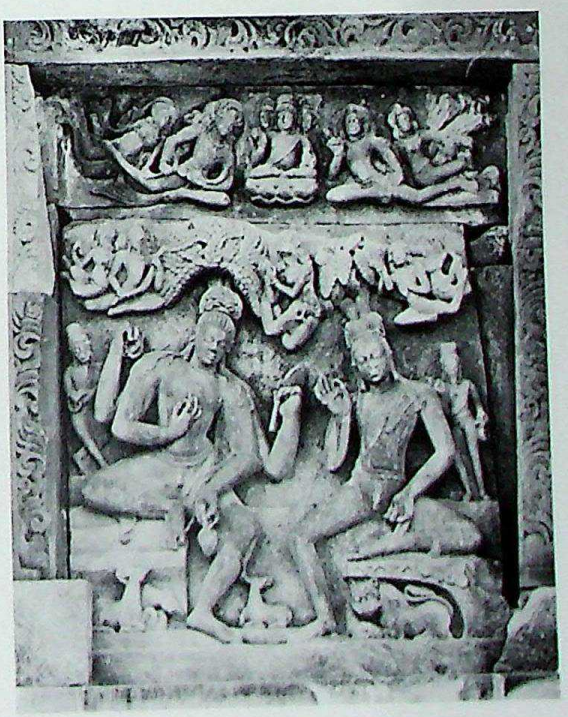

Fig. 328

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Fig. 330 Detail of fig. 324, Bhagīratha standing performing *tapas* (p. 115)

Fig. 331 Fragment of *torana*, Nagarī, Rajasthan, illustrating scenes from the *Kirātārjunīyam*, *ca.* sixth cent. (p. 115)

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Fig. 332 Detail of fig. 331, Śiva, Umā and Arjuna (p. 115)

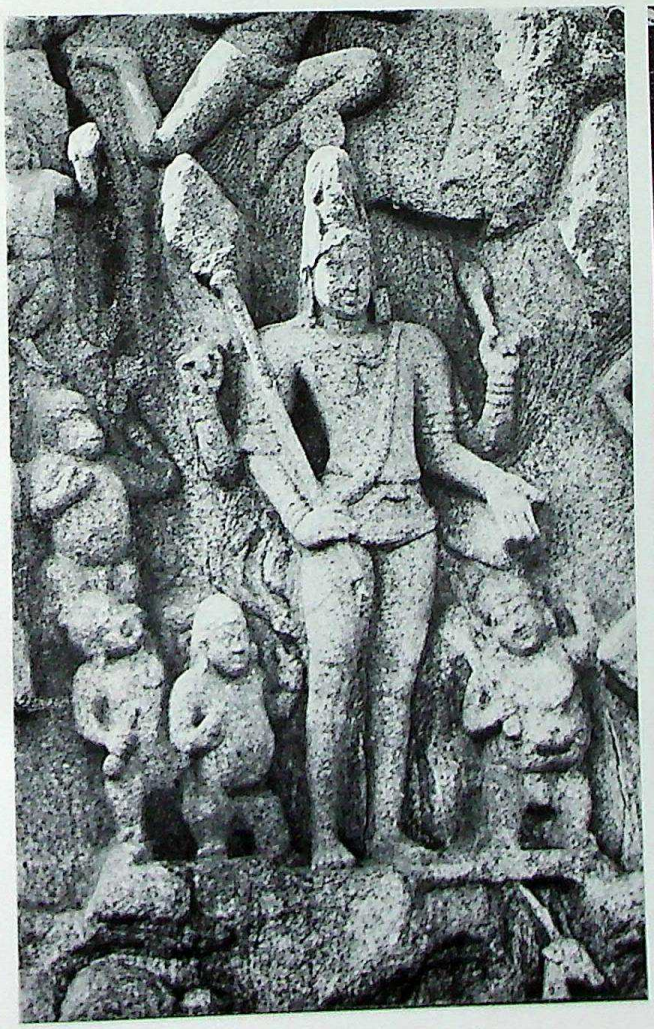

Fig. 333 Detail of fig. 324, Śiva with *gaṇas* (p. 116)

Fig. 334 Descent of the Ganges, Ravalphadi cave, Aihole, *ca.* late sixth cent. (p. 116)

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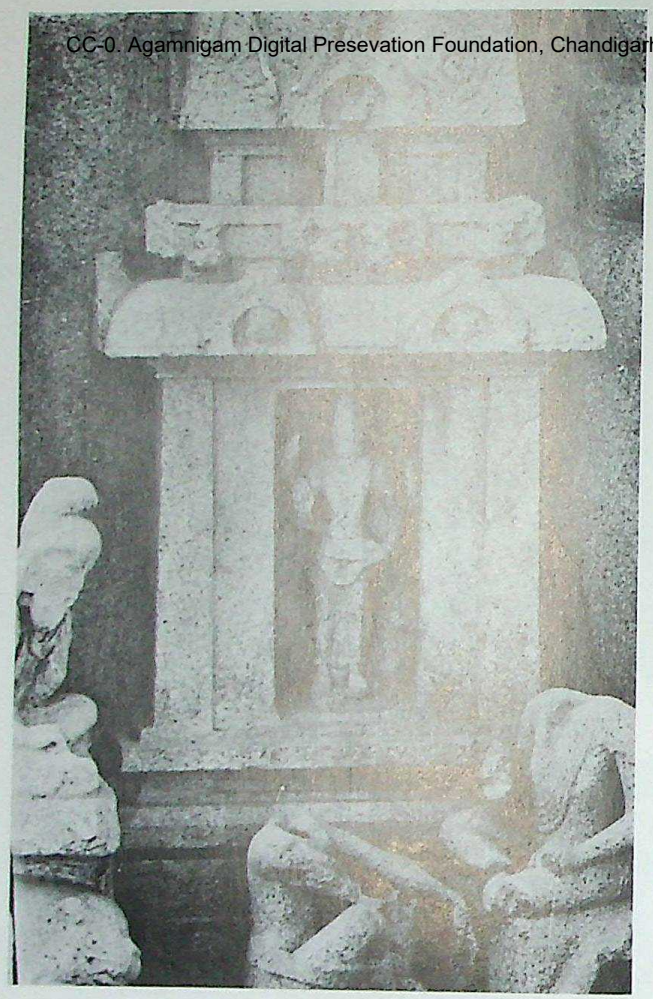

Photos *courtesy:*

Figs. 325-326, 328, 332, 334
The American Institute of Indian Stu

Fig. 335 Detail of fig. 324, Vishṇu (p. 116)

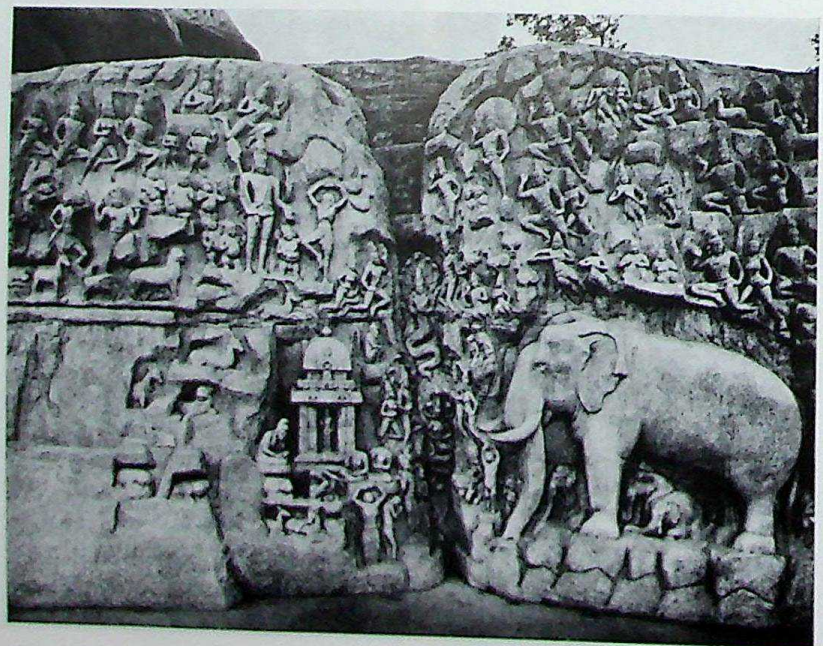

Fig. 336 View of the relief panel from the east, Māmallapuram (p. 117)

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Fig. 337

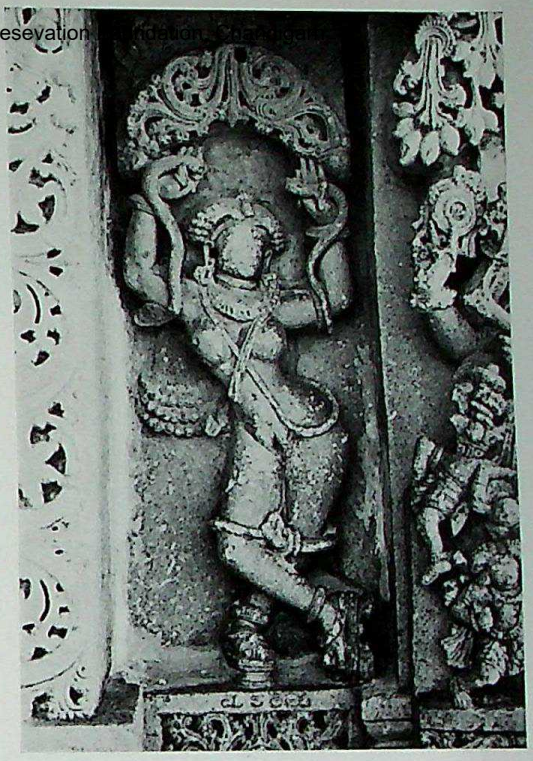

Fig. 339

Fig. 338

337 Bhairava, Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, 1113 A.D. (AIIS Neg. No. 13949) (p. 120)

338 Vetāla, Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, 1113 A.D. (AIIS Neg. No. A14-48) (p. 120)

339 Brahmahatyā, Nuggihaḷḷi, 1246 A.D. (Neg. No. 74. 116. 18) (p. 120)

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Fig. 340

Fig. 341

Fig. 342

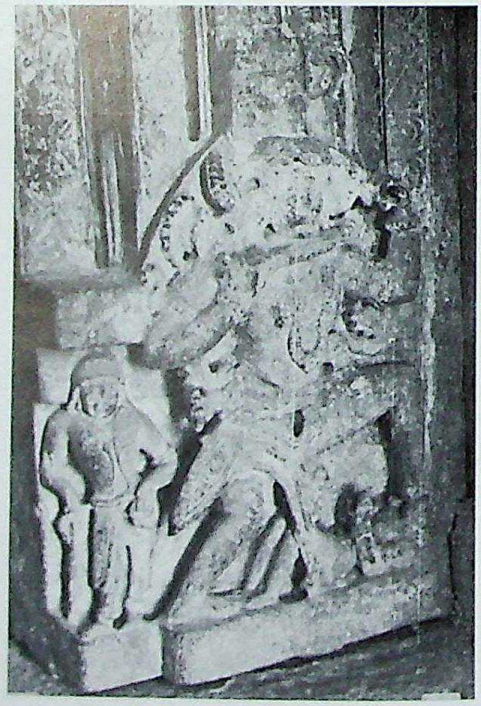

Fig. 343

340 Bhairava, Haḷebīḍ, *ca.* 1121—*ca.* 1160 (Neg. 74. 104.12) (p. 120)

341 Brahmahatyā, Haḷebīḍ, *ca.* 1121—*ca.* 1160 (Neg. 74. 104. 13) (p. 120)

342 Left doorjamb, Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, 1113 A.D. (Neg. 74. 011. 30) (p. 121)

343 Right doorjamb, Doḍḍagaḍḍavaḷḷi, 1113 A.D. (Neg. 74. 011. 31) (p. 121)

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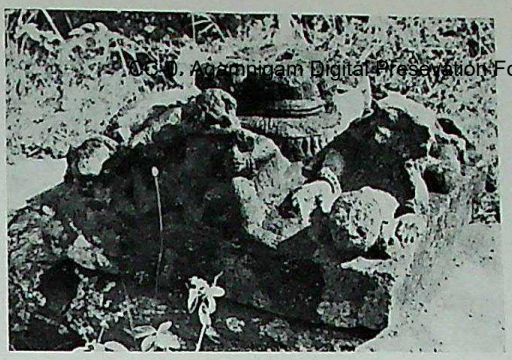

Fig. 344

Fig. 345

344 Suicide stone, Bhairavanguḍḍ, 1200 A.D. (Neg. 74. 106. 3) (p. 122)

345 Suicide stone, Kākātiya, 1300 A.D. (Neg. 74. 066. 7) (p. 121)

346 Section of wall *maṇḍapa,* Pālempet, 1213 A.D. (Neg. 74. 057. 12) (p. 121)

Fig. 346

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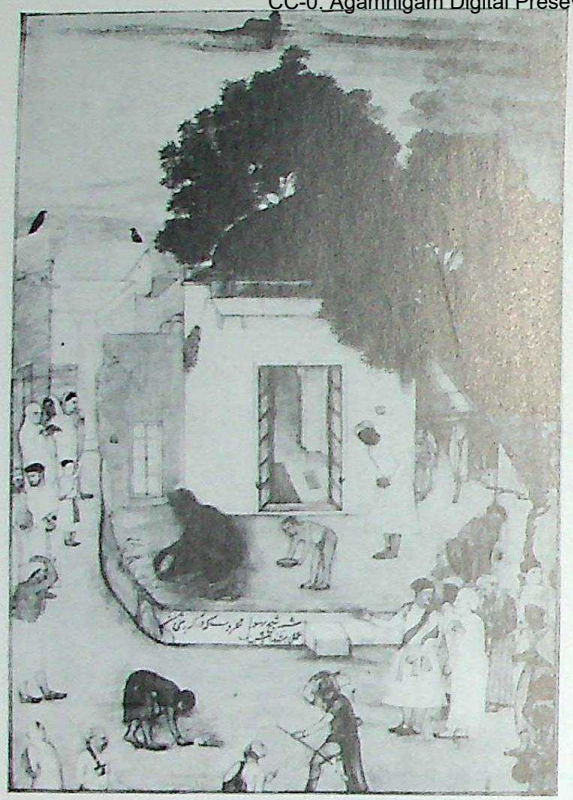

Fig. 347 "The House of Shaykh Phūl" by Bishandās, Mughal, *ca.* 1605-10 (p 123)

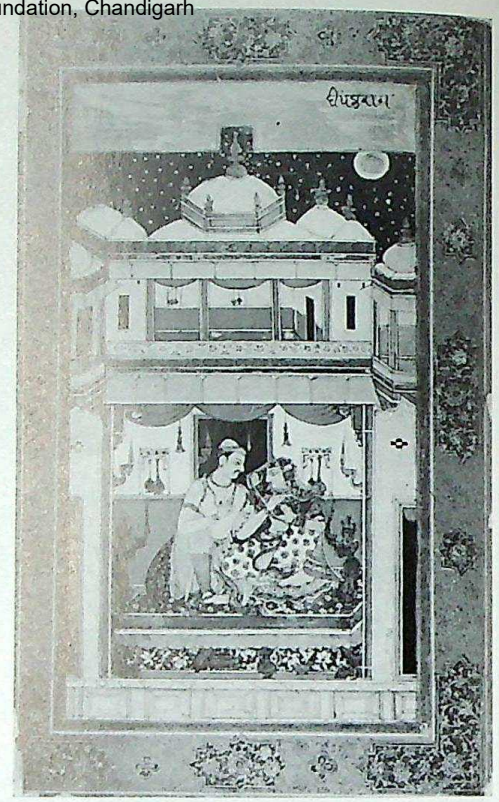

Fig. 348 *Dīpak Rāga* (p. 123)

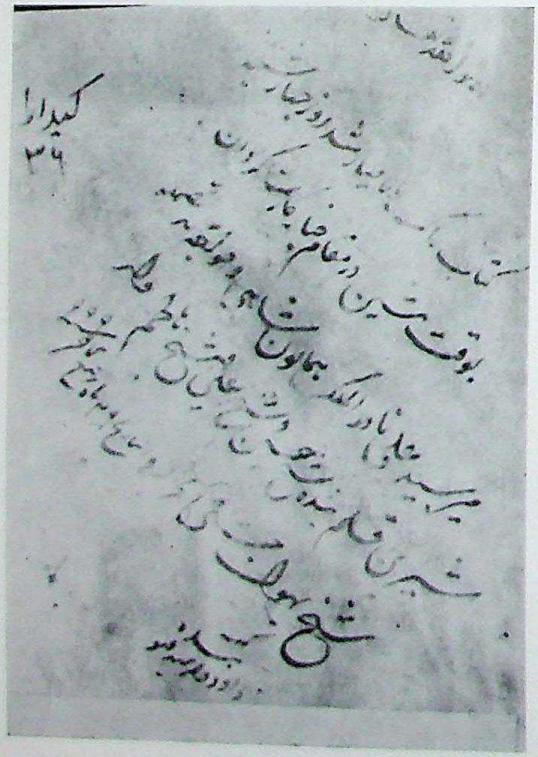

Fig. 349 The inscription written by Dāūd, son of Sayyid Jīv on the reverse of *Kedārā Rāgiṇi* (p. 124)

Fig. 350 *Kāmod Rāgiṇi* (p. 128)

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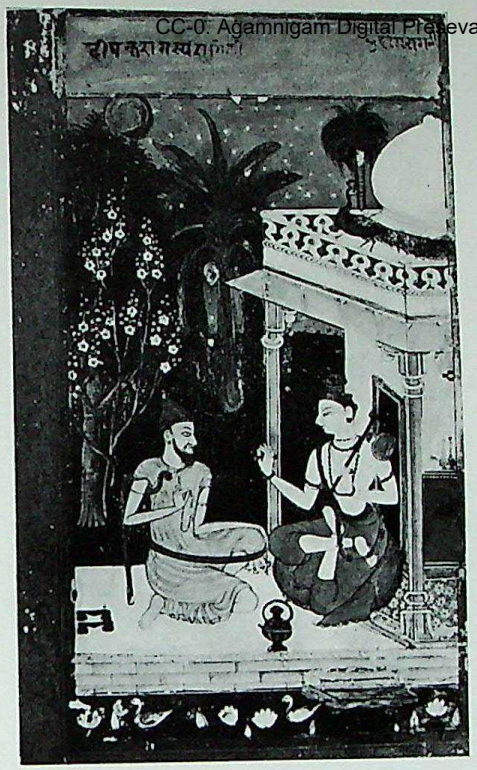

Fig. 351 *Kedārā Rāgiṇī* (p. 129)

Fig. 352 *Kedārā Rāgiṇī*, Bundi, late seventeenth cent., based on the last folio of the Chunar *Rāgamālā* (p. 129)

348-51 From a set of *Rāgamālā*, Prototype of the Bundi style painted at Chunar by the sons of Shaykh Phūl in 999 A.H. (1591 A.D.)

Photos *courtesy:*
Fig. 351 Author
352 Victoria & Albert Museum

Fig. 353 Early Silver Punch-marked Coins (No. 1 enlarged) (p. 130)

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Fig. 354

Fig. 355

354 Bronze Buddha, Sultānganj (p. 135)
Photo *courtesy:* Birmingham Museum

355 Detail of fig. 354 (p. 135)

356 Small stone Buddha placed at the entrance of a modern shrine on Jahāngīrā Rock, Sultānganj (p. 136)

357 Buddha, carved from surface of Jahāngīrā Rock, Sultānganj (p. 137)

Fig. 357

Fig. 356

CC-0. Kamraj Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 358 Detail of doorway, Indaldeo temple, Kharod, M.P. (p. 140)

Fig. 359 Skandamātā, Mallar, M.P. (p. 141)

Figs. 358-73 copyright : Author

Fig. 360 Detail, Western Gate, Rajim, M.P. (p. 141)

Fig. 361 *Gaṇa* relief (p. 141)

Fig. 362 *Dvārapāla* (p. 141)

361-364 Rājīvalochana temple, Rajim, M.P.

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Fig. 363 *Devī* (p. 141)

Fig. 364 Vishṇu in a corner *devakulikā* (p. 141)

Fig. 365 Gaṅgā, Rāmachandra temple, Rajim, M.P. (p. 141)

Fig. 366 Śiva as Lakuliśa (p. 141)

Fig. 367 Śiva as Trimūrti (p. 141)

366-67 Reliefs on the door of *devakulikā* at the north-eastern corner of the Rājīvalochana temple, Rajim, M.P.

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Fig. 368 Umā-Maheśvara, shrine doorway, Pali temple, M.P. (p. 141)

Fig. 369 *Devi*, Mallar, M.P. (p. 142)

Fig. 373 Female figure, Rājīvalochana temple, Rajim, M.P. (p. 143)

Fig. 370 Recut female figure on a pilaster (p. 142)

Fig. 371 Recut Varāha relief (p. 142)

Fig. 372 *Śālabhañjikā* (p. 143)

370-72 Rāmachandra temple, Rajim, M.P.

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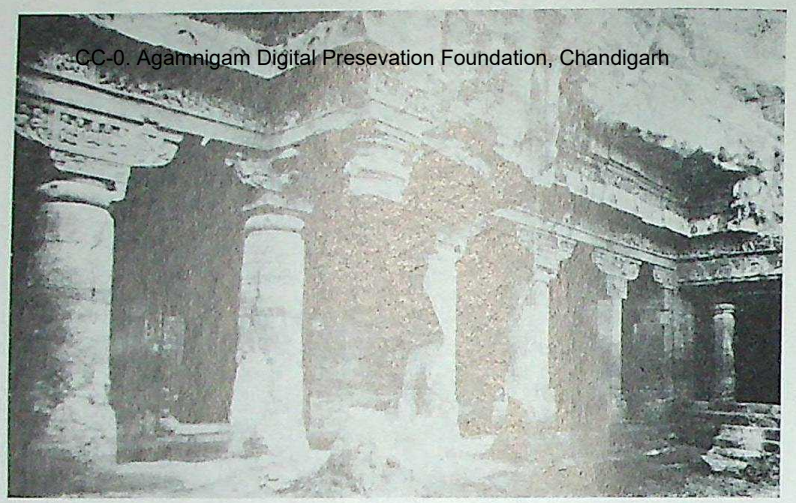

Fig. 374 Cave 1, façade, old photograph (p. 144)

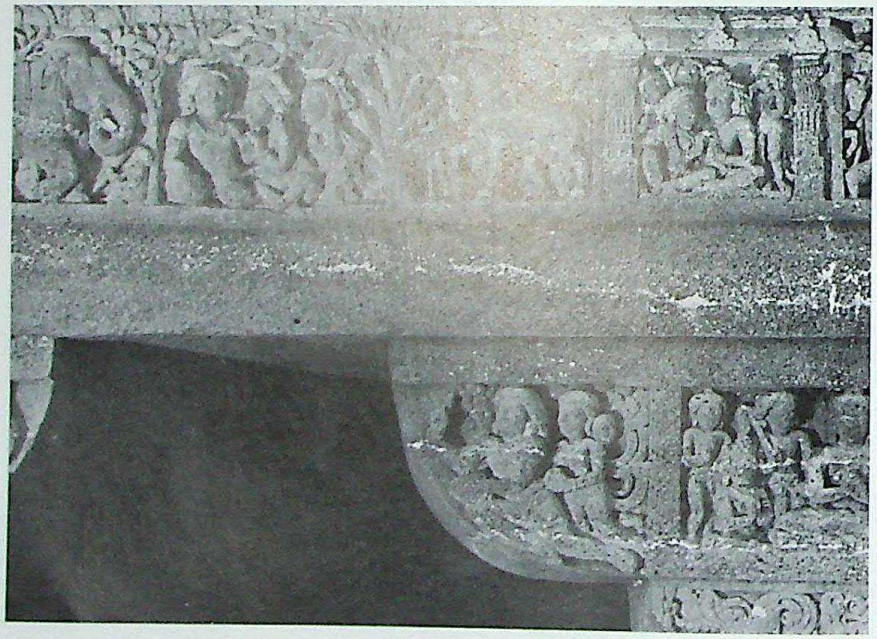

Fig. 375 Cave 1, façade, episodes in the life of a prince (p. 144)

Fig. 376 Cave 1, porch, right end, old photograph (p. 144)

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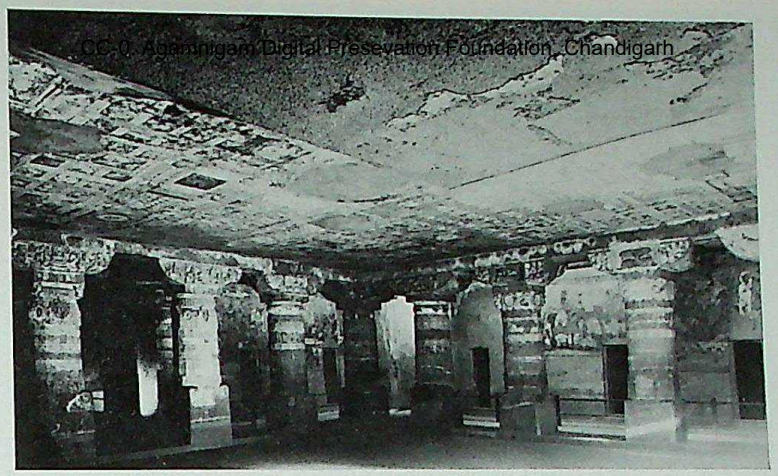

Fig. 377 Cave 1, interior, right rear of main hall (p. 144)

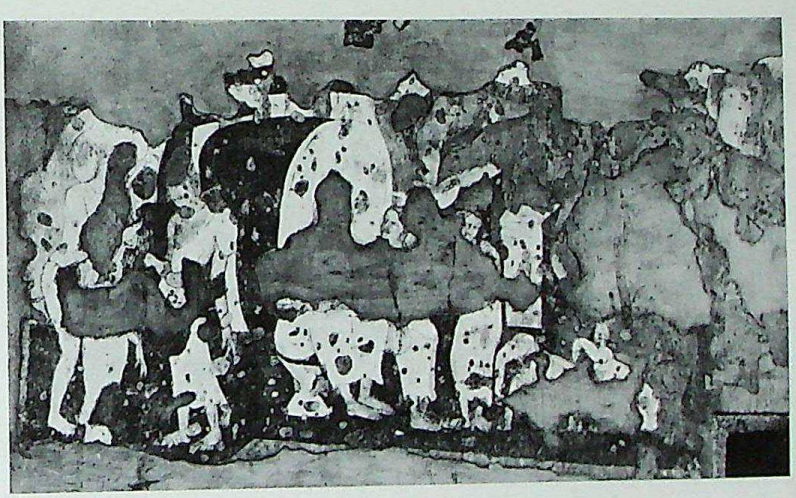

Fig. 378 Cave 1, interior, right wall, unidentified subject (p. 144)

Fig. 379 Cave 1, interior, left wall (p. 144)

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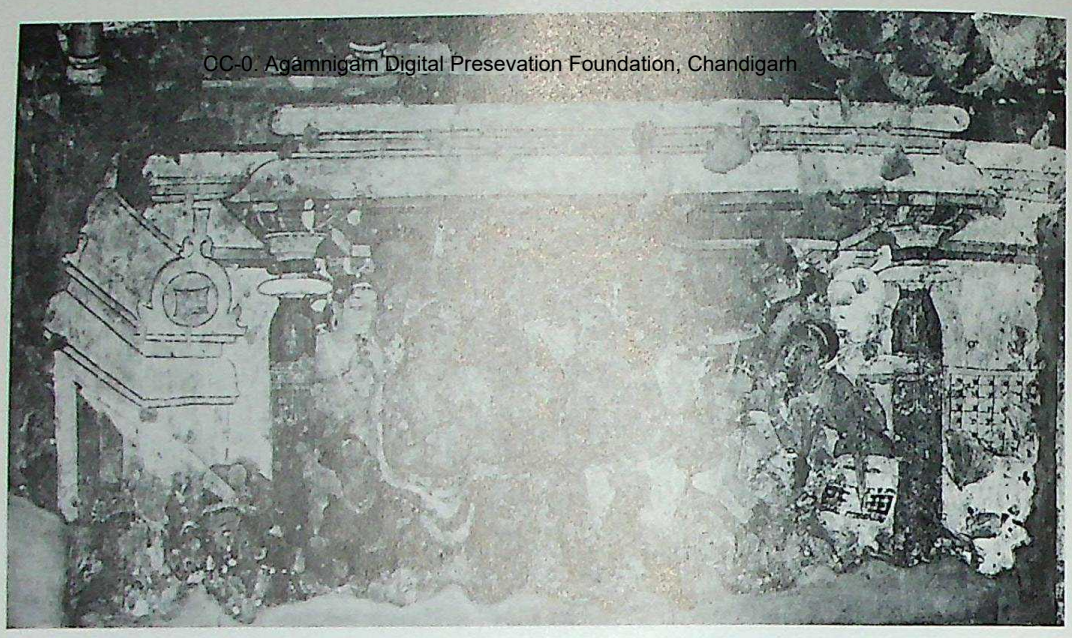

Fig. 380

380 Cave 1, interior, real wall (p. 144)
381 Cave 1, interior, main hall (p. 144)
382 Cave 1, interior, center pillars showing *nāgas* (p. 144)

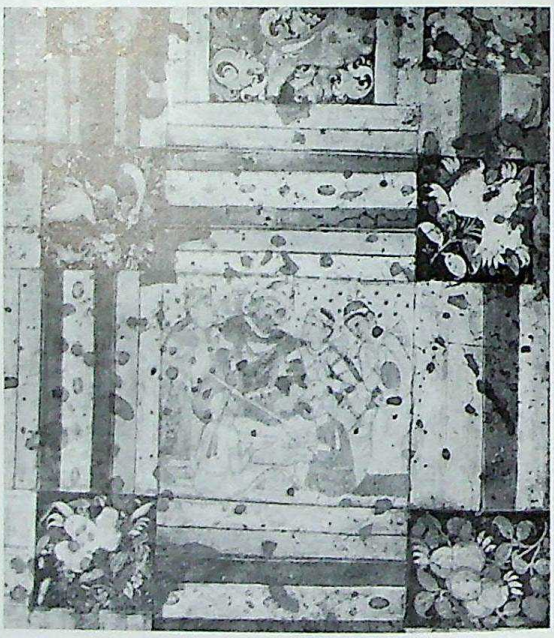

Fig. 381

Fig. 382

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Fig. 383

Fig. 385 Cave 1, shrine, Buddha (p. 144)

383-84 Cave 1, shrine antechamber (pp. 144, 155)

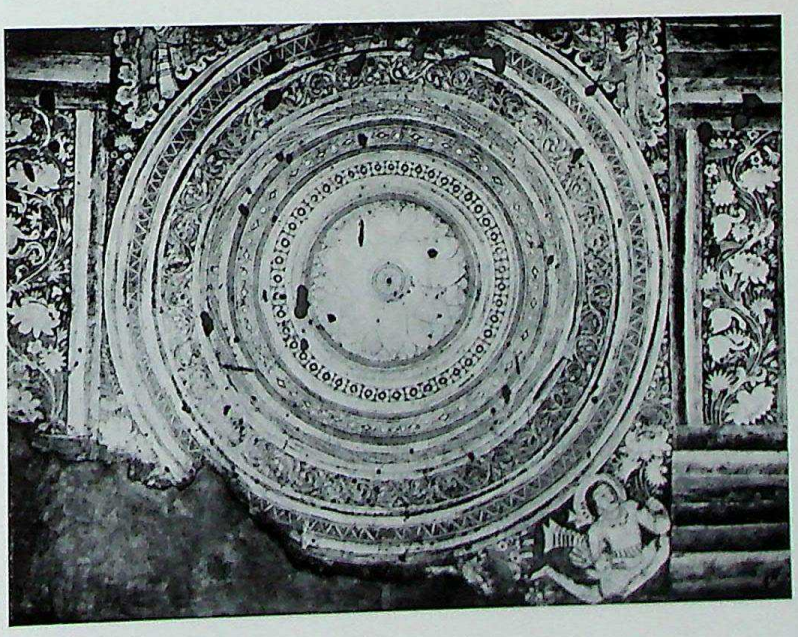

Fig. 384

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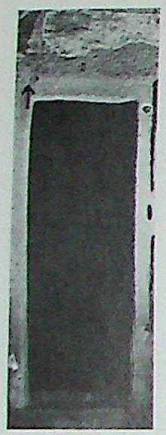

Fig. 386

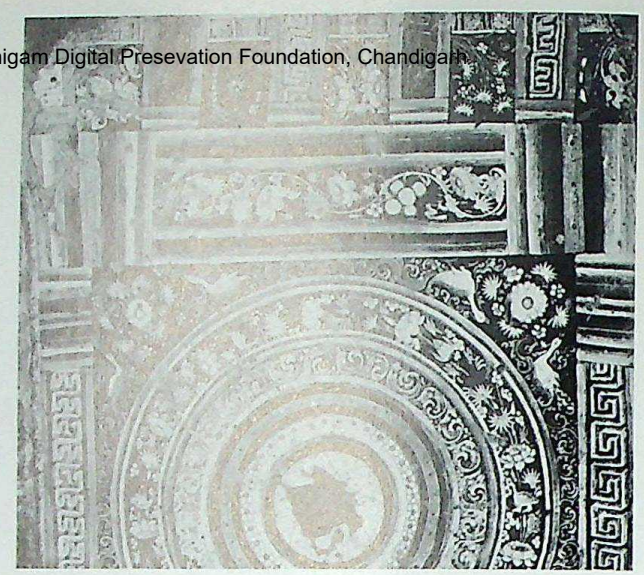

Fig. 387

386 Cave 1, interior doorway of cell L5 (see p. 156, no. 386)

387 Cave 2, shrine antechamber, ceiling medallion (p. 155)

388 Cave upper 6, interior, real wall (see p. 156, no. 388)

389 Cave 16, interior, intrusive Buddha images, left wall (pp. 147, 150, 154)

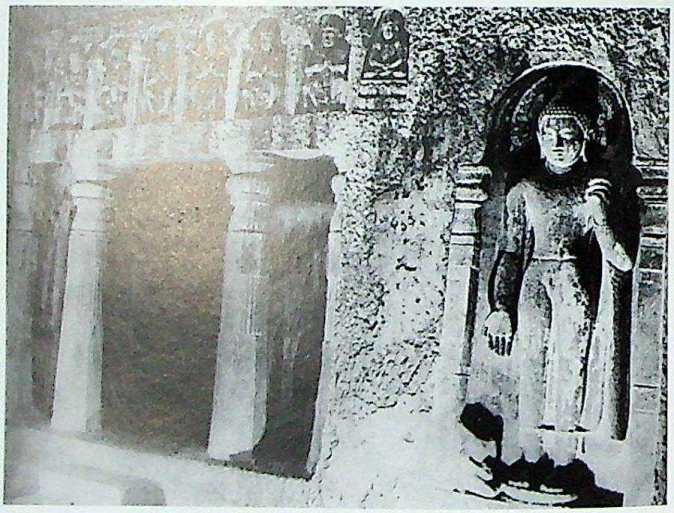

Fig. 389

Fig. 388

Digital Preservation Foundation, Chennai

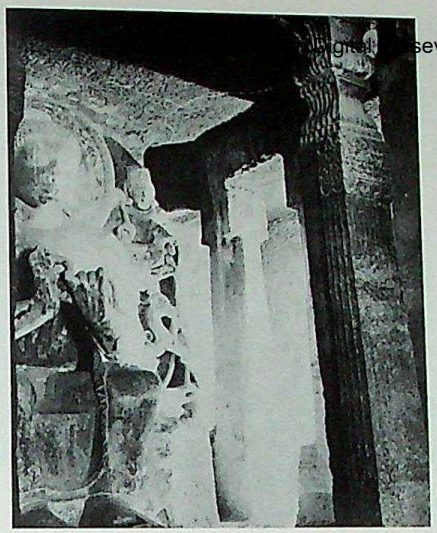

Fig. 390

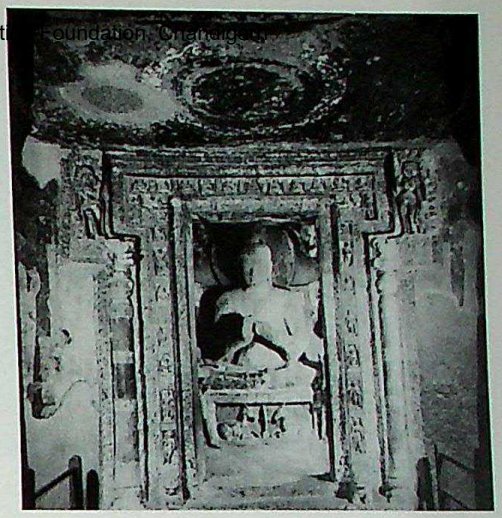

Fig. 391

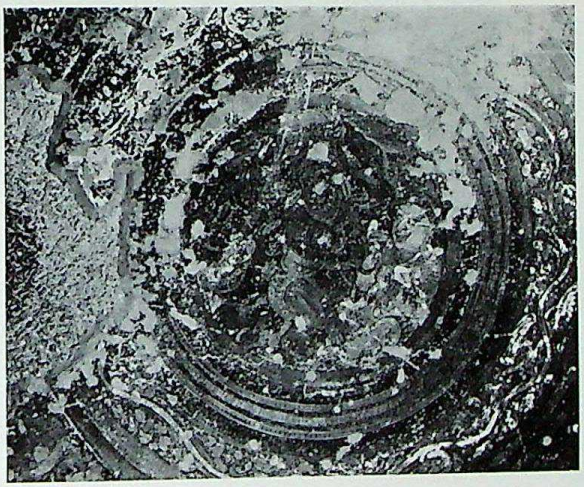

Fig. 392

390 Cave 16, shrine, showing unfinished surfaces (p. 148)

391 Cave 17, shrine antechamber (pp. 153, 155)

392 Cave 17, shrine antechamber, ceiling dancing dwarfs medallion (p. 155)

393 Caves 17-20, (Upendragupta's complex) with Cave 16 at right and Cave 21 at left (p. 148)

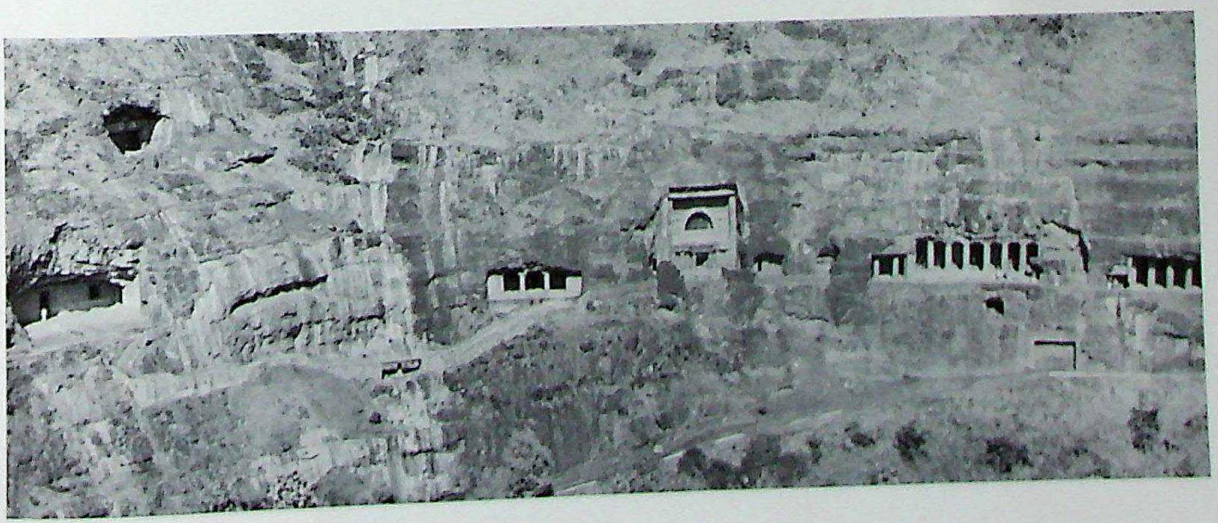

Fig. 393

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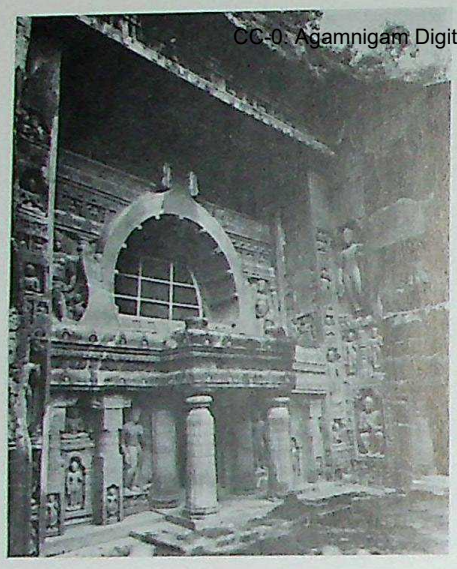

Fig. 394

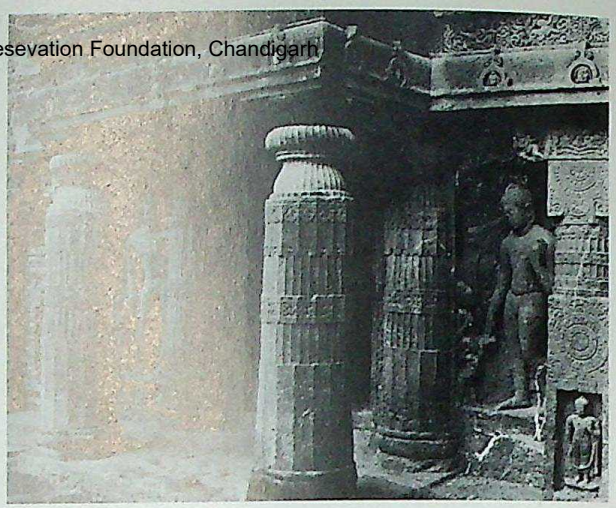

Fig. 395

394 Cave 19, façade (p. 149)
395 Cave 19, portico (p. 149)
396 Cave 26, façade, showing intrusive images on left respond (p. 153)
397 Cave 26, interior frieze, (see p. 157, no. 397)

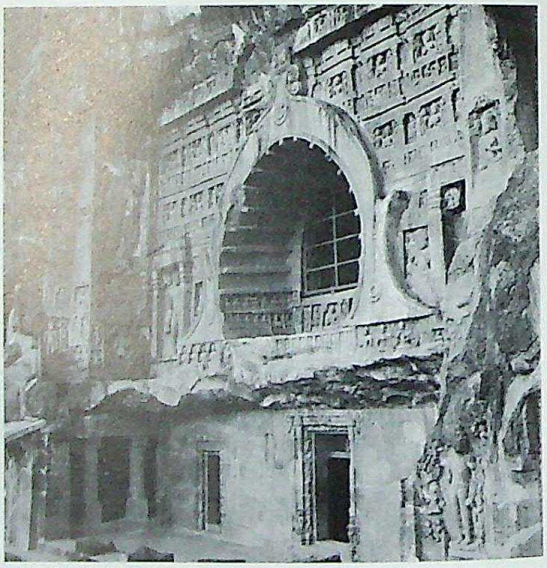

Fig. 396

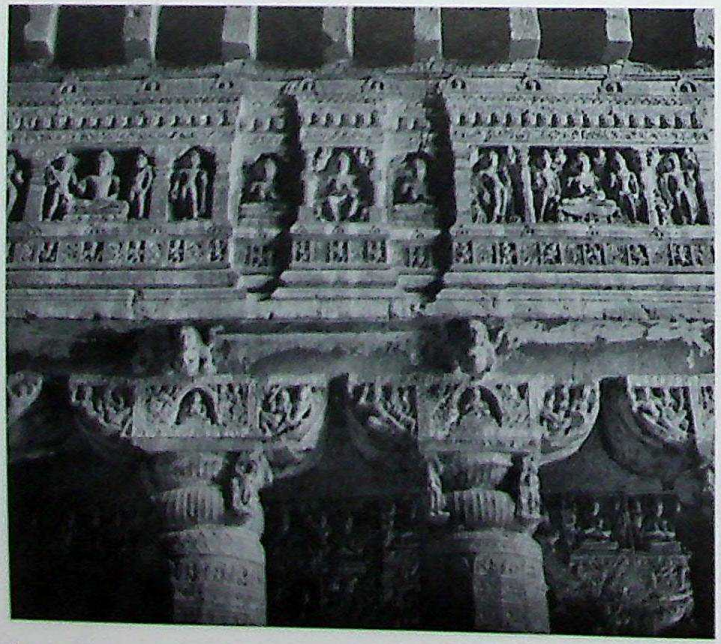

Fig. 397

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

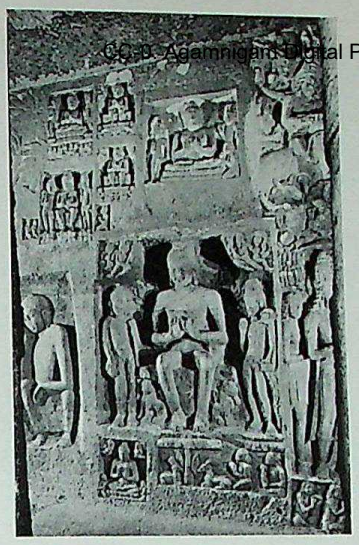

Fig. 398

Fig. 399

Fig. 400

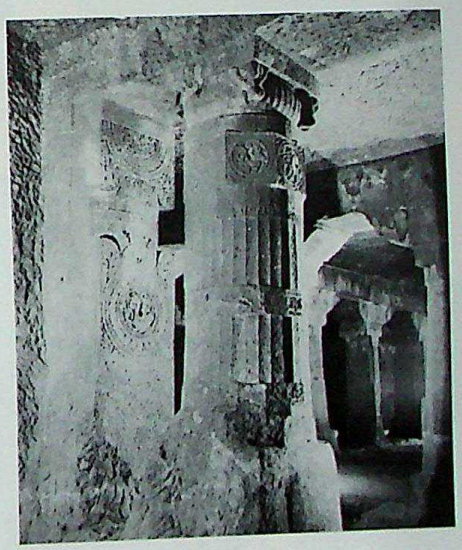

Fig. 401

Fig. 402

398 Cave 26, interior, intrusive images in left ambulatory (p. 153)

399 Cave 26, interior, intrusive images in right ambulatory (see p. 157, no. 399)

400 Cave 26, interior, unfinished intrusive *pralambapādāsana Buddha* (p. 153)

401 Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*, shrine antechamber (p. 150)

402 Ghaṭotkacha *vihāra*, shrine, Buddha (p. 150)

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Fig. 403 Terracotta plaque, Guimet Museum (p. 158)

Fig. 404 Terracotta plaque, Municipal Museum, Allahabad (p. 158)

Fig. 405 Terracotta plaque, Patna Museum (p. 159)

Fig. 406 Moulded terracotta plaque, Tamluk, Asutosh Museum (p. 159)

Fig. 407 Winged Sūrya from Mathura, Archaeological Museum, Mathura (p. 160)

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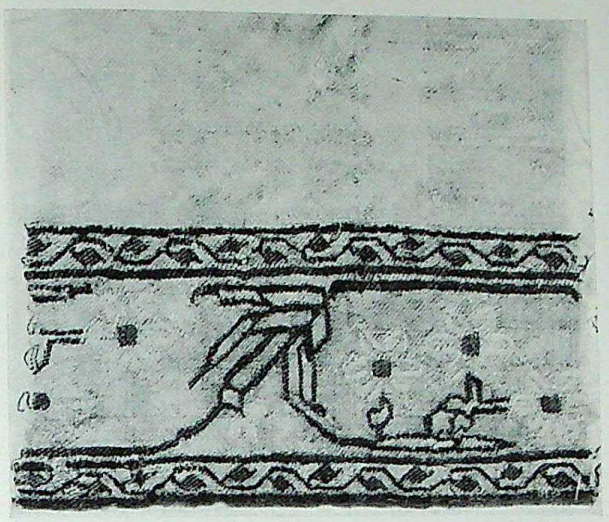
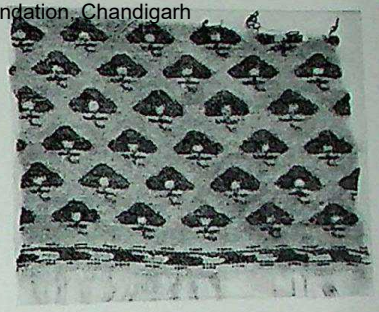


Fig. 409



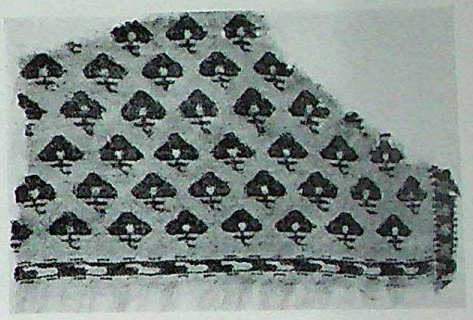


Fig. 410

409-11 *Pashmīnā* fabric
(see p. 169 nos. 409-11)

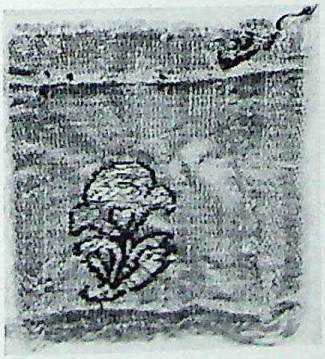


Fig. 408 Fragment of *masru* fabric, Deccan, eighteenth cent. (p. 169)

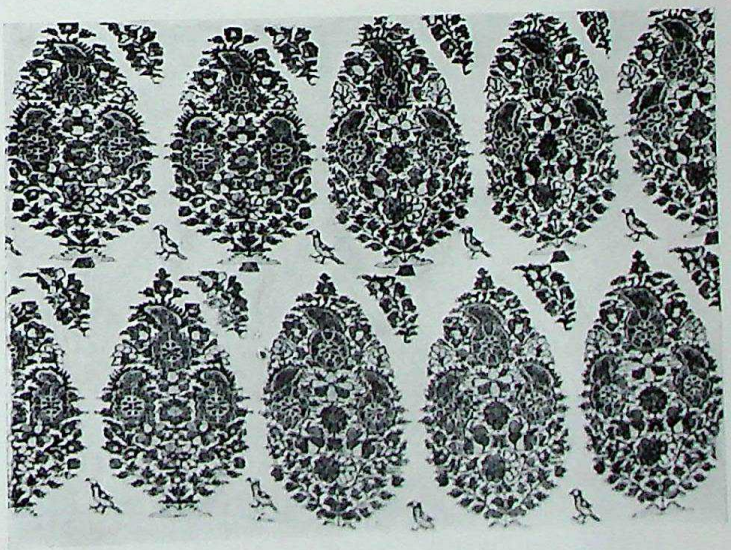


Fig. 411

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Fig. 412

412 The adolescent Ibrahim II, Bijapur, *ca.* 1590 (p. 171)
413 Ibrahim II out hawking, Bijapur, *ca.* 1590-1595 (p. 171)
414 Ibrahim II playing the *Viṇā*, Bijapur, *ca.* 1595-1600 (p. 172)

Fig. 413

[For detailed descriptions of figs. 412-30, please see (pp. 179-180) of the text]

Fig. 414

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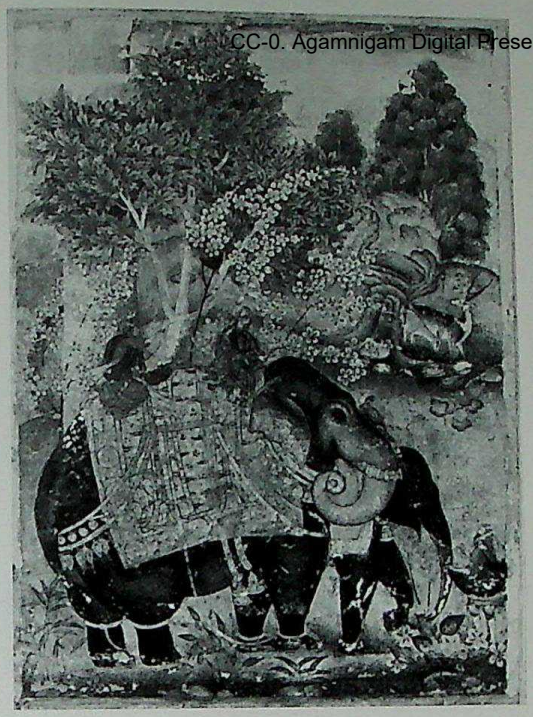

Fig. 415 Ibrahim II riding an elephant, Bijapur, *ca.* 1600 (p. 173)

Fig. 417 A horse and groom, Bijapur, *ca.* 1610 or later (p. 173)

Fig. 416 A bull elephant, Bijapur, *ca.* 1600-1610 (p. 173)

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Fig. 418

Fig. 419

418 Procession of Ibrahim II, Bijapur, *ca.* 1595-1600 (p. 174)

419 Ibrahim II, Bijapur, *ca.* 1610 (p. 174)

420 A Mullah, Bijapur, *ca.* 1610-1620 (p. 174)

421 Muhammad standing before a distant vista, Bijapur, *ca.* 1635-1640 (p. 175)
Written attribution to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand

422 Shah Jahan by Bichitr, Mughal, *ca.* 1632 (p. 175)

Fig. 421

Fig. 420

Fig. 422

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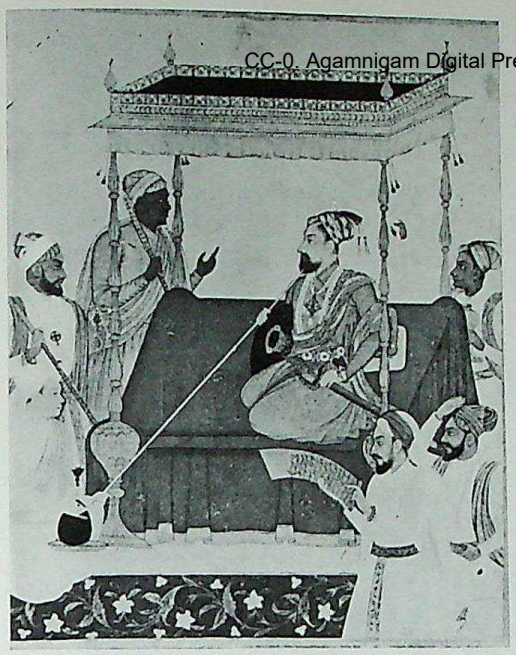

Fig. 423

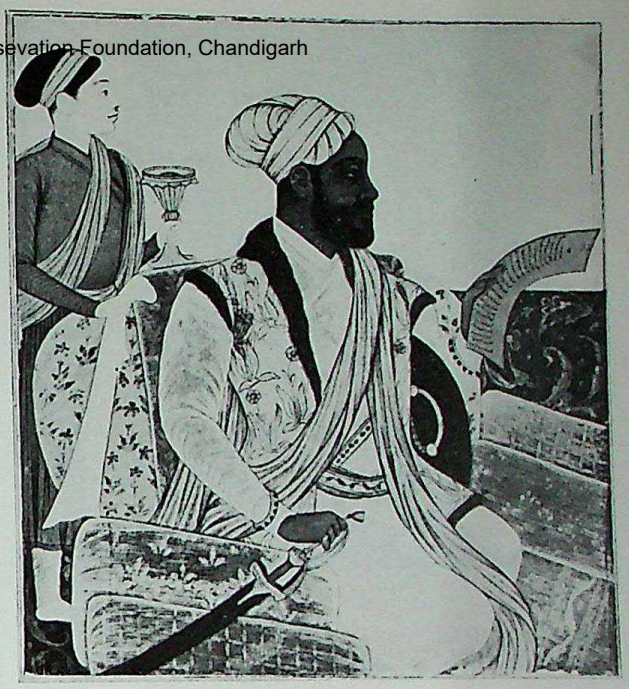

Fig. 425

423 Muhammad in *Darbār*, by Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan Chand, Bijapur, dated 1651-1652 (pp. 171-177)

424 Muhammad (left) and Sayyid Nurullah (right), Bijapur, dated 1636 (p. 176)

425 The African commander Ikhlas Khan, Bijapur, *ca.* 1630-1635 (p. 176) Written attribution to the artist Muhammad Khan, son of Miyan chand (painted over)

426 The African commander Ikhlas Khan, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)

426-28 Attributed here to the artist Muhammad Khan

Fig. 426

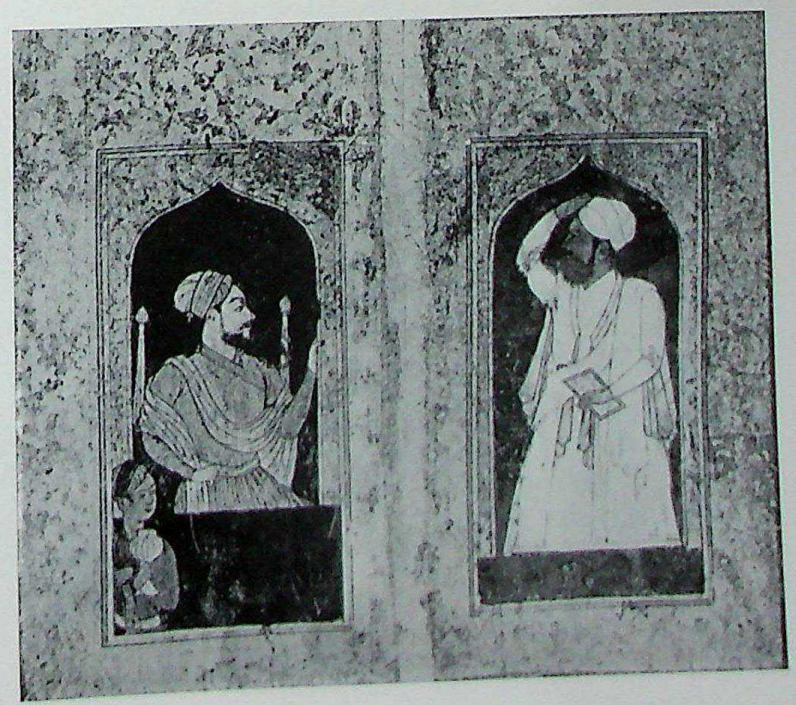

Fig. 424

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 427

Fig. 428

427 Muhammad, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)

428 Muhammad appearing at a palace window to a courtier, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)

429 Muhammad and Ikhlas Khan riding an elephant, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)
Written attribution to the artists Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan

430 Akbar Shah Hussaini, son of Shah Raju, Golkonda, *ca.* 1670. (p. 178)
Written attribution to the artist Rahim Khan

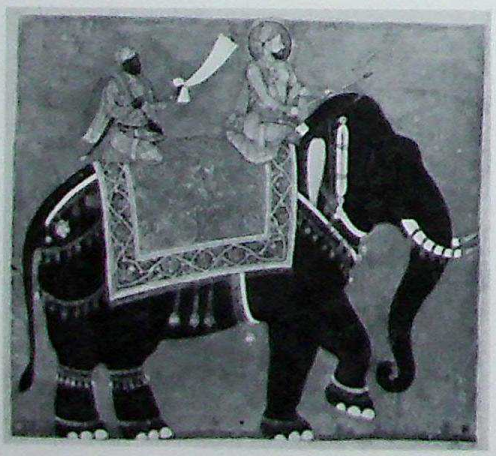

Fig. 429

Fig. 430

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 431 *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* (p. 185)

Fig. 432 *Satvaparyaṅkāsana* (p. 185)

Fig. 433 *Vīrāsana* (p. 186)

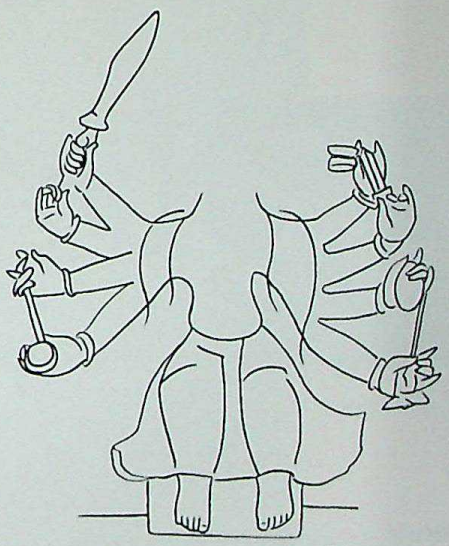

Fig. 434 *Bhadrāsana* (p. 186)

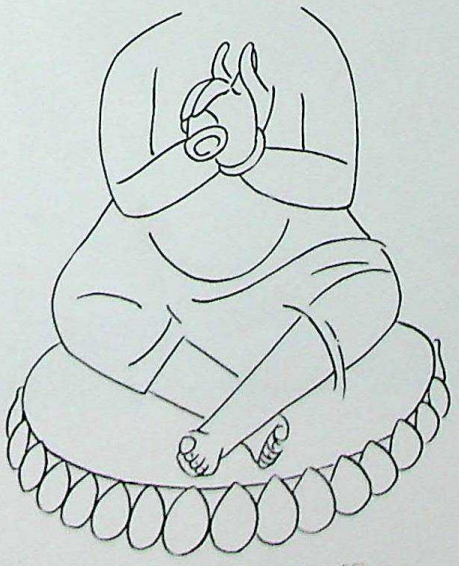

Fig. 435 *Svastikāsana* (p. 186)

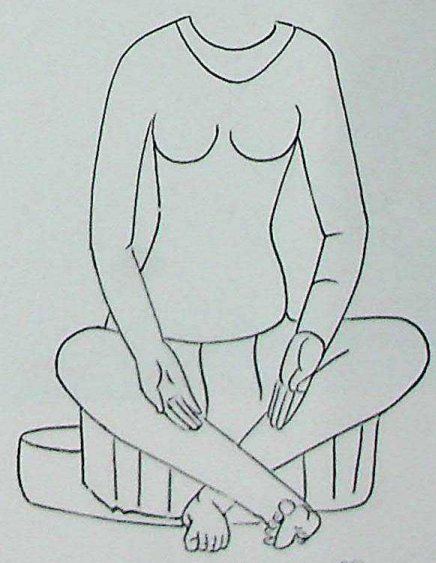

Fig. 436 *Svastikāsana* (p. 186)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 427

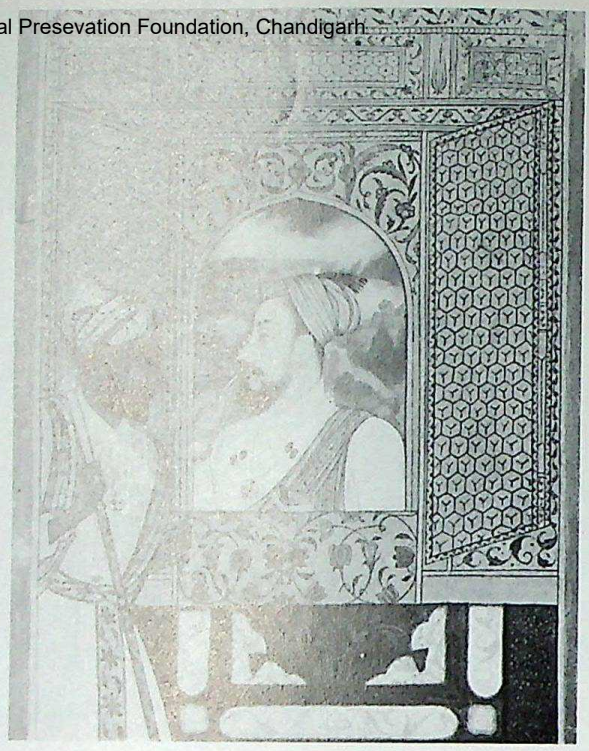

Fig. 428

427 Muhammad, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)

428 Muhammad appearing at a palace window to a courtier, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)

429 Muhammad and Ikhlas Khan riding an elephant, Bijapur, *ca.* 1650 (p. 177)
Written attribution to the artists Haidar Ali and Ibrahim Khan

430 Akbar Shah Hussaini, son of Shah Raju, Golkonda, *ca.* 1670. (p. 178)
Written attribution to the artist Rahim Khan

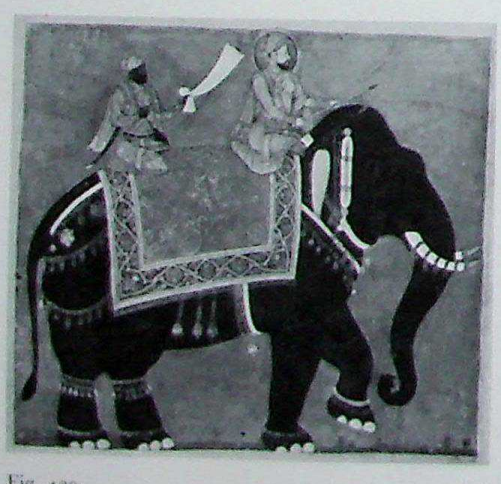

Fig. 429

Fig. 430

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

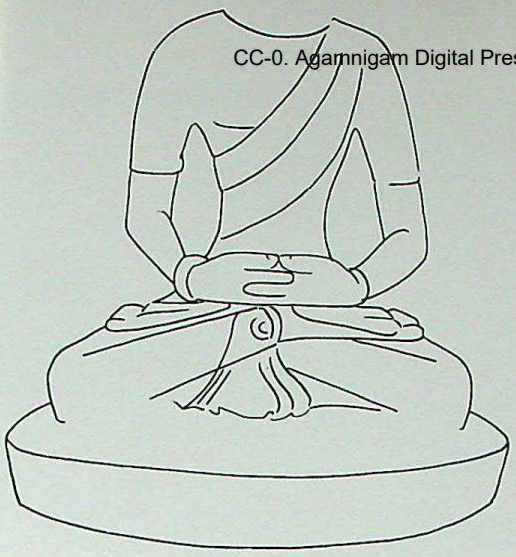

Fig. 431 *Vajraparyaṅkāsana* (p. 185)

Fig. 432 *Satvaparyaṅkāsana* (p. 185)

Fig. 433 *Vīrāsana* (p. 186)

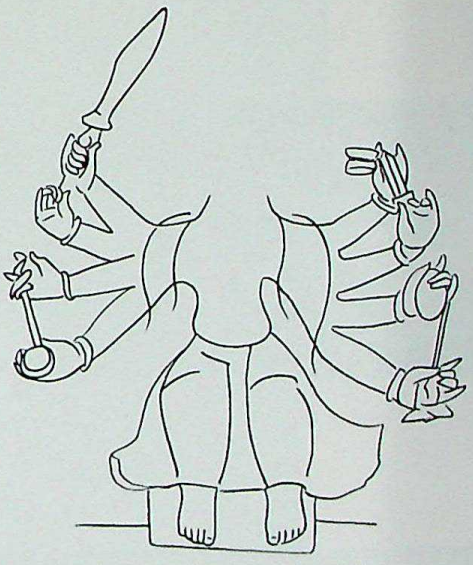

Fig. 434 *Bhadrāsana* (p. 186)

Fig. 435 *Svastikāsana* (p. 186)

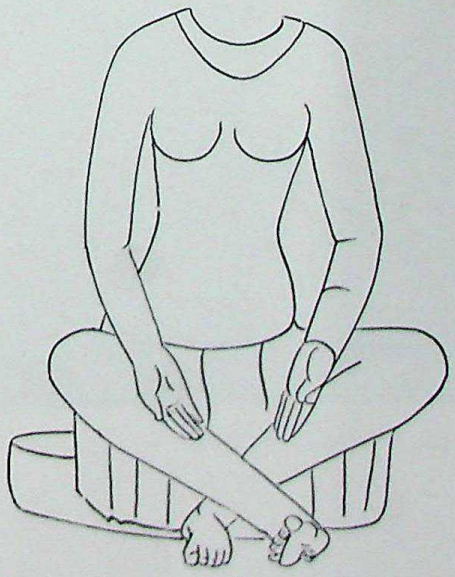

Fig. 436 *Svastikāsana* (p. 186)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

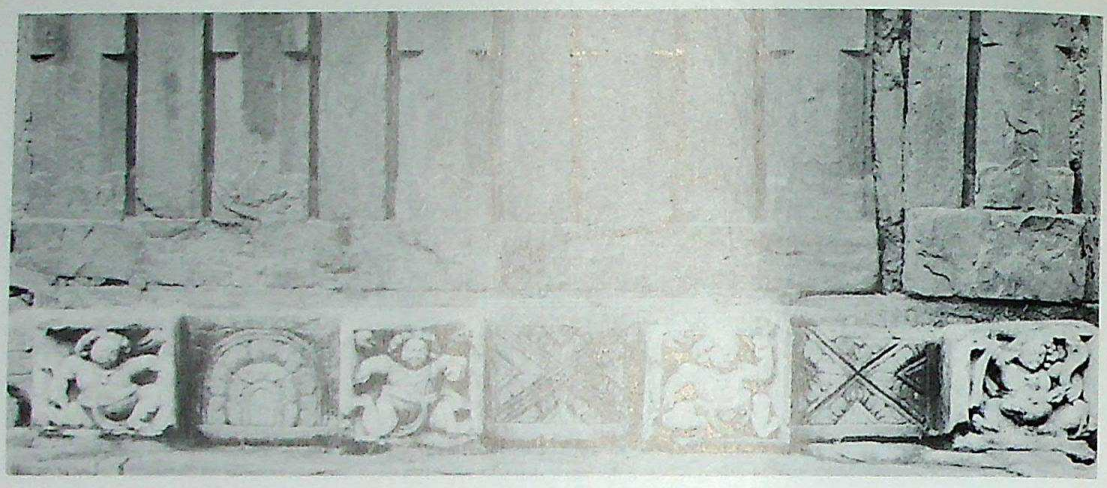

Fig. 437 Frieze bearing *gaṇas* (p. 187)

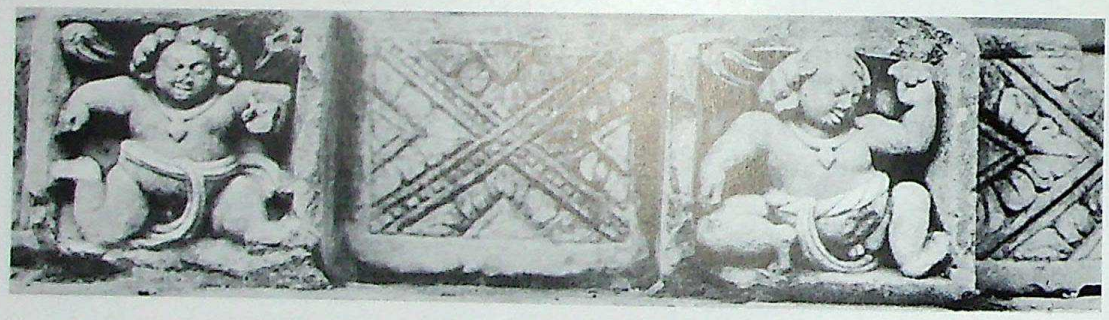

Fig. 438 Detail of fig. 437 (p. 187)

Fig. 439 Detail of fig. 437 (p. 187)

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Fig. 440 *Rāgiṇī* Vanagali of Bhairava *Rāga* (p. 189)

Fig. 441 Malkosa *Rāga* (p. 189)

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Fig. 442 *Rāgaputra* Varvala of Malkosa *Rāga* (p. 189)

Fig. 443 *Rāgaputra* Chandrakaya of Malkosa *Rāga* (p. 189)

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Fig. 444 *Rāgaputra* Bhramrananda of Malkosa *Rāga* (p. 189)

Fig. 445 *Rāgaputra* Kusum of Dipak *Rāga* (p. 189)

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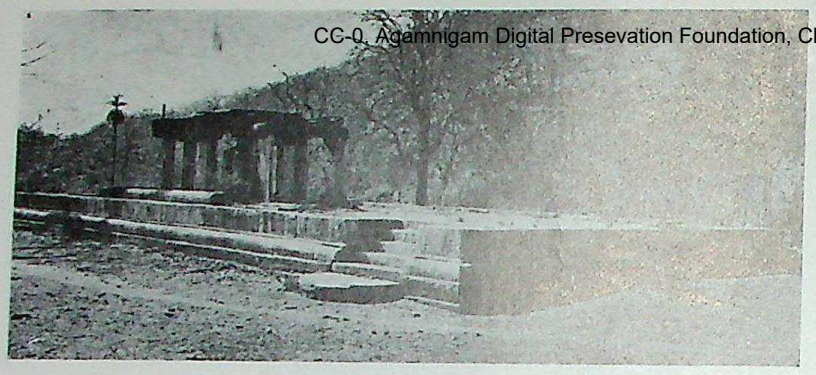

Fig. 446

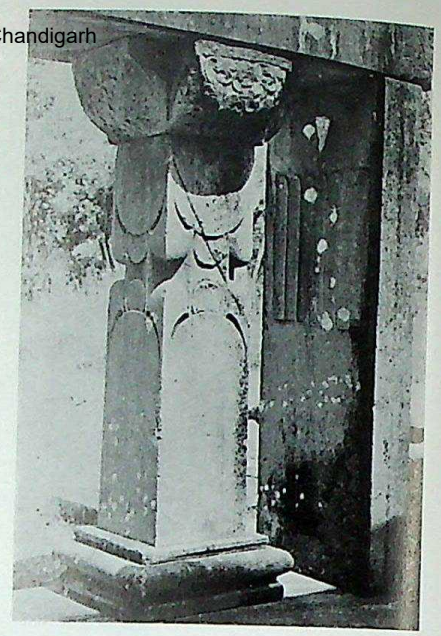

Fig. 448

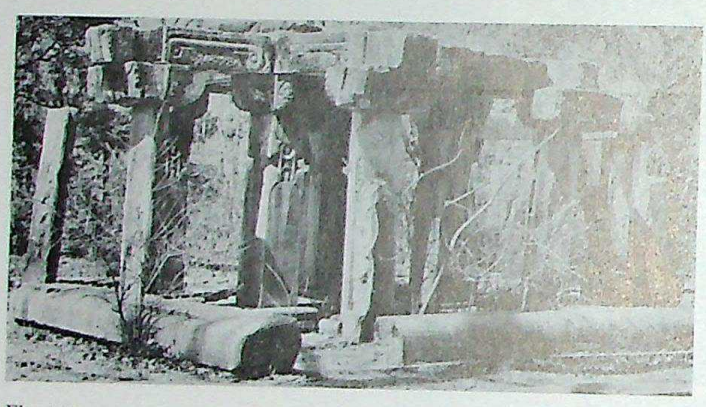

Fig. 447

446 Mukundarrā temple from southeast (p. 192)
447 Darrā, remains of main sanctum from southwest (p. 192)
448 Darrā, entry, pillar and side slab from northwest (p. 192)
449 Darrā, *nandī maṇḍapa* pillars (p. 193)
450 Darrā, *chandraśālā* with cymbalist (p. 194)

Photos *courtesy :*
Figs. 446-48, 450, 452-53, 455-64, 468-69 Author
449 Archaeological Survey of India, WC
451, 454, 465-67, 470-79 American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi

Fig. 449

Fig. 450

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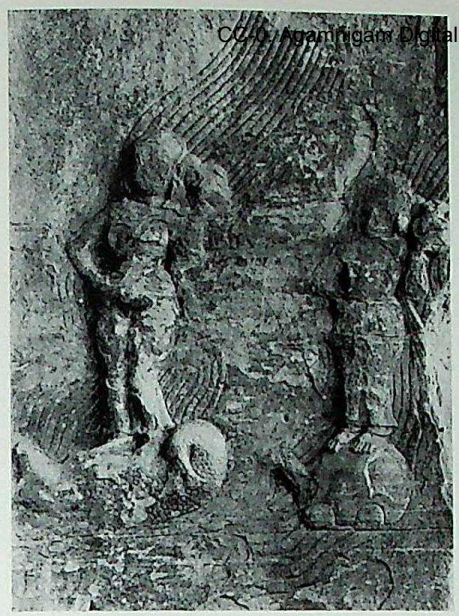

Fig. 451 Udaigiri, cave 5 (Varāha),
Gaṅgā-Yamunā (p. 196)

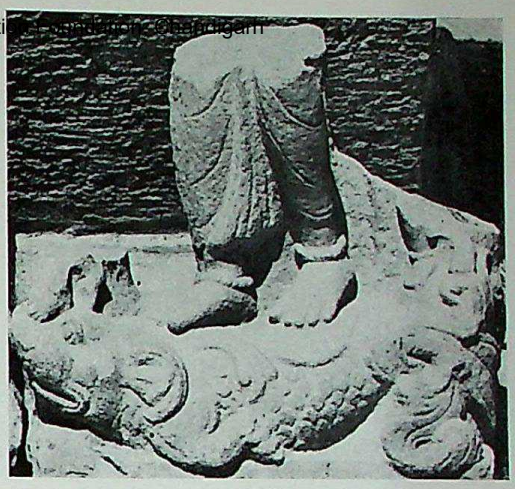

Fig. 452 Darrā, Gaṅgā (p. 194)

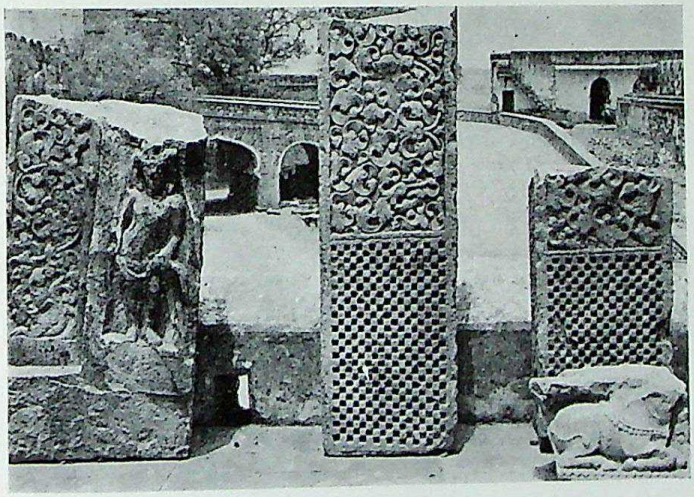

Fig. 453

Fig. 454

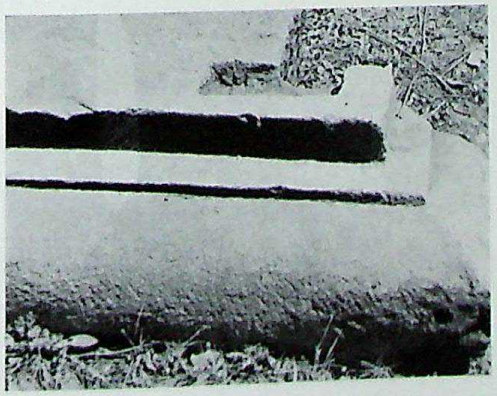

Fig. 456

Fig. 455

453 Darrā, door fragments (p. 197)
454 Tumain, detail of door *śākhās* (p. 196)
455 Udaigiri cave 4, detail of door *śākhās* (p. 196)
456 Darrā, mouldings (p. 194)

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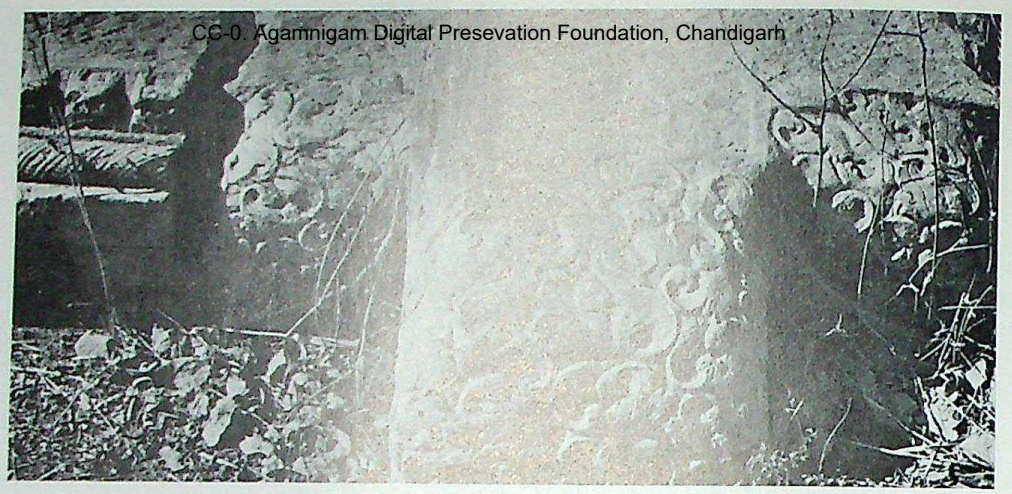

Fig. 457

Fig. 458

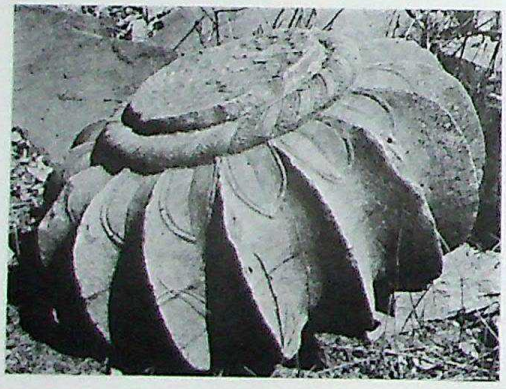

Fig. 459

Fig. 460

457 Darrā, pillar capital (p. 195)
458 Darrā, sculptural fragments (p. 195)
459 Darrā, *āmalaka* (p. 194)
460 Darrā, upper level of *śikhara* (p. 194)
461 Darrā, *kūṭa* with *chandraśālās* (p. 195)

Fig. 461

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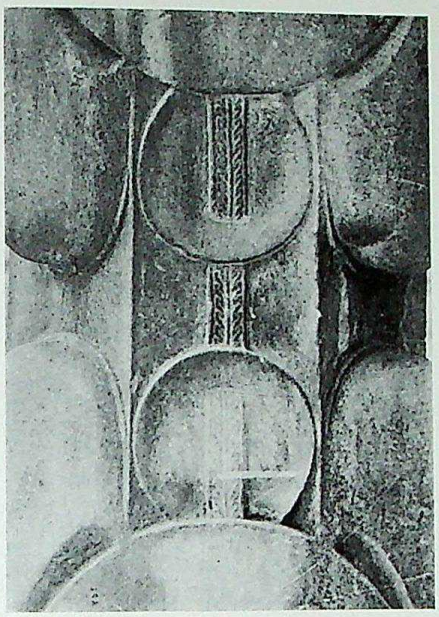

Fig. 462

Fig. 463

462-63 Darrā, pillar capitals (p. 197)

Fig. 464 Darrā, sanctum ceiling (p. 192)

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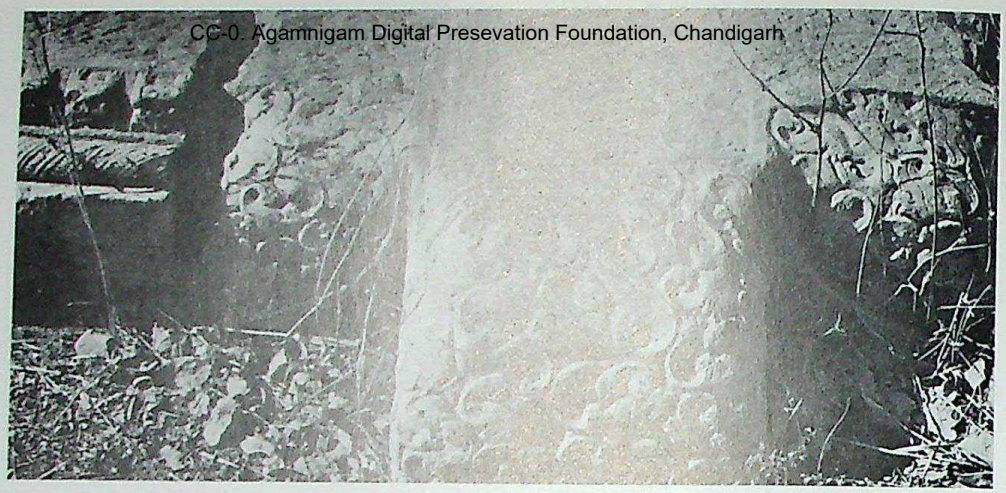

Fig. 457

Fig. 458

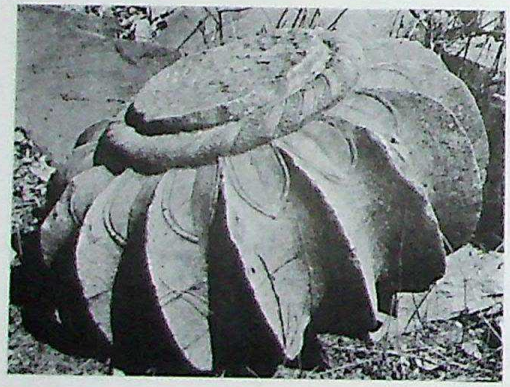

Fig. 459

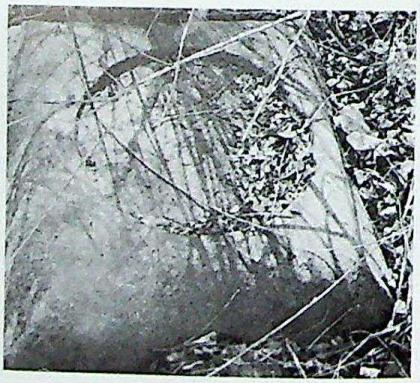

Fig. 460

457 Darrā, pillar capital (p. 195)
458 Darrā, sculptural fragments (p. 195)
459 Darrā, *āmalaka* (p. 194)
460 Darrā, upper level of *śikhara* (p. 194)
461 Darrā, *kūṭa* with *chandraśālās* (p. 195)

Fig. 461

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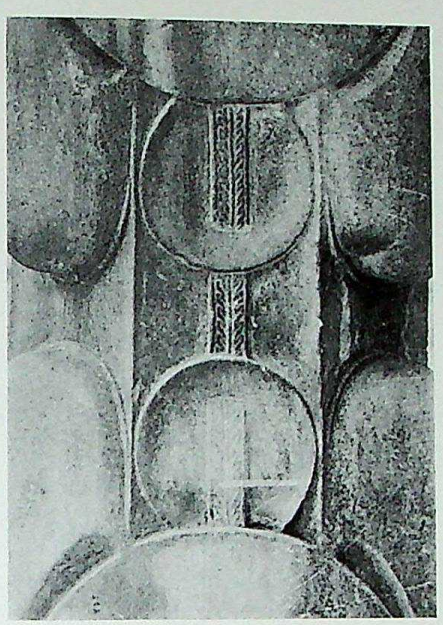

Fig. 462

Fig. 463

462-63 Darrā, pillar capitals (p. 197)

Fig. 464 Darrā, sanctum ceiling (p. 192)

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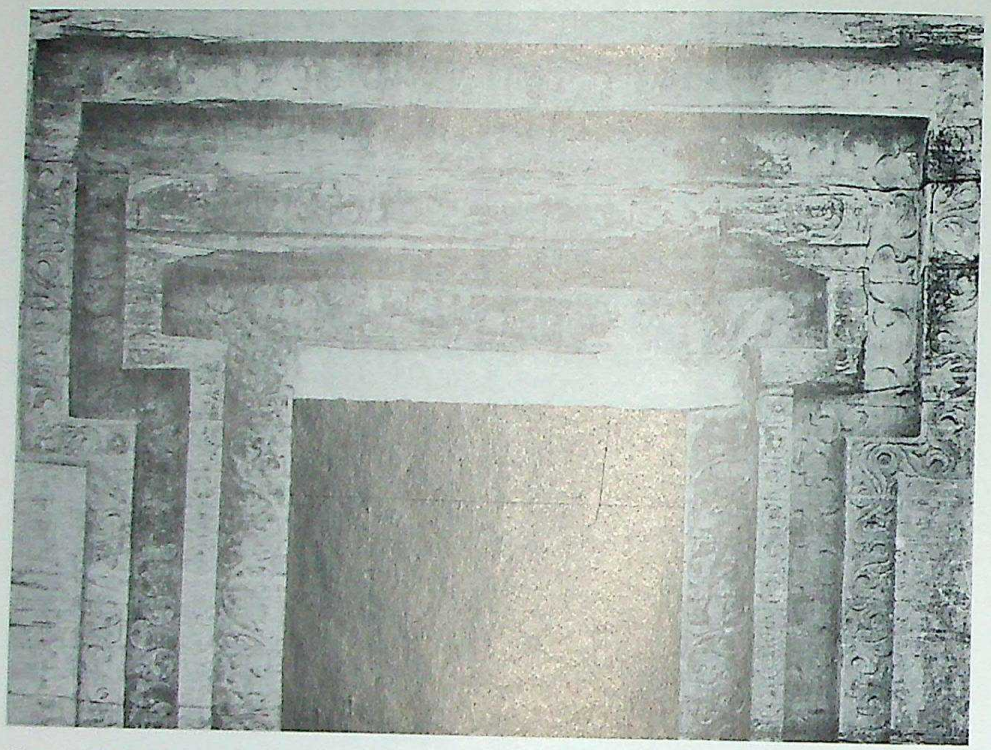

Fig. 465 Udaigiri, cave 4 doorway (p. 197)

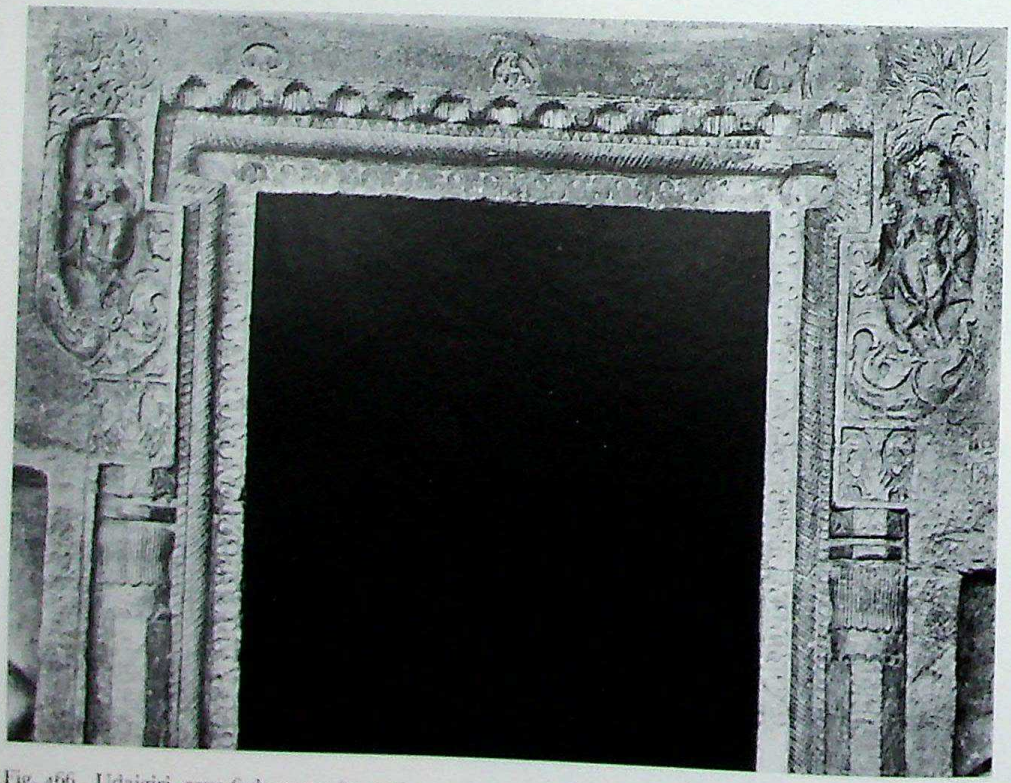

Fig. 466 Udaigiri, cave 6 doorway (p. 197)

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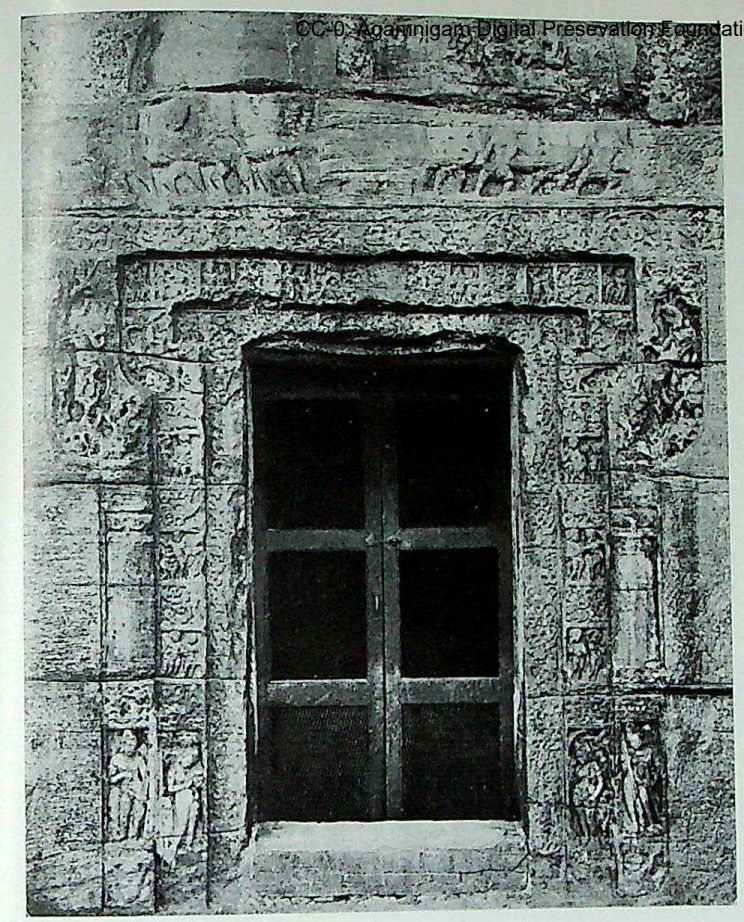

Fig. 467 Cave 19 (Amṛita cave) doorway (p. 198)

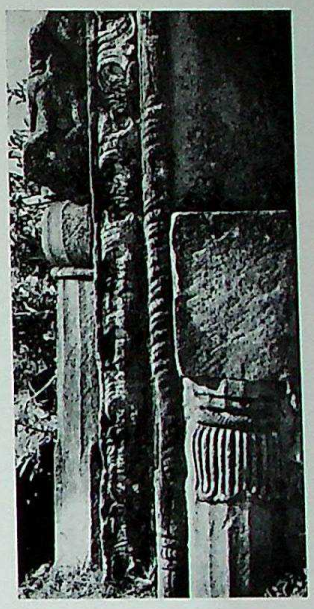

Fig. 468 Door fragment from top of hill (p. 199)

467-70 Udaigiri

Fig. 469 Pilaster fragment from top of hill (p. 199)

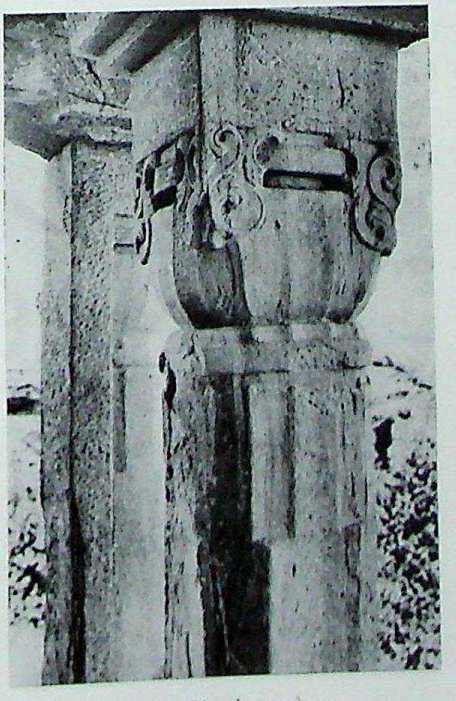

Fig. 470 Cave 1, pillar (p. 199)

Fig. 471 Eraṇ, Narasiṁha temple (?) fragment of door *śākhās* (p. 199)

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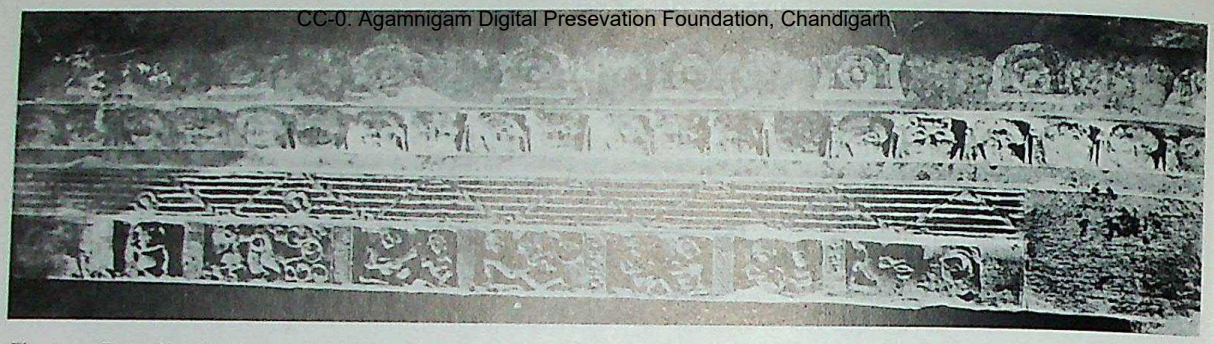

Fig. 472 Eran, Narasiṁha temple(?) fragment of overdoor (p. 199)

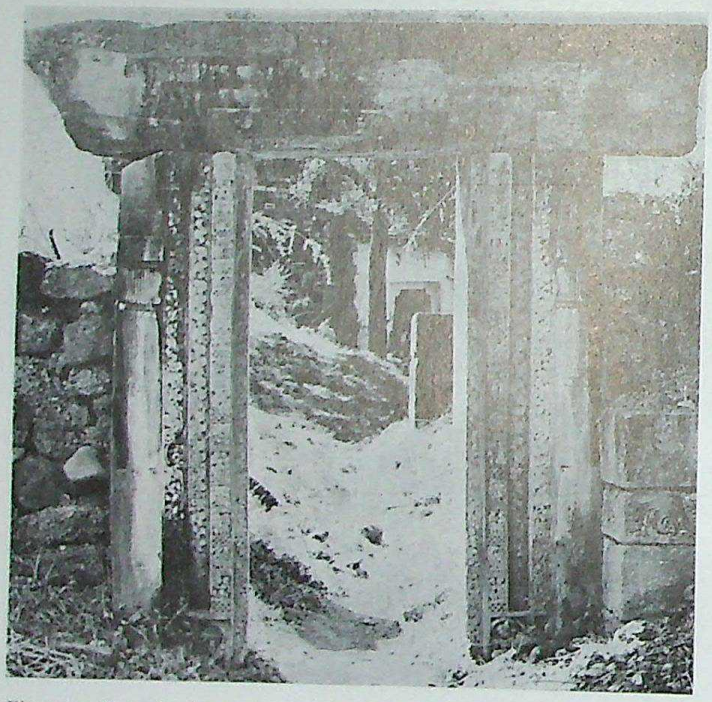

Fig. 473 Tumain, doorway (p. 198)

Fig. 474

474-75 Nāchnā-Lakhorabāgh pillars (p. 199)

Fig. 475

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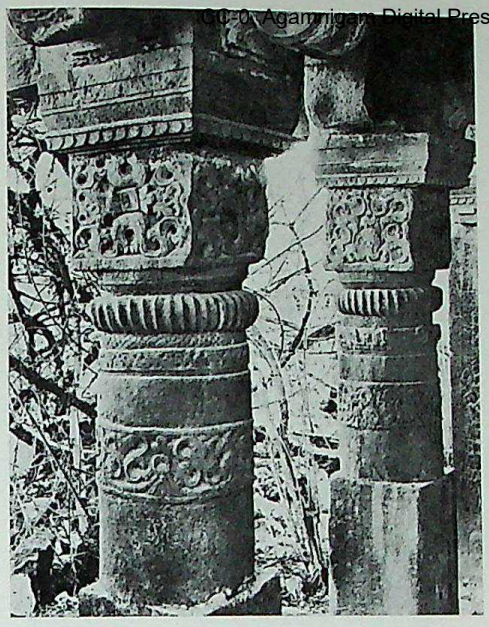

Fig. 476

Fig. 477

Fig. 478

476-78 Nāchnā-Lakhorbāgh pillars (p. 199)

Fig. 479 Nāchnā, Pārvatī temple doorway (p. 198)

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Fig. 480 Portrait of Raja Sūraj Sen, 1637–67 (p. 206)

Fig. 481 A tāntric deity, late seventeenth cent. (p. 206)

Fig. 482 Śiva as *Yogi* attended by *Bhairavas*, late seventeenth cent. (p. 203)

Fig. 483 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727?), late seventeenth cent. (p. 208)

CC-0. Kapurthala Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

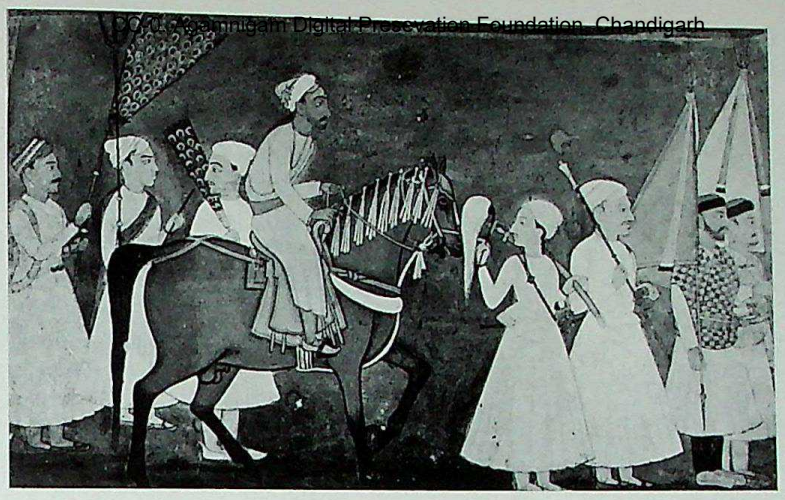

Fig. 484

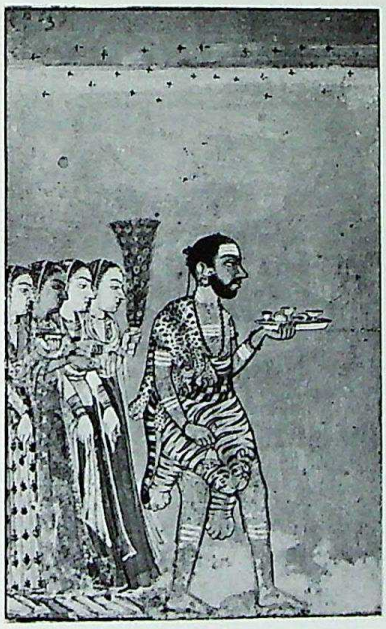

Fig. 485

484 Diwān Samaśera Sen (1727-1781) going out riding, third quarter of eighteenth cent. (p. 209)

485 Raja Sidh Sen going to worship with four female attendants, late seventeenth or early eighteenth cent. (p. 208)

486 Raja Surmā Sen (1781-1788) on horse back, late eighteenth cent. (p. 209)

487 Raja Surmā Sen with his courtiers, late eighteenth cent. (p. 209)

Fig. 487

Fig. 486

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

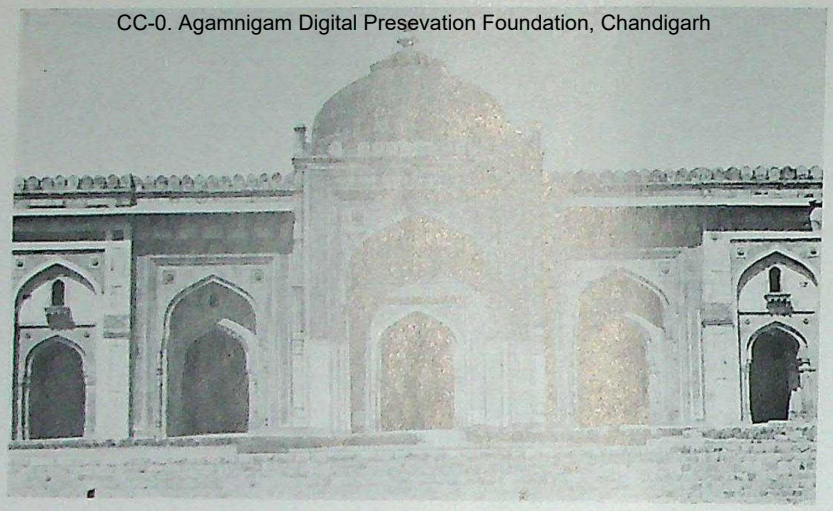

Fig. 488

488 Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque, Purānā Qal'a, Delhi, view from east (p. 212)

489 Tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr, Narnaul (Mahendragarh, Dt Haryana), view from east (p. 213)

490 Khaljī 'Alā'-ī Darwāzā, dated 1311, Quwaat ul-Islām mosque complex, Delhi, view from south (p. 213)

Fig. 489

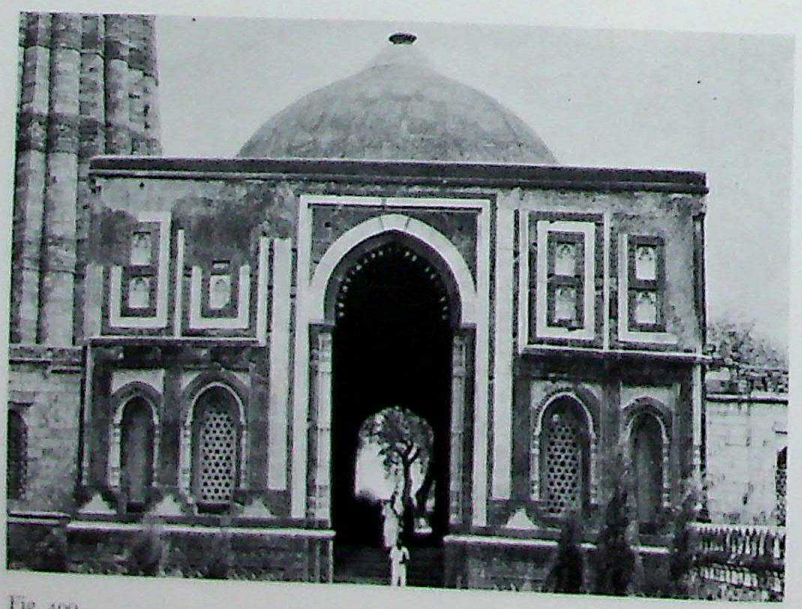

Fig. 490

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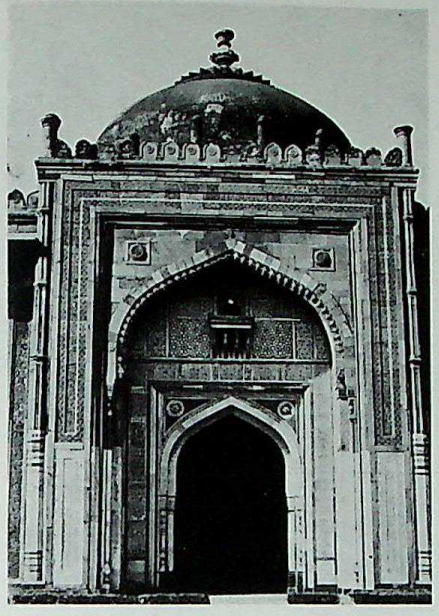

Fig. 491 Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque, central bay of east facade (p. 213)

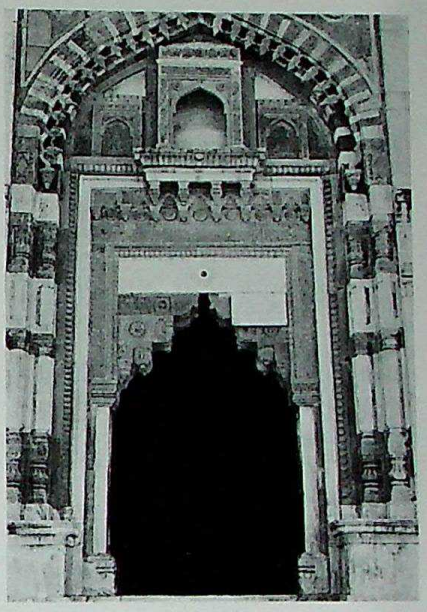

Fig. 492 Tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr, detail of east facade (p. 213)

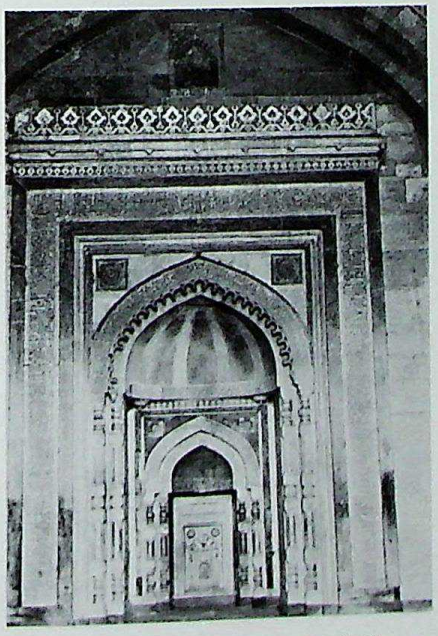

Fig. 493 Qal'a-i Kuhna mosque, *miḥrāb*, flanking the central *miḥrāb* to the south (p. 214)

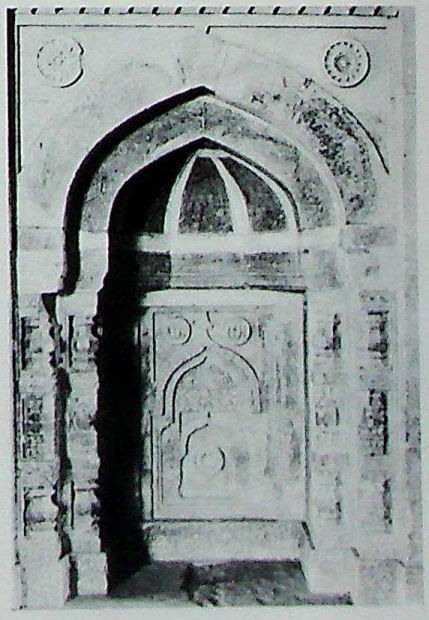

Fig. 494 Tomb of Ibrāhīm Sūr, detail of *miḥrāb*, flanking the central *miḥrāb* to the north (p. 215)

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Fig. 495 Relief showing Buddha riding to school (p. 218)

Fig. 496

Fig. 497

Fig. 498

496-98 Details of fig. 495 (p. 218)

Fig. 499 Relief showing Buddha going to school (p. 220)
Photo *courtesy:* V. & A. Museum

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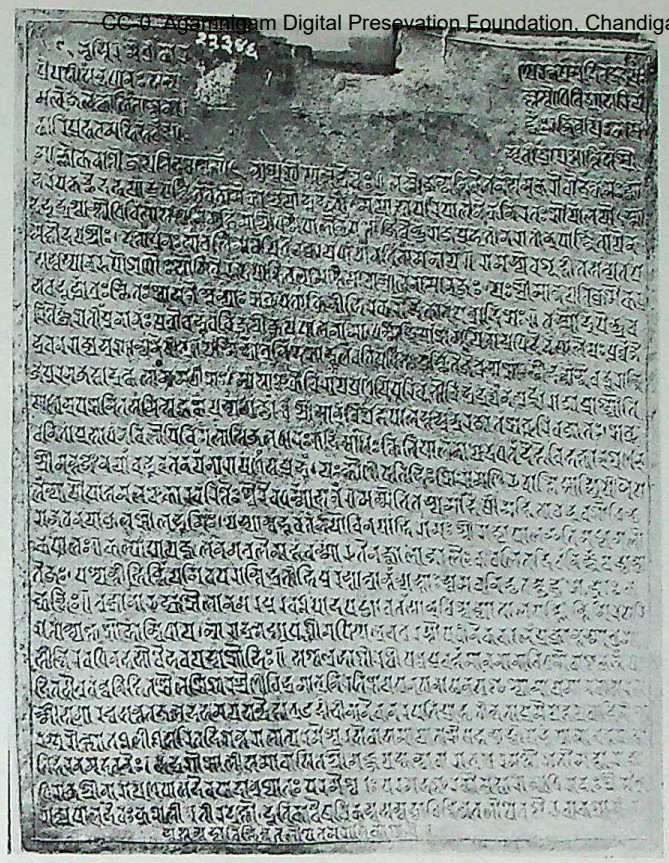

Fig. 500 Obverse

500-501 Copper-plate Grant of Rājyapāla (p. 221)

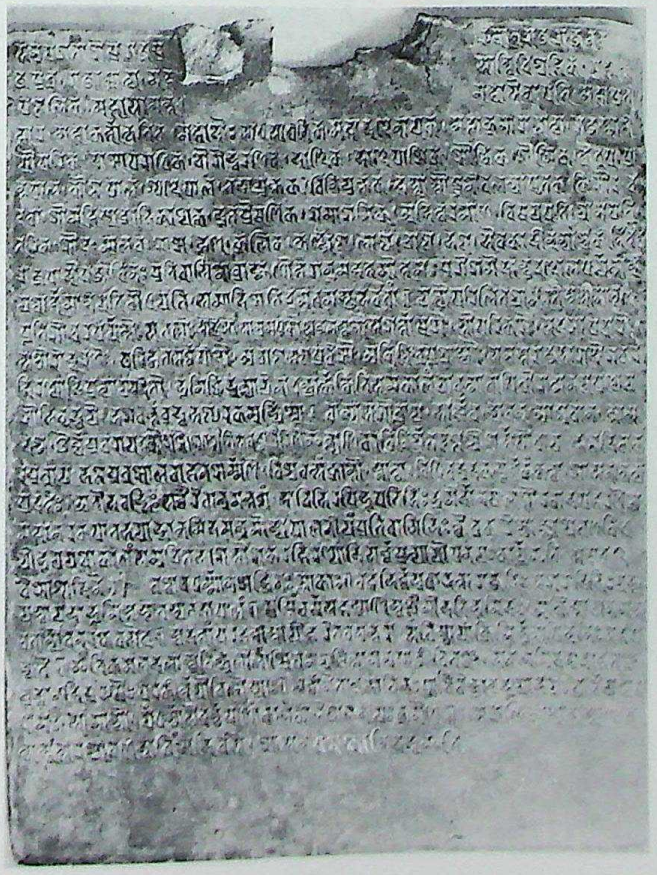

Fig. 501 Reverse

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Fig. 502 *Guṇakalī Rāgiṇī*, Chawand, 1605, by Nisārdīn (p. 233)

Fig. 503 *Khambāvatī Rāgiṇī*, Udaipur, 1628, by Sāhibdīn (p. 236)

Fig. 504

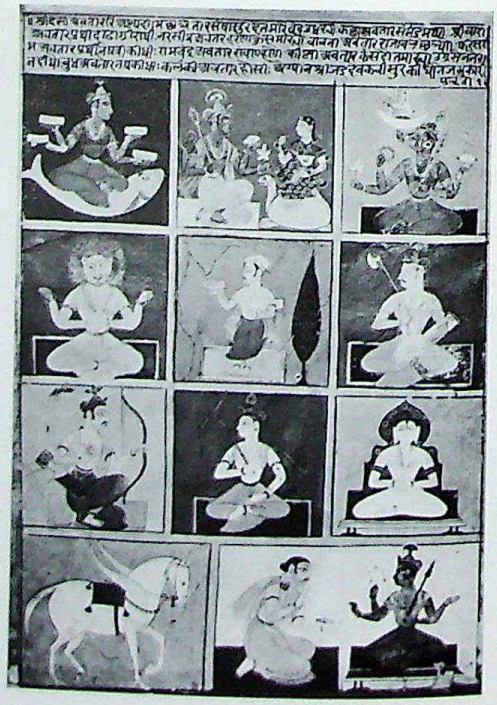

Fig. 505

504-505 *Gīta-Govinda*, Udaipur, 1629, by Sāhibdīn (pp. 235-236)

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Fig. 506 fol. 19

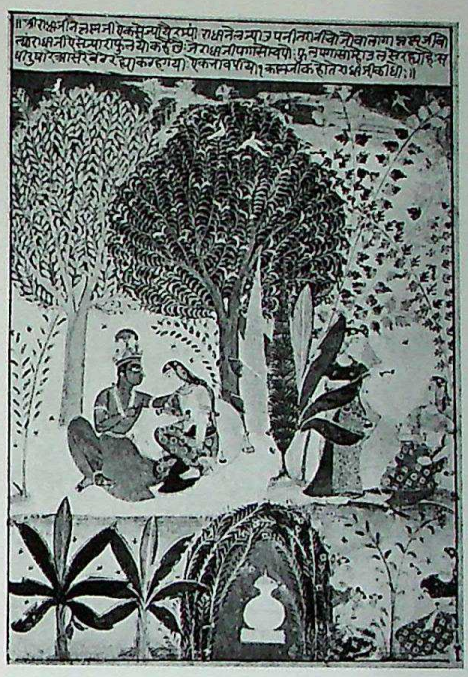

Fig. 507 fol. 23(?)

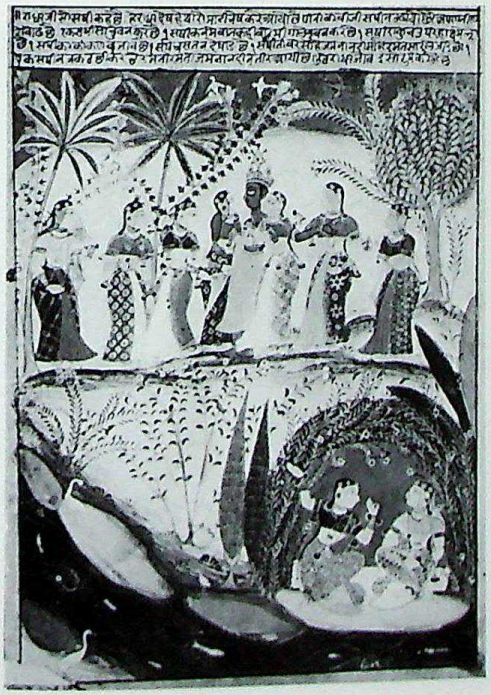

Fig. 508 fol. 4

Fig. 509 fol. 5(?)

506-509 *Gita-Govinda*, Udaipur, 1629, by Sāhibdīn (p. 236)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

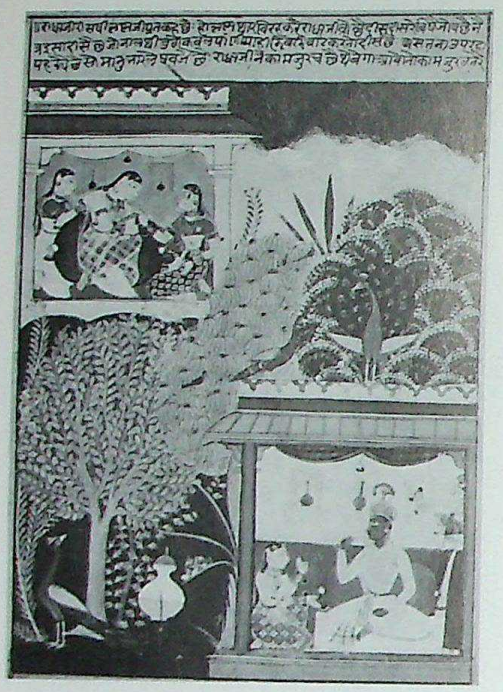

Fig. 510 fol. 12

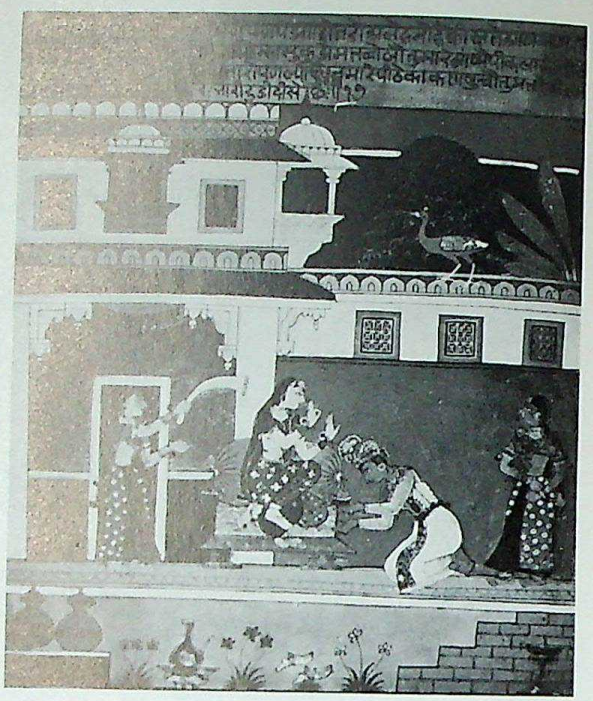

Fig. 511 fol. 17

510-512 *Gīta-Govinda*, Udaipur, 1629, by Sāhibdīn (pp. 236-237)

Fig. 512 fol. 21

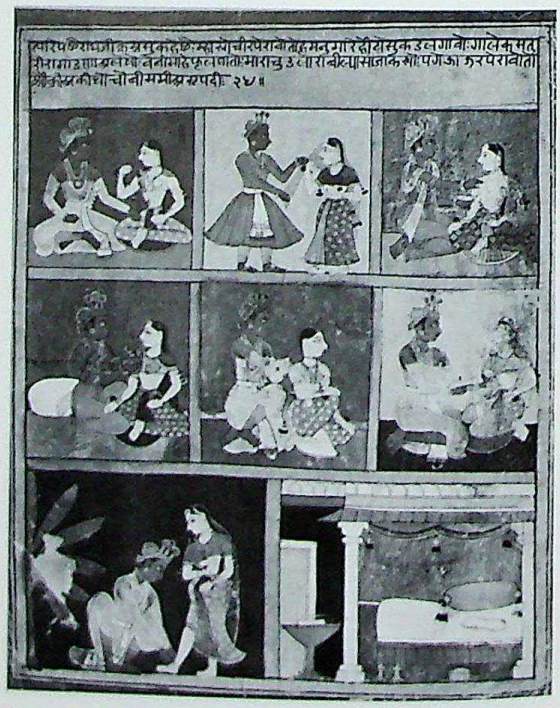

Fig. 513 fol. 24

511-513 *Gīta-Govinda*, Udaipur, *ca.* 1660(?) (p. 237)

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Fig. 514

Fig. 515

514-15 *Gita-Govinda*, fol. 15, Udaipur, *ca.* 1660(?) (pp. 237-238)

Fig. 516 *Gita-Govinda*, fol. 17, Udaipur, *ca.* 1640 (p. 238)

Fig. 517 *Gita-Govinda*, fol. 10(?), Udaipur, *ca.* 1640, attributed to Sāhibdīn (p. 238)

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Fig. 518 Detail of fig. 517 (p. 238)

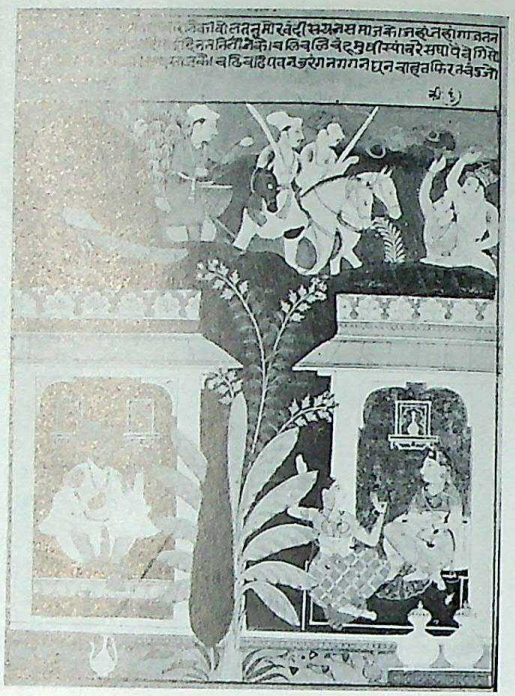

Fig. 519 Ch. X v. 21

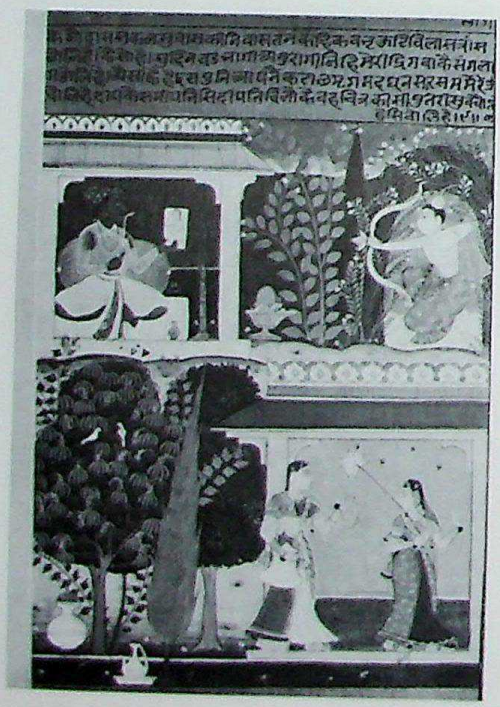

Fig. 520 Ch. VIII v. 18

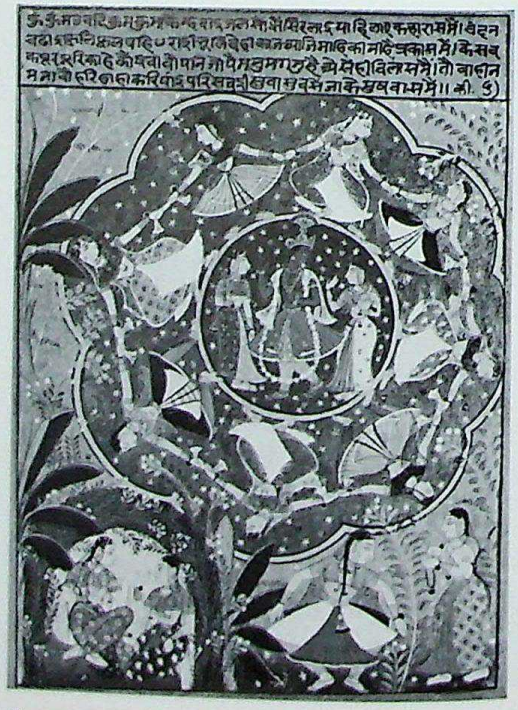

Fig. 521 Ch. XIII v. 3

519-21 *Rasikapriyā*, Udaipur, *ca.* 1640, attributed to Sāhibdīn, Government Museum, Udaipur (p. 238)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

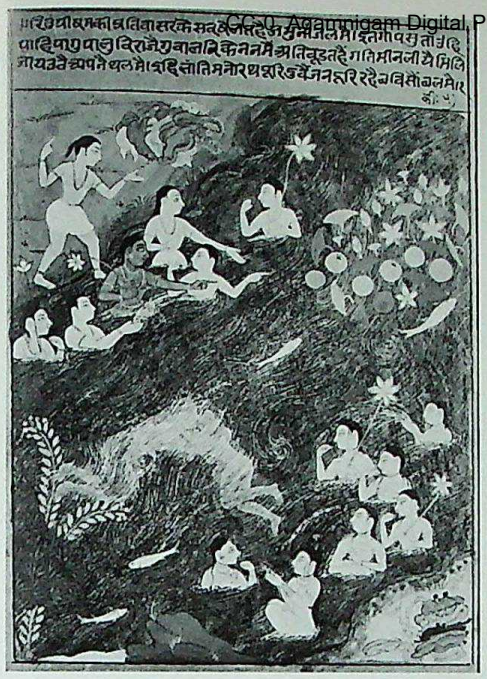

Fig. 522 *Rasikapriyā*, Ch. V v. 37, Udaipur, *ca.* 1640, attributed to Sāhibdīn (p. 238)

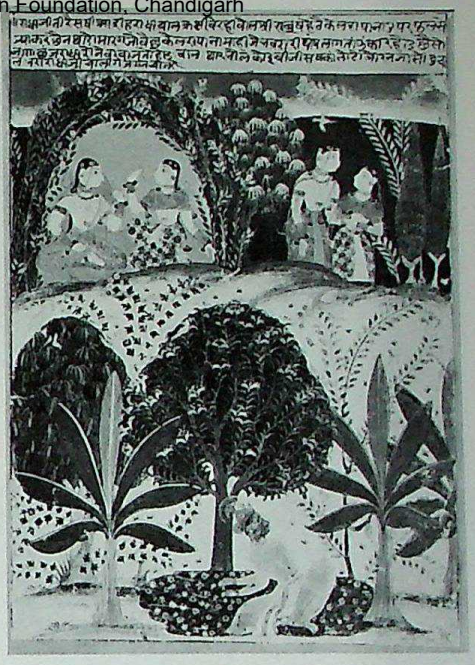

Fig. 523 *Gita-Govinda*, fol. 20(?), Udaipur, *ca.* 1629, by Sāhibdīn(?) (p. 237)

Courtesy:

Figs. 502, 504, 517 Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Patna
503, 511, 515 J. P. Goenka, Calcutta
505 Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta
506-08, 510 Palace Library, Jodhpur
509 British Museum
513, 516 Formerly collection of Kumar Saṅgrām Singh of Nawalgarh
519-22 Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan
523 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 524

Fig. 525

524-25 The subjugation of Nalagiri (p. 239)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

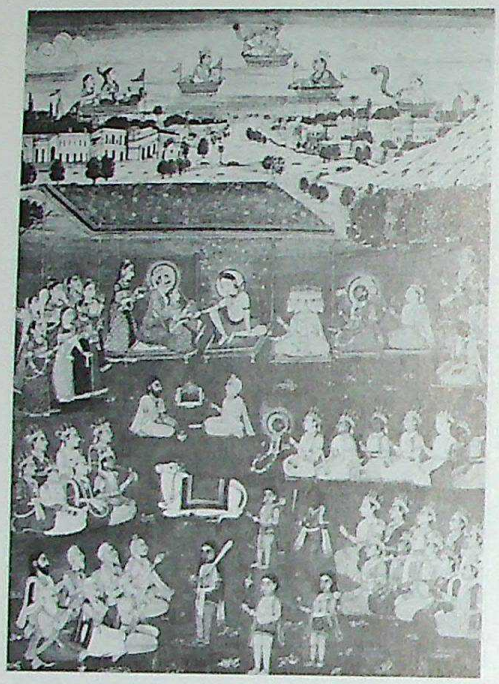

Fig. 526 Marriage of Śiva (p. 244)

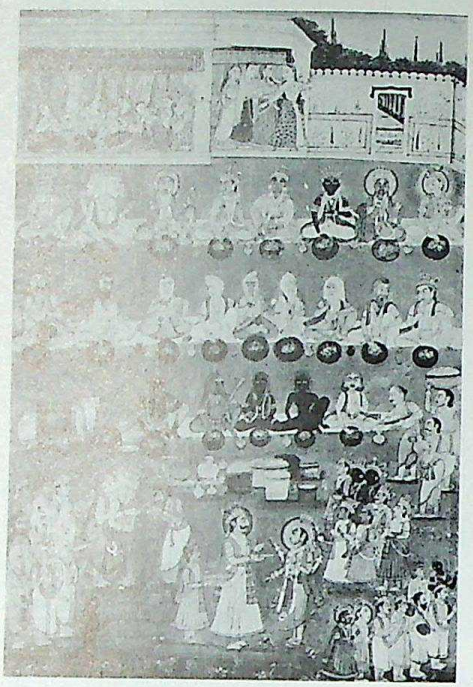

Fig. 527 The Wedding Feast (p. 244)

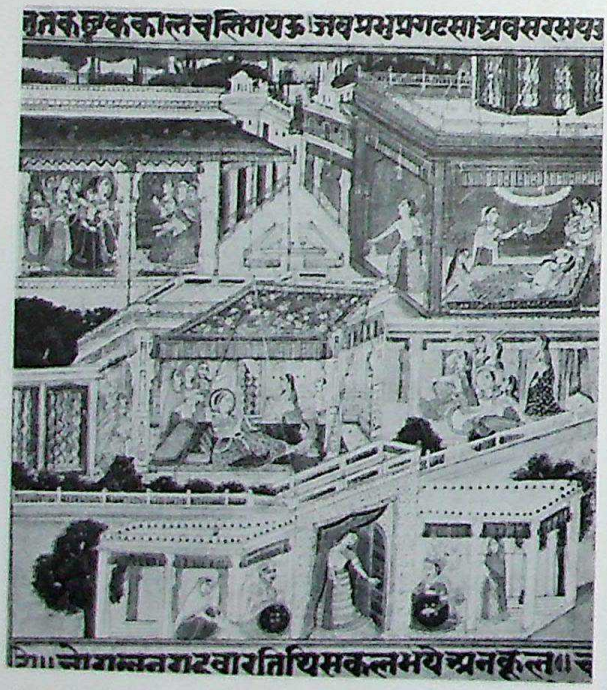

Fig. 528 Birth of Rāma (p. 244)

Fig. 529 Lava and Kuśa catch Monkeys, Bilaspur, *ca.* 1800 (p. 244)

526-28 Scenes from an illustrated ms. of *Rāma-Charita-Mānasa*, Banaras School, *ca.* 1850

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

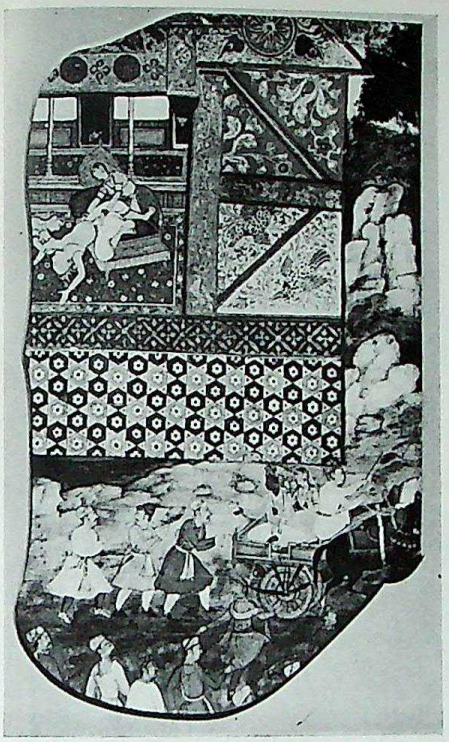

Fig. 530 Death of Daśaratha and Departure of Rāma, Popular Mughal, *ca.* 1600 (p. 244)

Fig. 531 Rāma meets with Sugrīva, Popular Mughal, *ca.* 1600 (p. 244)

532-36 Scenes from Hirā De *Rāmāyaṇa*, Malwa, *ca.* 1640

Fig. 532 The Killing of Nikumbha (p. 246)

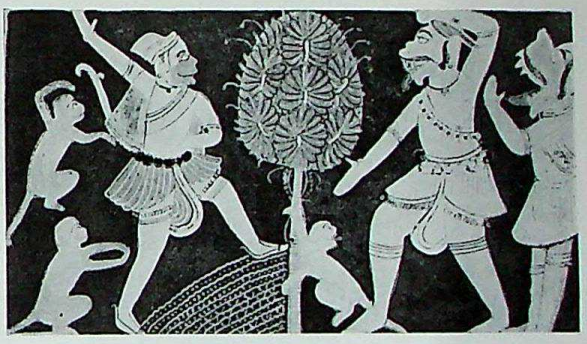

Fig. 533 The Killing of Jambumālī (p. 246)

Fig. 534 Monkeys meet Sampāti (p. 246)

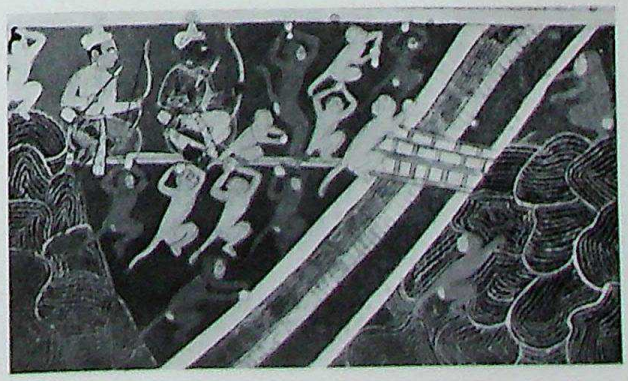

Fig. 535 Monkeys bridging the Sea (p. 246)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

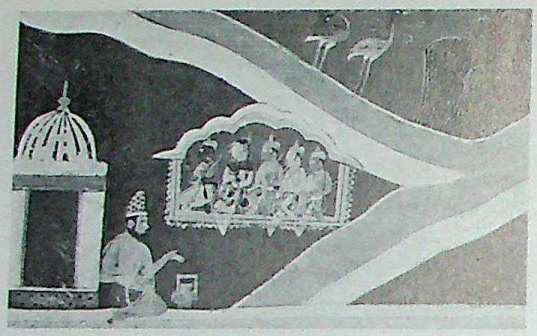

Fig. 536 The Return of Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and two companions in the *Pushpaka* Chariot (p. 246)

Fig. 537 Rāvaṇa's Fight with Jaṭāyu (p. 246)

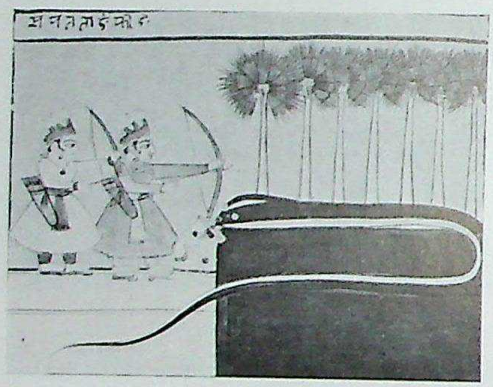

Fig. 538 Seven Palm Trees (p. 246)

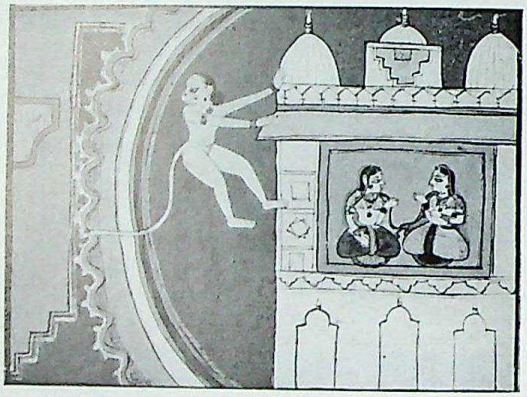

Fig. 539 Hanumāna sets Fire to Laṅkā (p. 246)

537-39 Scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa*, sub-Malwa-Kota School, *ca.* 1700

Fig. 540 Monkeys and Bears in Search of Sītā (p. 247)

540-42 Scenes from Shangri *Rāmāyaṇa*, *ca.* 1700-1750

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 541 Rāma slays the Golden Deer (p. 247)

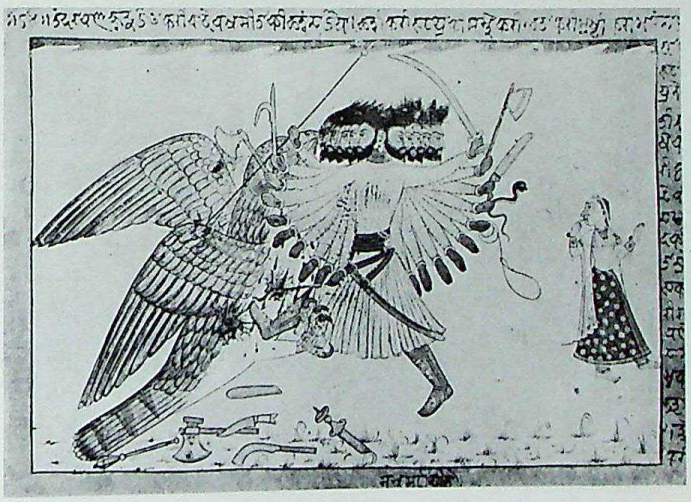

Fig. 542 Rāvaṇa's Fight with Jaṭāyu (p. 247)

Fig. 543 Rāma and Lakshmaṇa in the *Nāgapāśa*, Kulu-Basohli, *ca.* 1615 (p. 251)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 544

Fig. 545

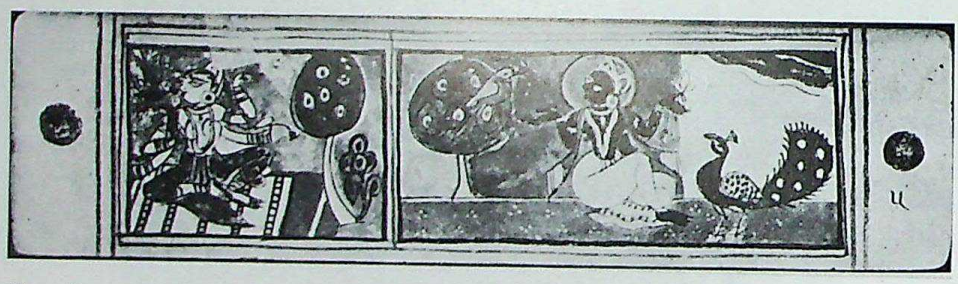

Fig. 546

544-46 Folios from the Jāvar *Gīta-Govinda*, dated 1593 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 547 *Gīta-Govinda*, *ca.* 1575 A.D. (p. 254)

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Fig. 548 *Gita-Govinda, ca.* 1600-1610 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 551 *Gita-Govinda, ca.* 1650-1660 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 549

Fig. 550

549-550 *Gita-Govinda, ca.* 1590-1610 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 552 *Gita-Govinda, ca.* 1714-1725 A.D. (p. 254)

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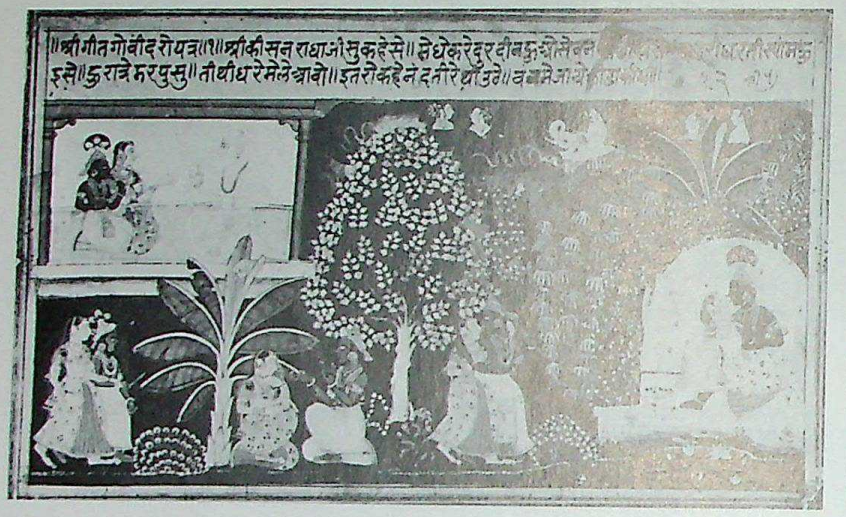

Fig. 553 *Gita-Govinda, ca.* 1714-1725 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 554 *Gita-Govinda,* Bundi, *ca.* 1700-1710 A.D. (p. 254)

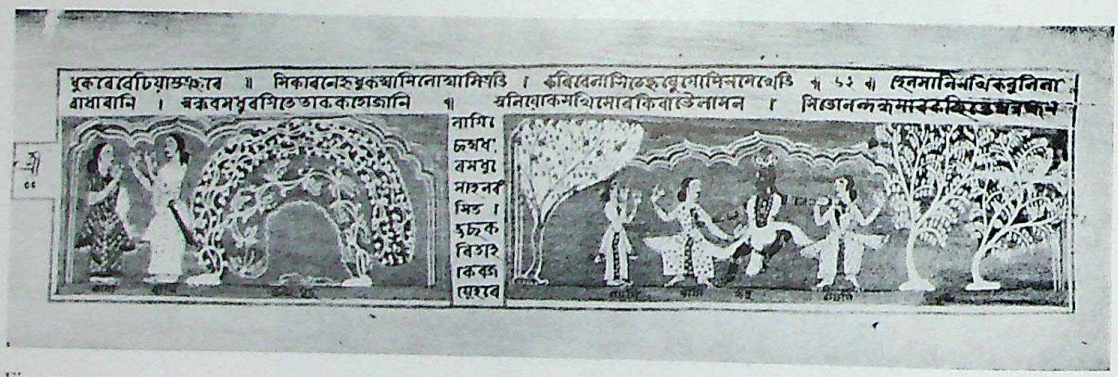

Fig. 555 a

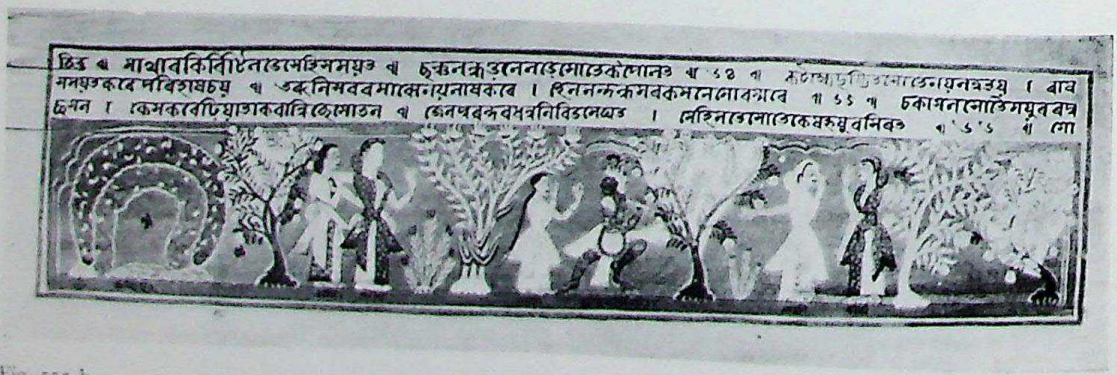

Fig. 555 b

555 a, b *Gita-Govinda,* Assam, *ca.* 1724-1730 A.D. (p. 254)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 556 a

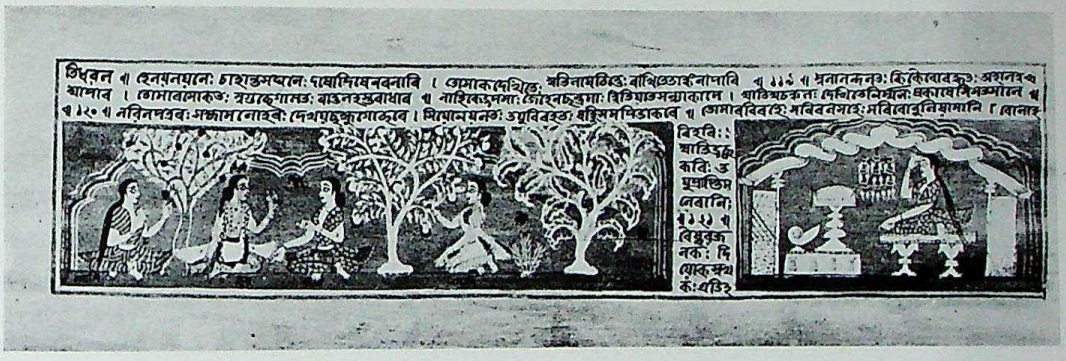

Fig. 556 b

556 a, b *Gita-Govinda*, Assam, 1724-1730 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 557 *Gita-Govinda*, Orissa, *ca.* 1690-1700 A.D. (p. 254)

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Fig. 558 *Gita-Govinda*, Orissa, *ca.* 1620-1640 A.D. (p. 254)

Fig. 559 *Gita-Govinda*, Orissa, *ca.* 1780-1800 A.D. Paper (p. 254)

Figs. 544-46 National Museum, New Delhi
547 Private collection
548 City Palace Museum, Jaipur
549-50 Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmedabad
551 Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur
552-53 State Archaeological Museum, Udaipur
555a, b, 556a, b Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, *Courtesy:* ASI
557 Orissa State Museum, Bhuvanesvara
558 Raghunandan Library, Puri
560 Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh

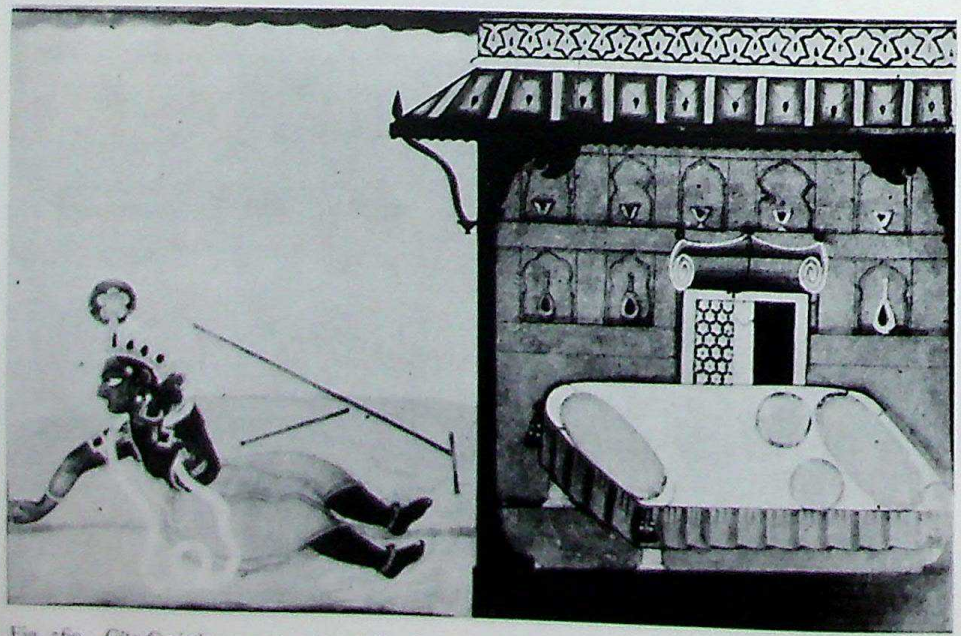

Fig. 560 *Gita-Govinda*, *ca.* 1774-1794 A.D., Basohli (p. 254)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 561

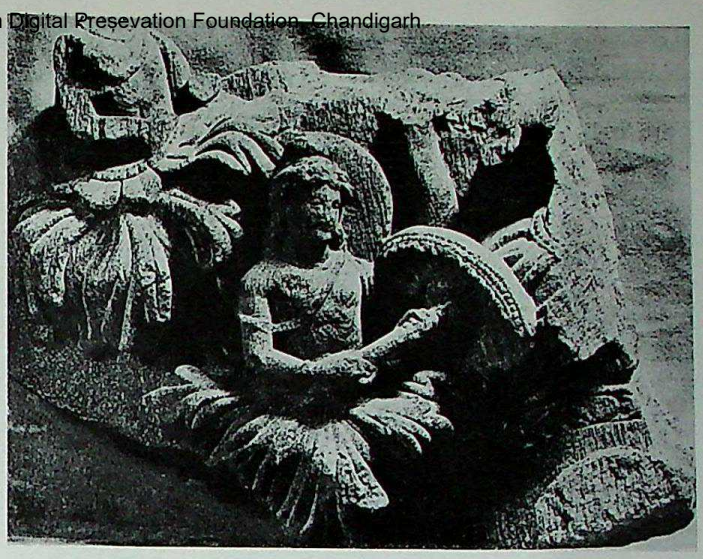

Fig. 562

Fig. 563

Fig. 564

Fig. 565

561 Herakles killing Centaur Nessos, eighth cent. B.C., Metropolitan Museum of Art (p. 267)

562 Two *Kinnaras*, wearing leaves of trees around the body, fourth cent. A.D., Lahore Museum (p. 268)

563 Centaur and female rider, second cent. B.C., Sāñchī (p. 268)

564 *Kinnara mithunas*, second cent. B.C., Sāñchī (p. 268)

565 A *Kinnara* couple, fifth cent. A.D., Rājghāt (p. 268)

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Fig. 566 A *Kinnara* couple, Ahichchhatrā, fifth-sixth cent. A.D. (p. 269)

Fig. 567 *Kinnari* and a male rider, third cent. A.D., Mathurā (p. 269)

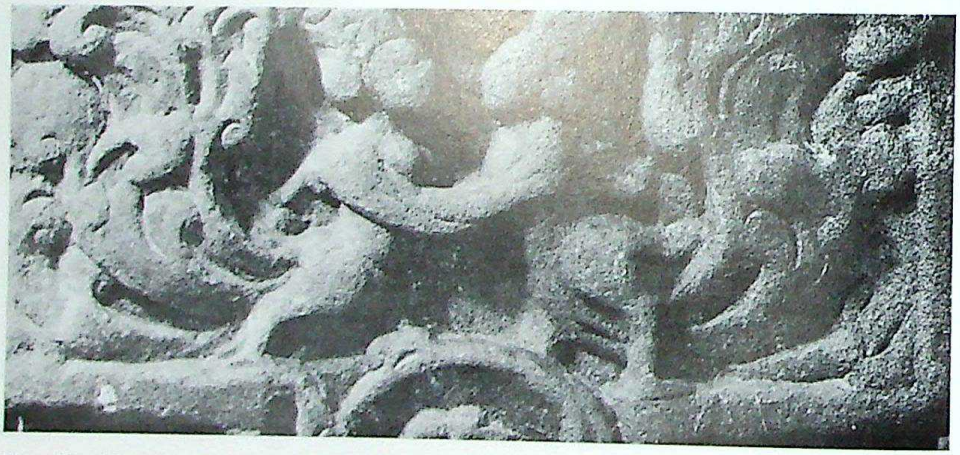

Fig. 568 *Kinnara* couple, embracing amorously each other, sixth-seventh cent. A.D. (p. 269)

Fig. 569 A *Kinnara* couple, playing musical instruments, sixth-seventh cent. A.D. (p. 269)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

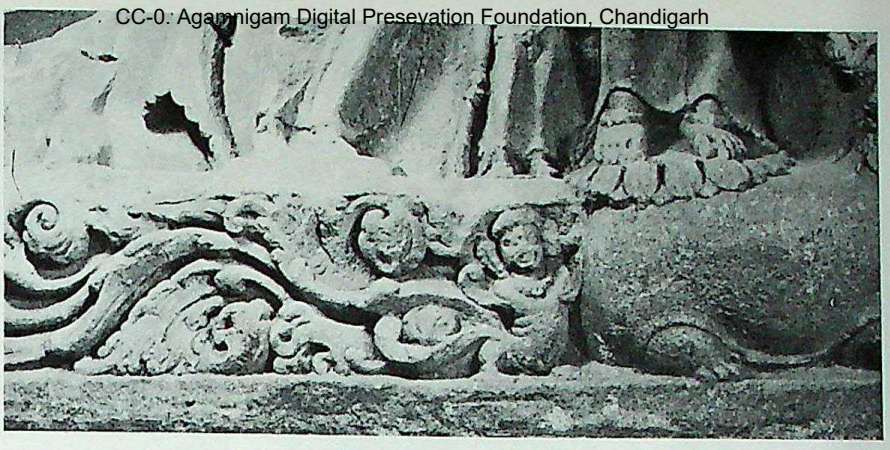

Fig. 570

Fig. 571

Fig. 574

570 A *Kinnara* following a *Makara*, ninth-tenth cent. A.D. (p. 269)

571 Two horse-faced *Kinnaras*, eighth-ninth cent. A.D., Pahārpur, Rājshāhī (p. 269)

572 Half-man half-bird *Kinnara-Kinnarī*, seventh cent. A.D., Mahābalipuram (p. 269)

573 *Kinnara* shooting an arrow, seventh-eighth cent. A.D., Mahābalipuram (p. 269)

574 A Pāla *Kinnara*, playing on lyre, eleventh cent. A.D. (p. 269)

Fig. 572

Fig. 573

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Fig. 575

Fig. 576

Fig. 577

Fig. 578

Fig. 579

Fig. 580

Fig. 581

Fig. 582

375-83 Mother Goddess (pp. 270-71)

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Fig. 583

Fig. 584

Fig. 585

584-86 Female heads (p. 272)

Fig. 586

Fig. 587 Elephant (p. 272)

Fig. 588 Bull head (p. 272)

Fig. 589 Horse (p. 274)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

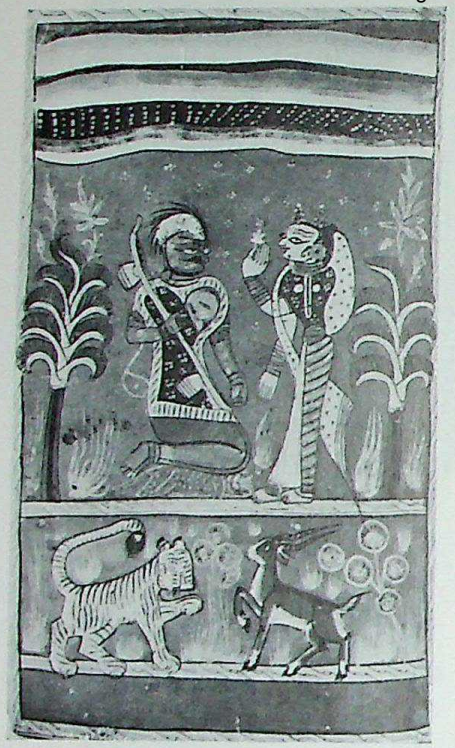

Fig. 591 fol. 63 (p. 276)

Fig. 590 fol. 19 (p. 276)

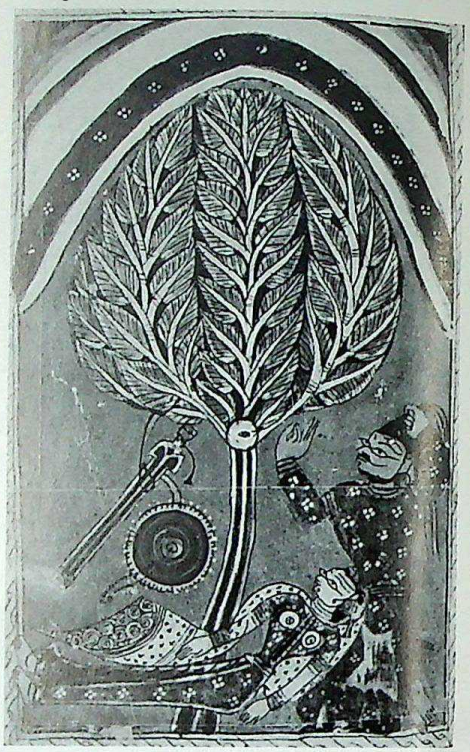

Fig. 592 fol. 38 (p. 276)

Fig. 593 fol. 36 (p. 276)

Fig. 595 fol. 66 (p. 276)

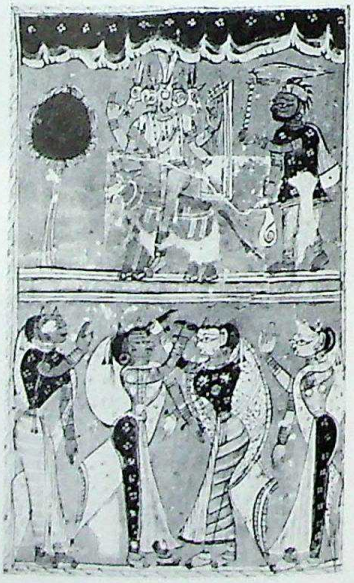

Fig. 594 fol. 102 (p. 276)

590-610 Illustrations from Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, Sultanate, *ca.* 1500 A.D.
Collection : Staatsbibliothek, Berlin
Photo *courtesy:* Prof. Dr. Herbert Härtel

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 596 fol. 67 (p. 276)

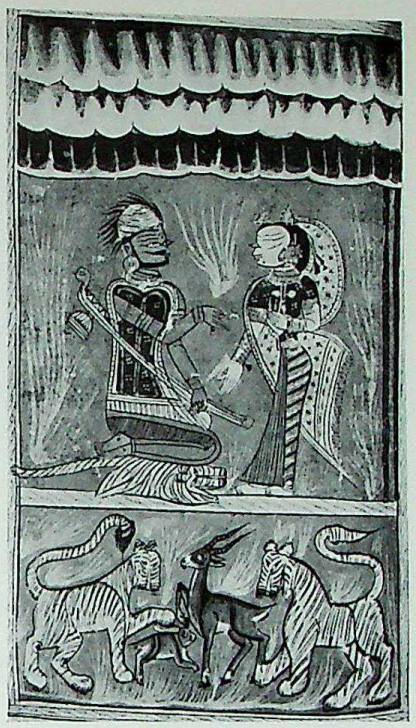

Fig. 597 fol. 62 (p. 276)

Fig. 598 fol. 106 (p. 278)

Fig. 599 fol. 113 (p. 276)

Fig. 601 fol. 27 (p. 277)

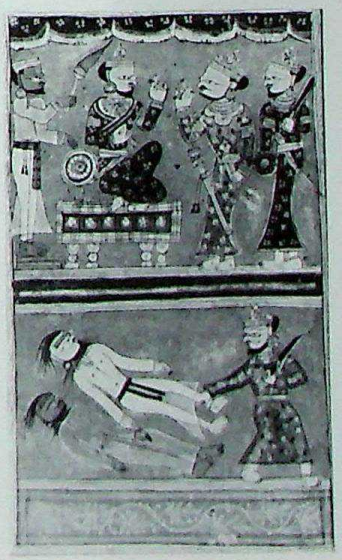

Fig. 600 fol. 137 (p. 279)

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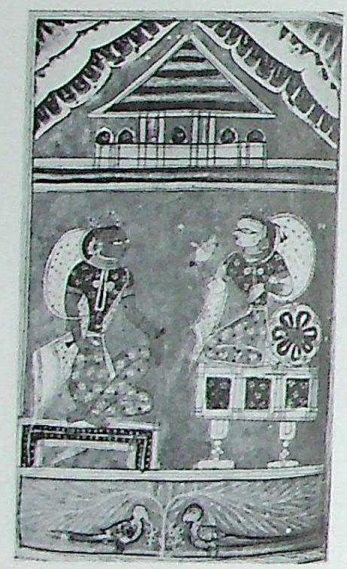

Fig. 602 fol. 30 (p. 278)

Fig. 604 fol. 39 (p. 276)

Fig. 603 fol. 41 (p. 279)

Fig. 605 fol. 109 (p. 277)

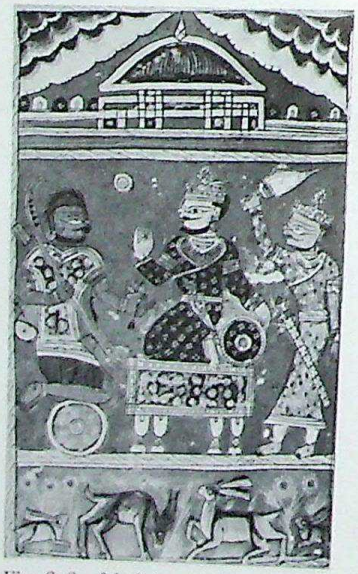

Fig. 606 fol. 8 (p. 277)

Fig. 607 fol. 77 (p. 279)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Fig. 608 fol. 57 (p. 278)

Fig. 610 fol. 46 (p. 277)

Fig. 609 fol. 136 (p. 278)

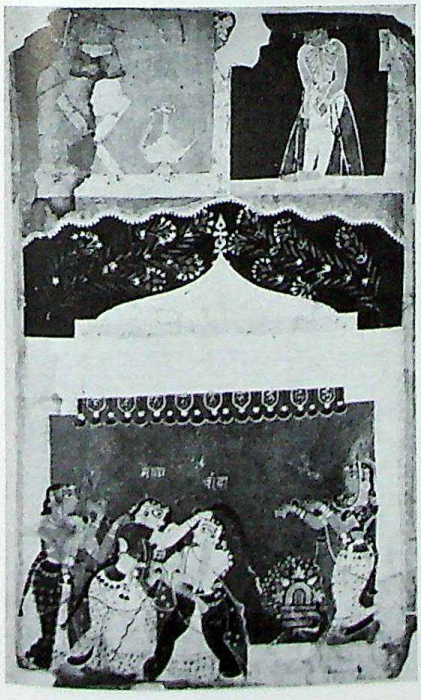

Fig. 611

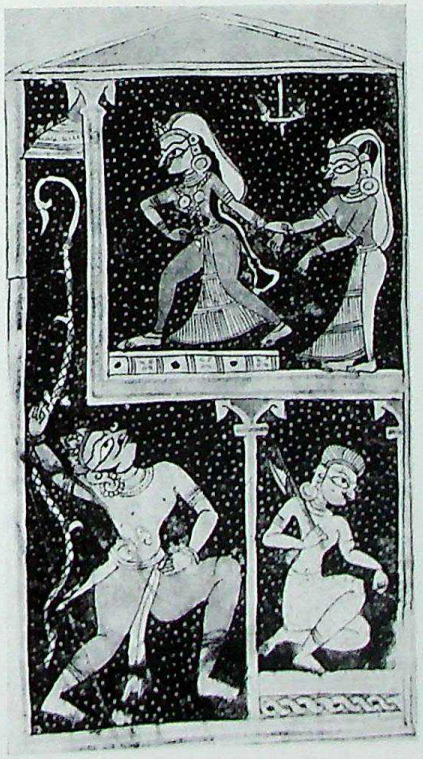

Fig. 613

Fig. 612

611-12 Scenes from *Laur-Chandā*, Chandigarh Museum (pp. 290, 289)

613 A scene from *Laur-Chandā*, BKB (p. 290)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

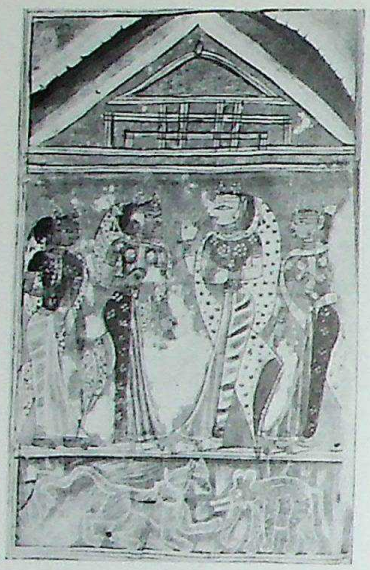

Fig. 615 fol. 99 (p. 277)

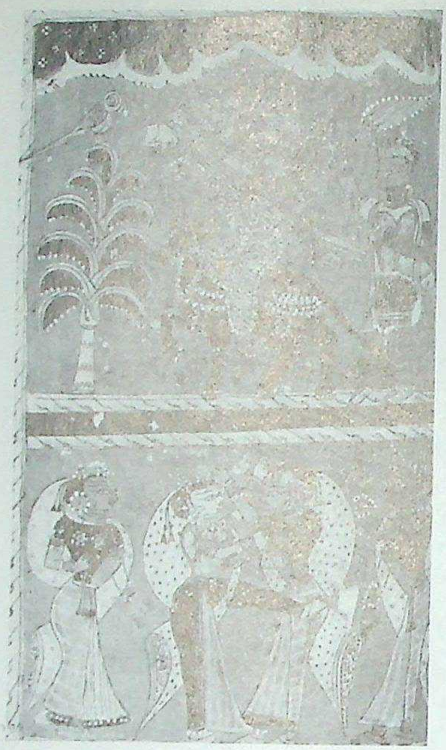

Fig. 614 fol. 103 (p. 276)

Fig. 616 fol. 17 (p. 276)

Fig. 618 fol. 64 (p. 276)

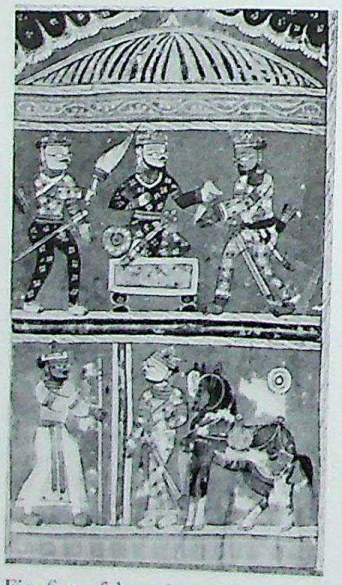

Fig. 617 fol. 39 (p. 278)

Fig. 619 fol. 79 (p. 276)

Figs. 613-25 Illustrations from Berlin *Laur-Chandā*, Sultanate, *ca.* 1500 A.D.

Collection : Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

Photo *courtesy:* Prof. Herbert Härtel

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Fig. 620 fol. 116 (p. 278)

Fig. 621 fol. 18 (p. 276)

Fig. 622 fol. 59 (p. 278)

Fig. 623 fol. 58 (p. 276)

Fig. 624 fol. 125 (p. 278)

Fig. 625 fol. 118 (p. 276)

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Fig. 626 *Yaksha* from Aktha, Varanasi (p. 294)

Fig. 627 Back view (p. 294)

Fig. 628 Left side view (p. 294)

Fig. 629 Detail of head (p. 294)

Fig. 630 Dwarf *Yaksha*, from Sārnāth, Sārnāth Museum, *courtesy* ASI; photo *courtesy*: AIIS, Varanasi (p. 294)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

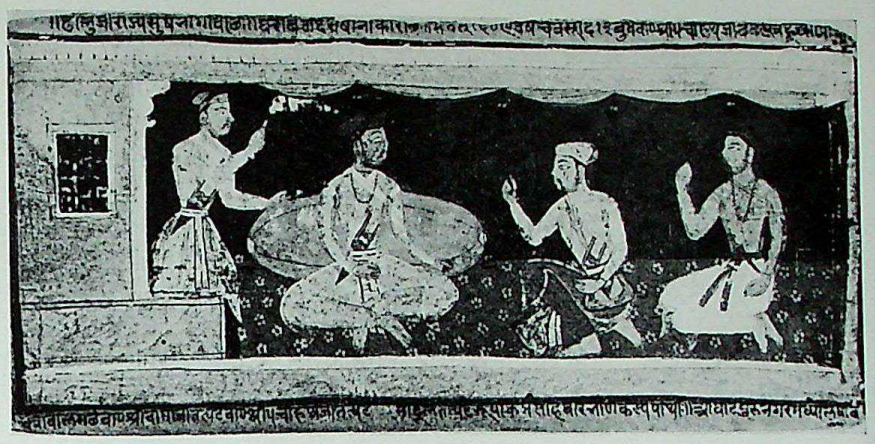

Fig. 631 Colophon page of the illustrated MS of *Dholā-Māru chaupāi*, Rajasthan. Dated 1592 A.D. painted at Aghaṭapura (Murar), Collection : National Museum, New Delhi (p. 298)

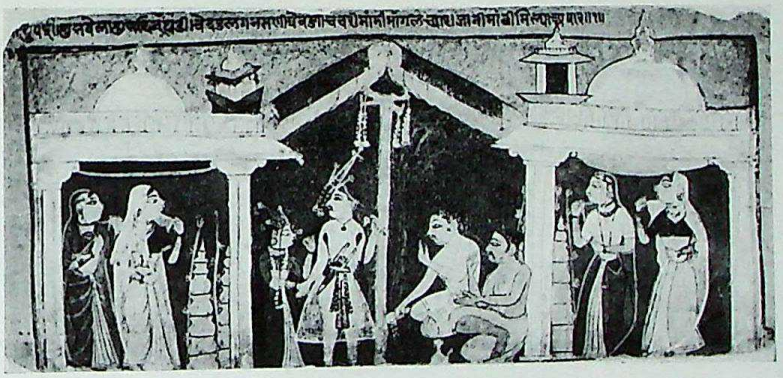

Fig. 632 A folio from the same MS showing figure types and architecture compared with the Chawand *Rāgamālā* set (p. 298)

Fig. 633 Female types from the same MS for comparison with Chawand set, fig. 634 (p. 298)

Fig. 634 *Rāga* Bibhāsa, Rajasthan. Painted at Chawand (in Mewar) in 1605 A.D. artist Nisardi. Collection : Sri Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta (p. 300)

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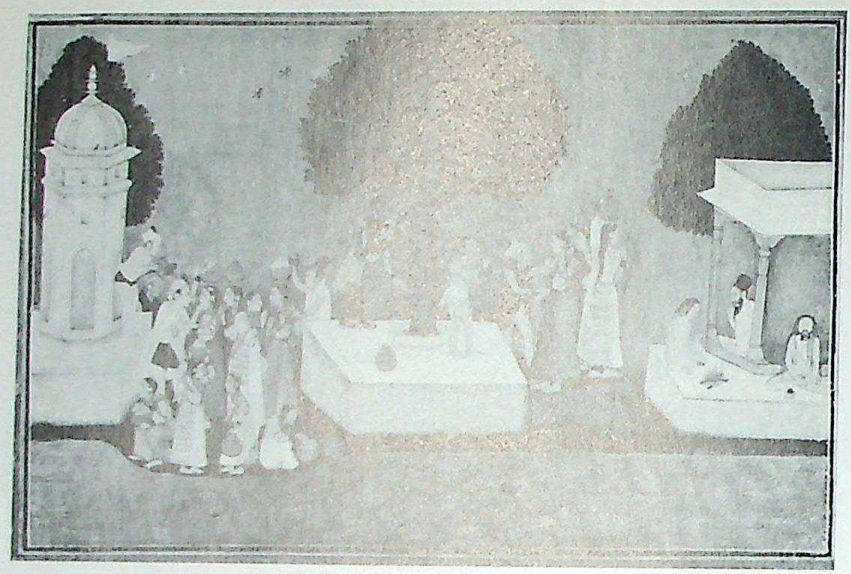

Fig. 635 *Dāna-Līlā*, Bikaner, *ca.* late seventeenth cent., N. C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad (p. 301)

Fig. 636

Fig. 637

636-37 Detail of plate V (p. 304)

Fig. 638 Detail of fig. 635 (p. 304)

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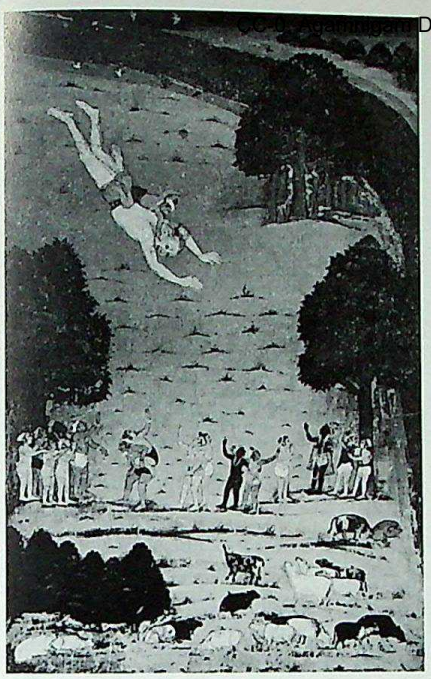

Fig. 639

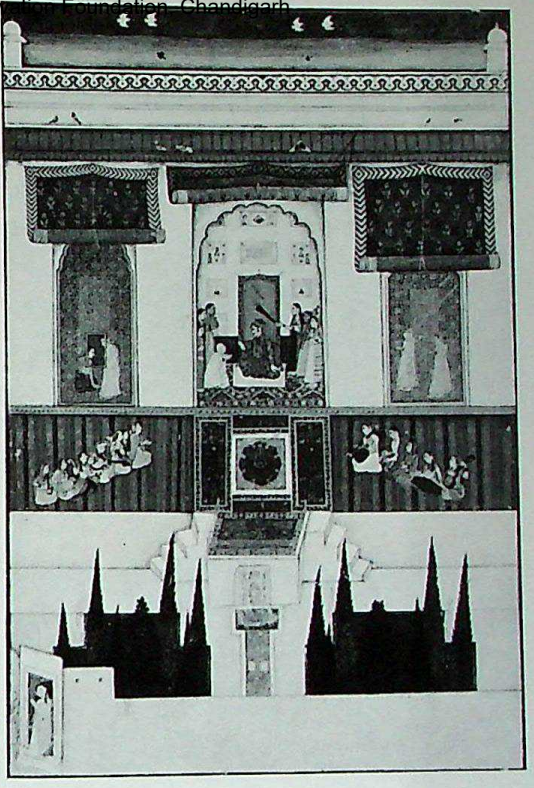

Fig. 640

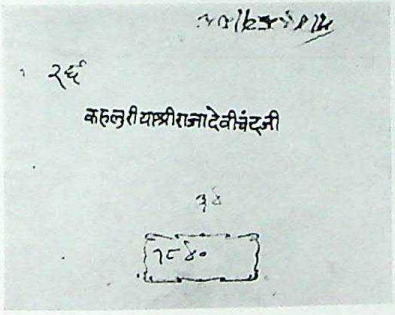

Fig. 641

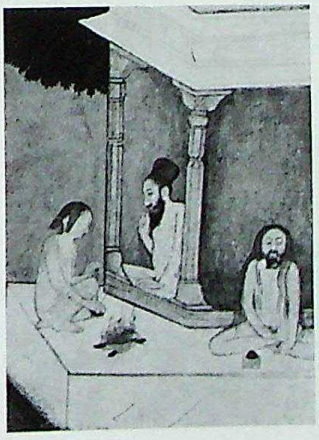

Fig. 642

639 Balarāma killing the demon, Bikaner, *ca.* late seventeenth cent., Chandigarh Museum (p. 301)

640 Harem scene, Bikaner, *ca.* late seventeenth cent., Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay (p. 301)

Fig. 644

641 Mandi Library mark on the portrait of Rājā Devichand of Bilaspur, N. C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad (p. 301)

642 Detail of fig. 635 (p. 304)

643 A warrior with his wife, Mandi, *ca.* 1740 A.D., N.C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad (p. 304)

644 Pārvatī, detail from a painting of Śiva-Pārvatī, Mandi, *ca.* 1740 A. D., N. C. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad (p. 304)

Fig. 643

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Fig. 645 Paradise of Mañjushrī (p. 309)

Fig. 646 Adoration of Buddha (p. 309)

Fig. 647 Flying *Apsarā* (p. 310)

Fig. 648 Paradise of Vairochana (p. 310)

Fig. 649 Prajñāpāramitā (p. 310)

Fig. 650 Details of fig. 649 (p. 310)

645-50 Alchi Monastery

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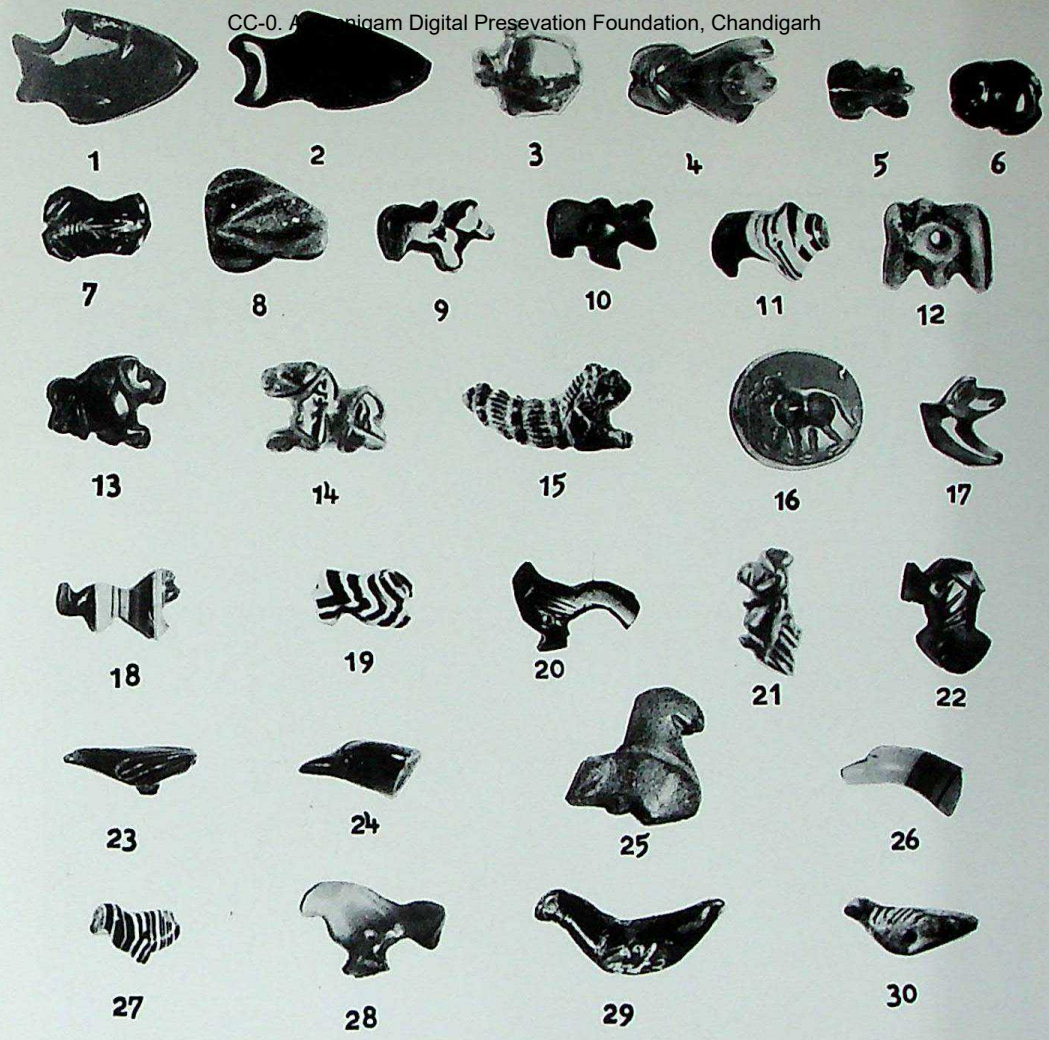

Fig. 651 (p. 316)

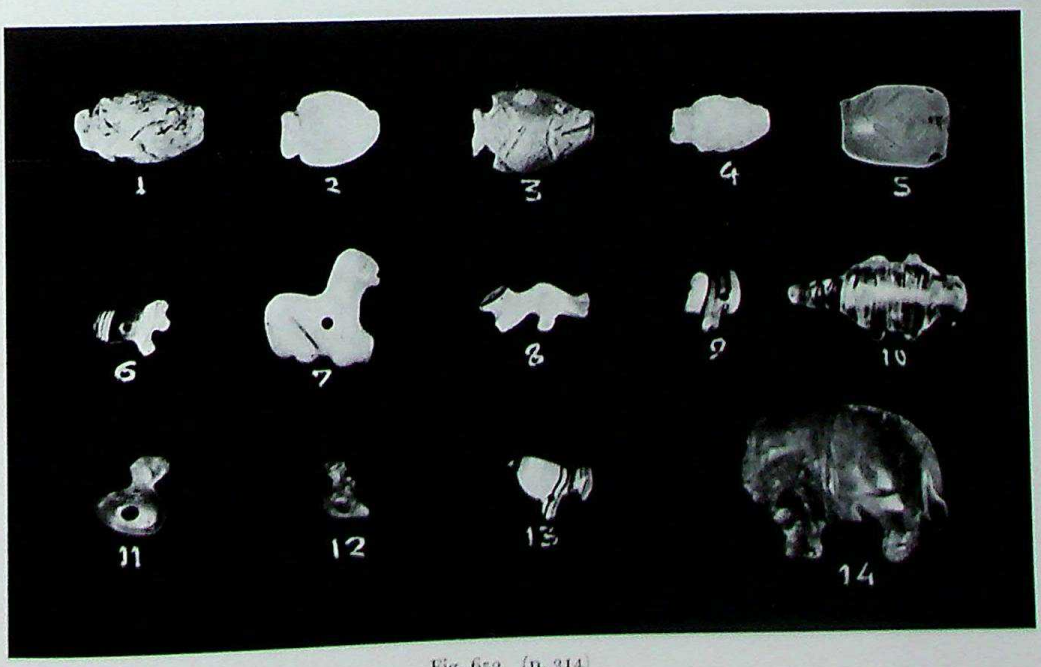

Fig. 652 (p. 314)

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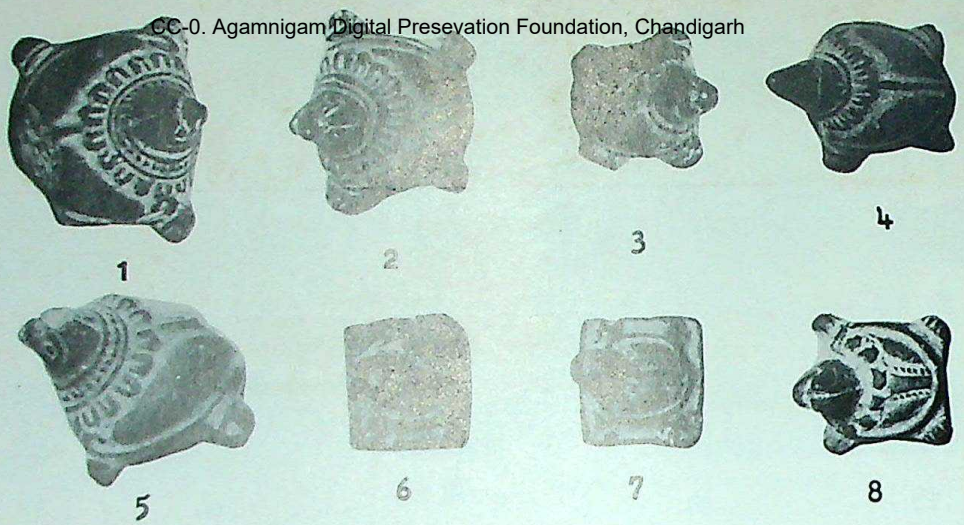

Fig. 653 (p. 318)

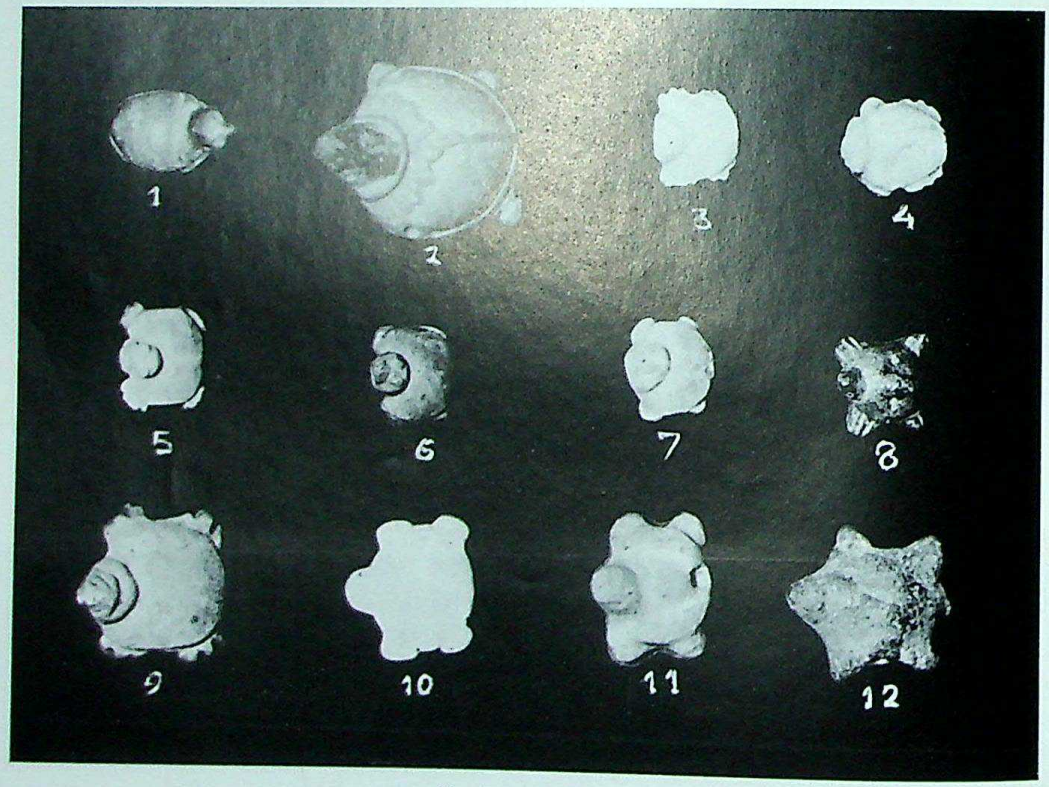

Fig. 654 (p. 318)

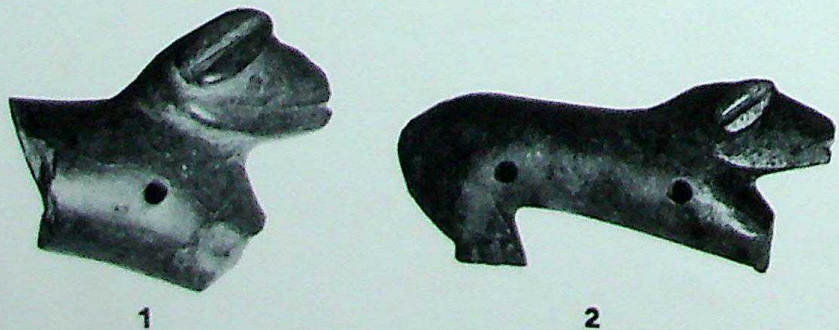

Fig. 655 (p. 322)

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Rāgiṇī Bilāwal, Malwa, *ca.* 1650

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(For thought is act in fancy)
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Gives up his mortal powers to worthy work,
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Is honourable.
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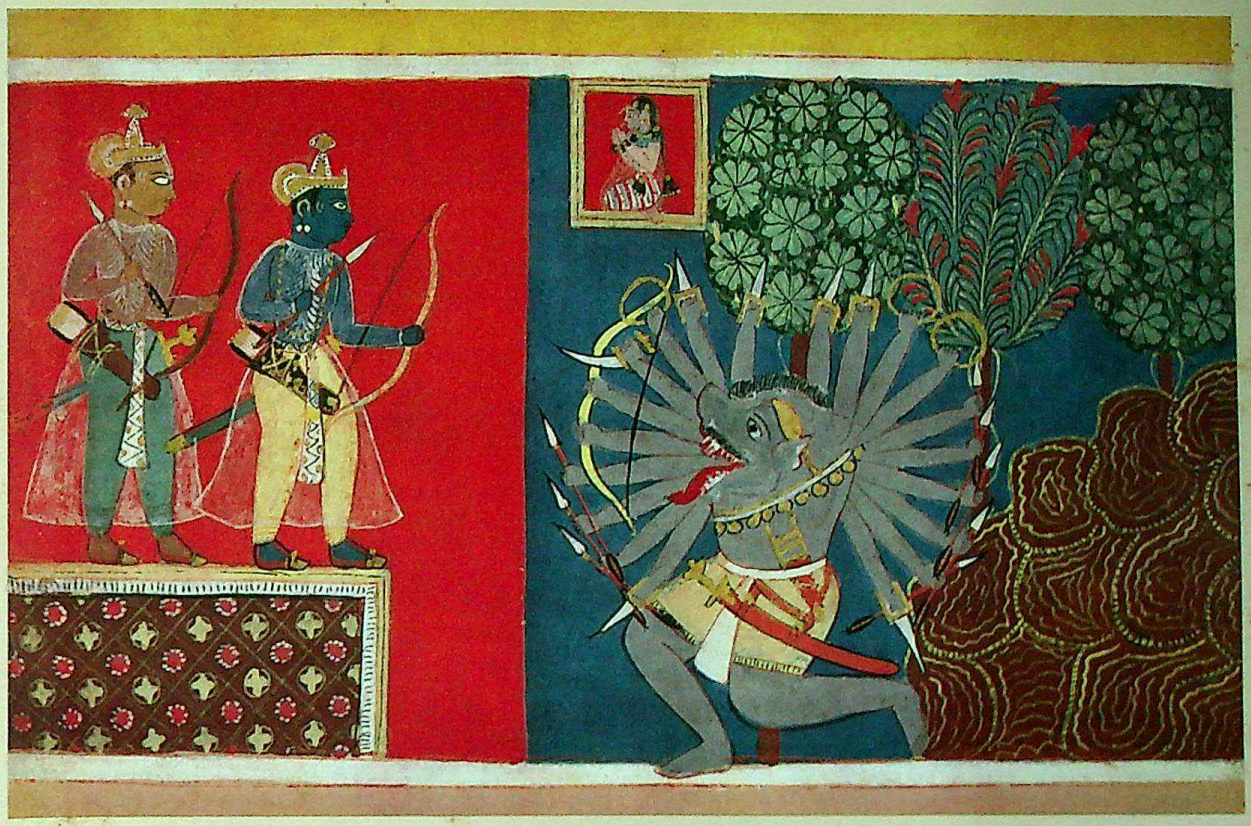

A scene from Hīrā De Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa
confronted by a demon, Malwa, *ca.* 1640

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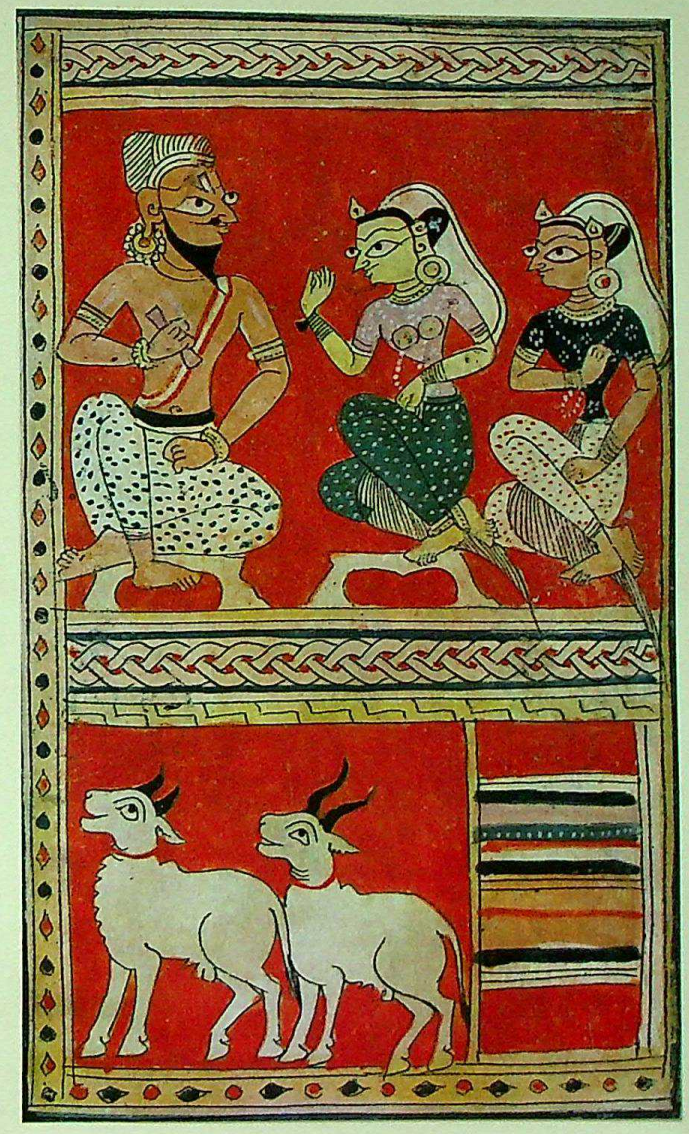

A scene from the *Laur Chandā*,
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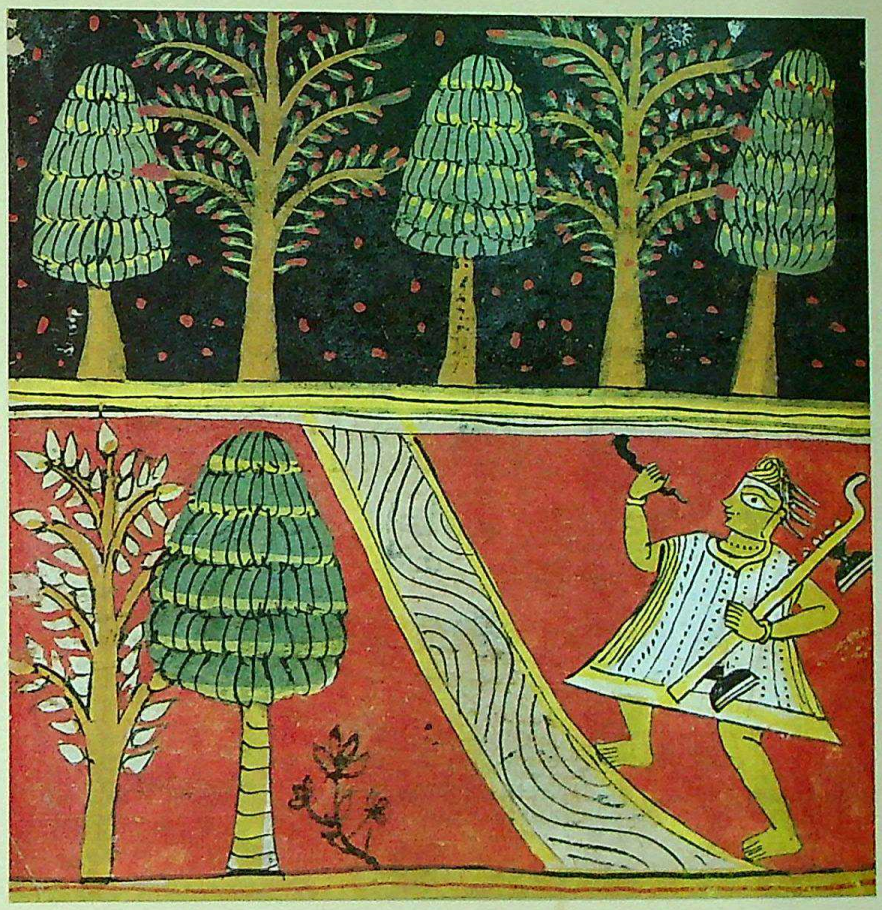

A scene from *Mṛigāvat*, Eastern U.P.,
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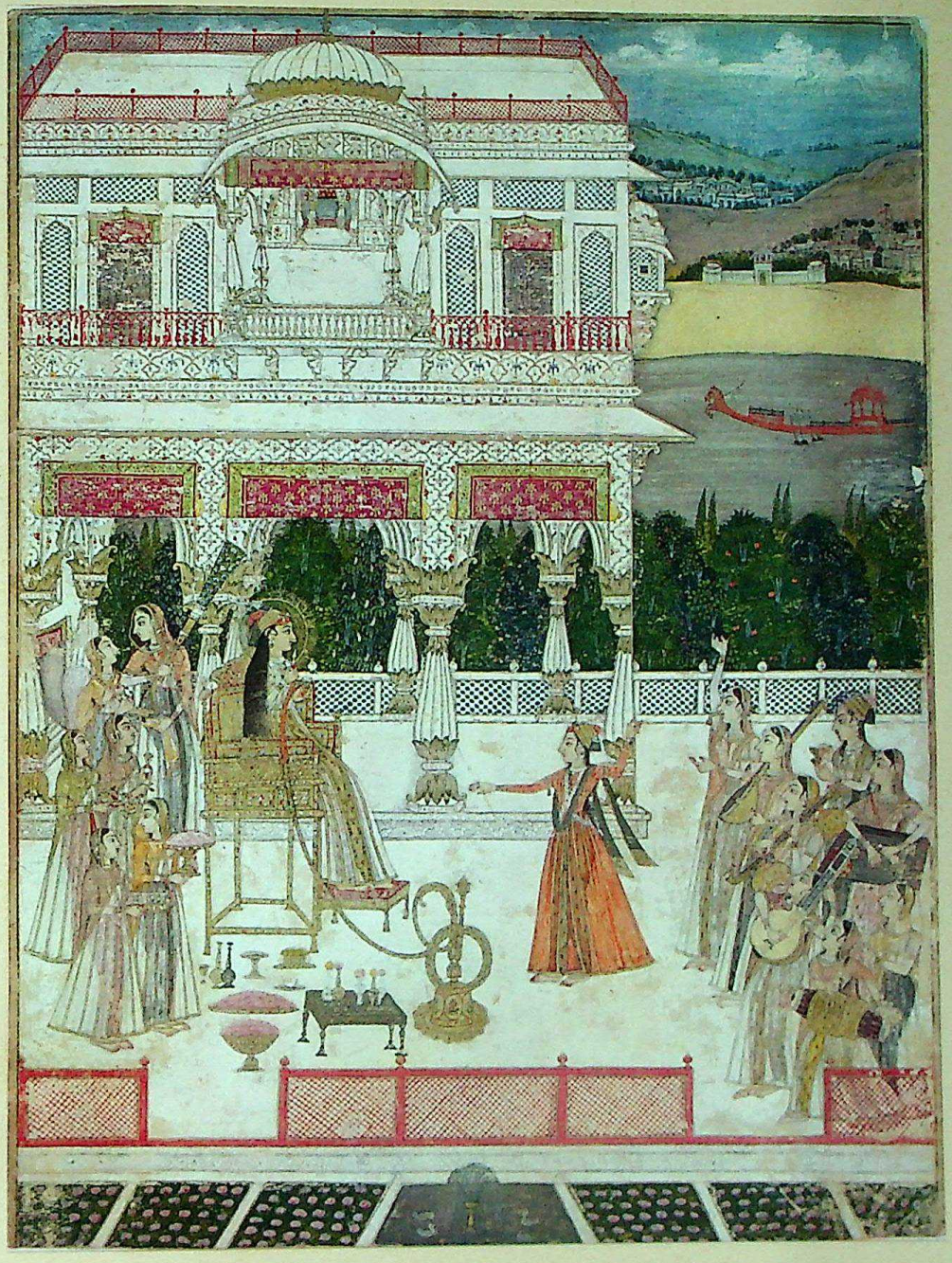

Ladies enjoying music, Kishangarh, *ca.* 1720

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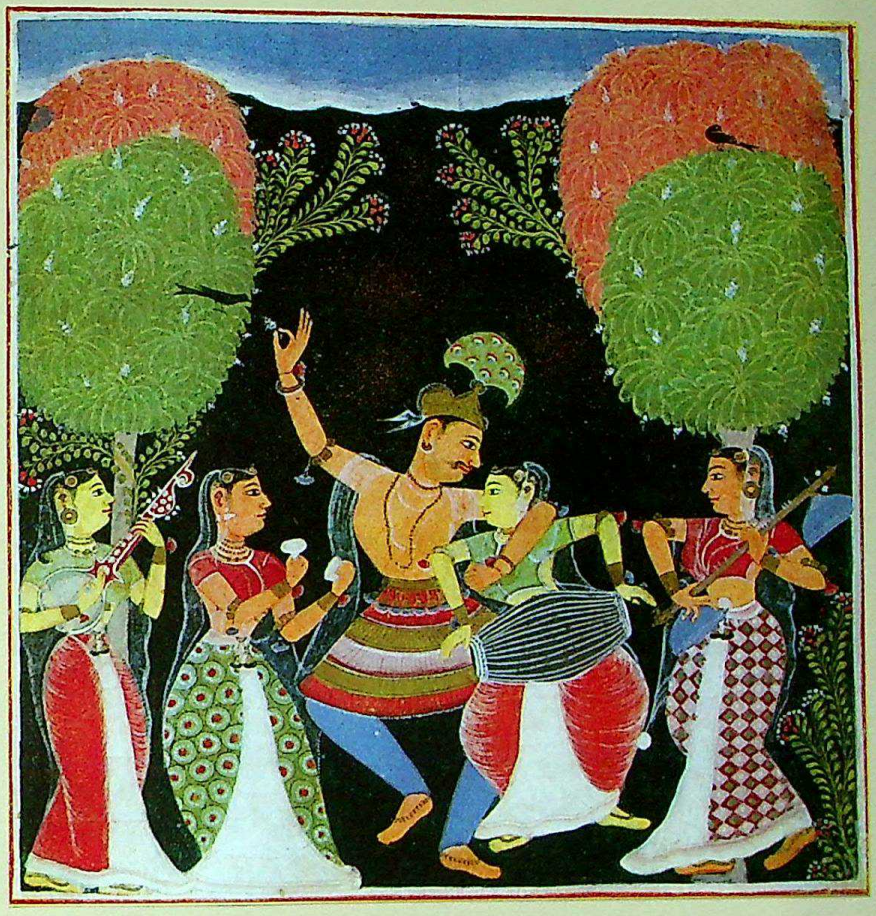

Rāga Vasant, Malwa, *ca.* 1600

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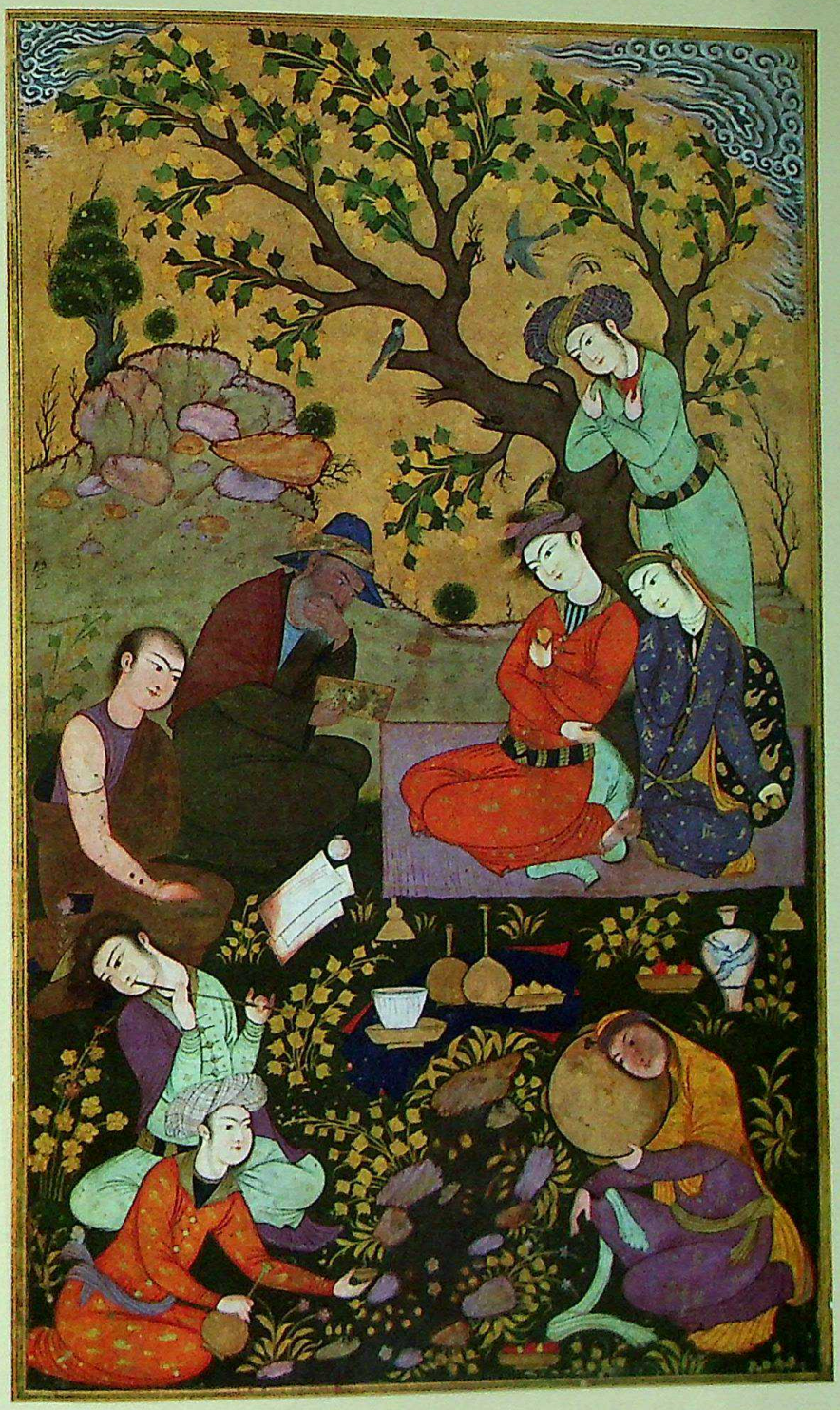

A garden scene, Persian, *ca.* 1630-40

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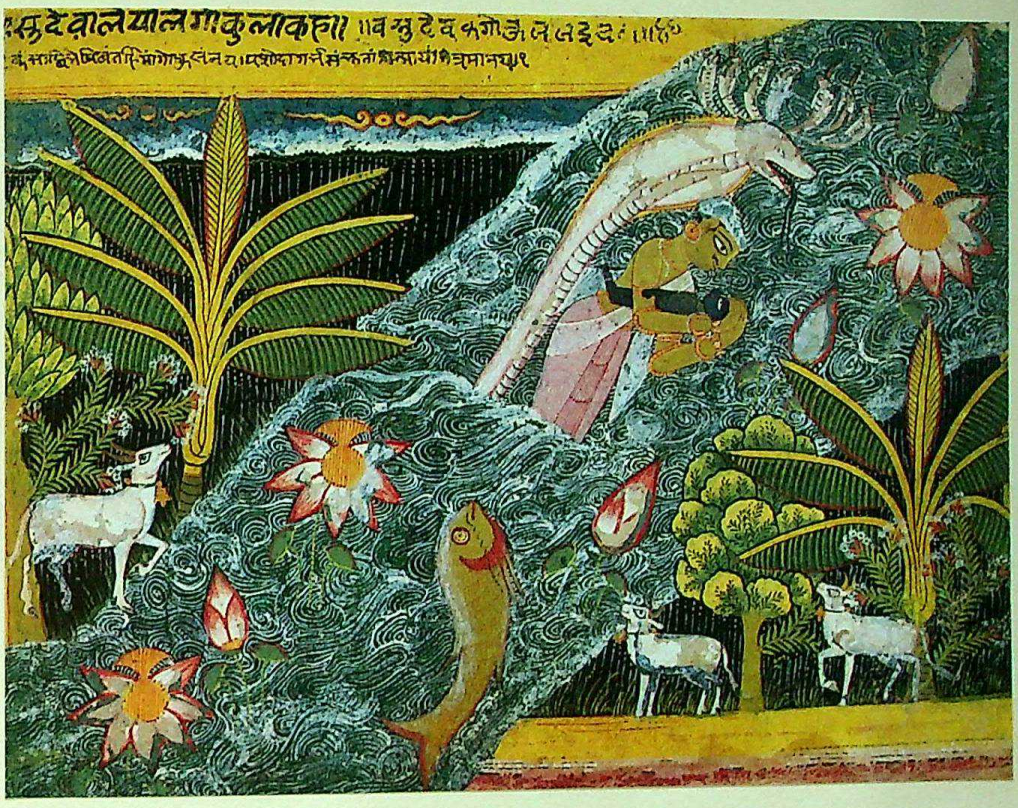

Vasudeva transports the newly born Kṛishṇa, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ca.* 1575

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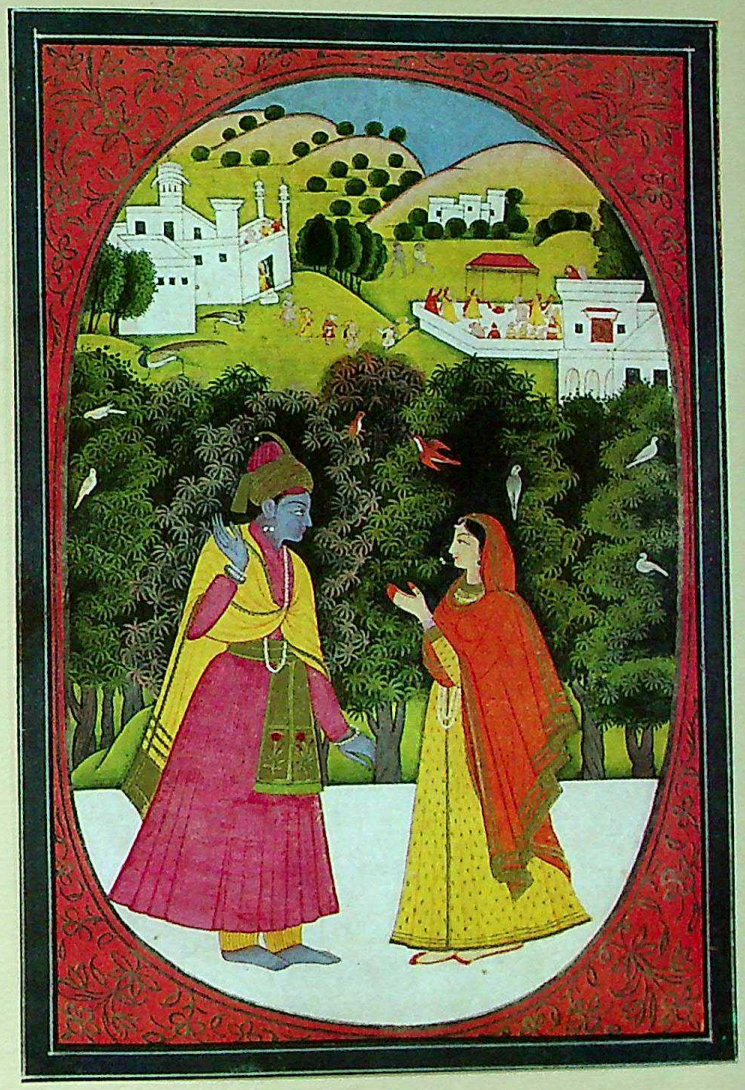

Māgha Māsa (the month of December), Garhwal, late eighteenth cent.

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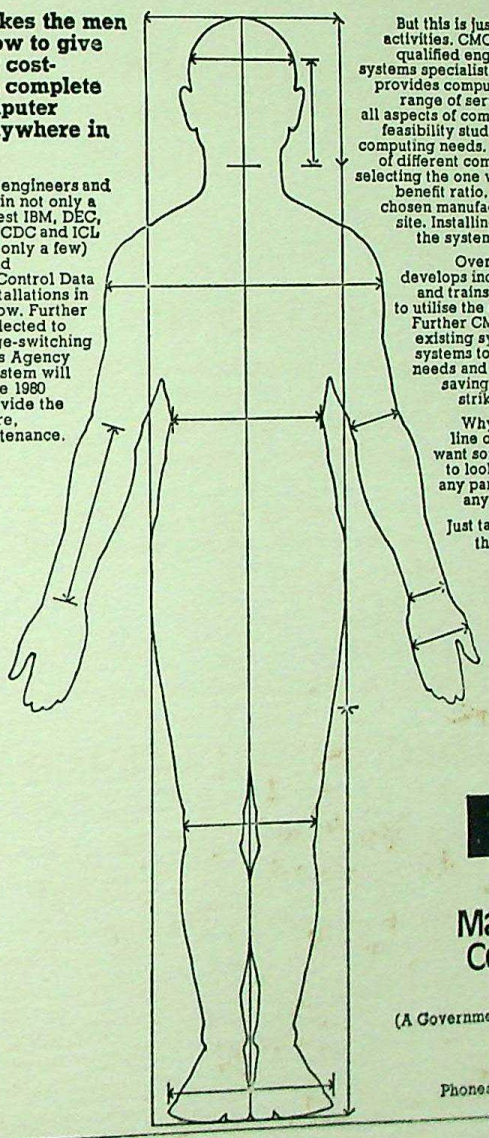

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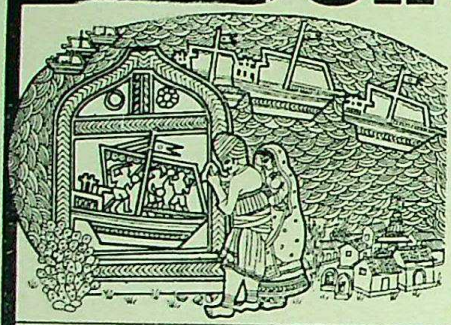

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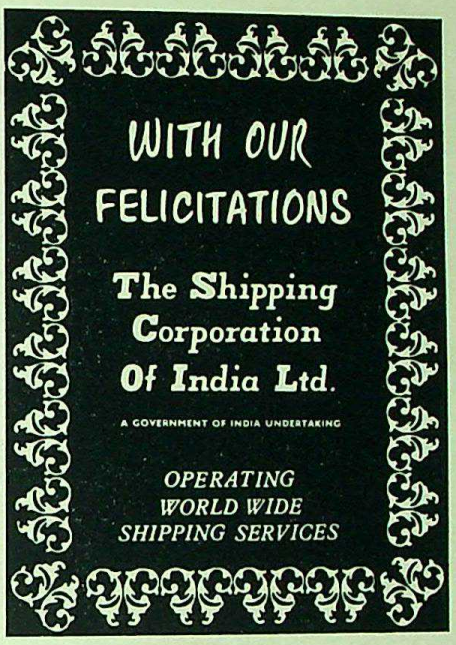

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